

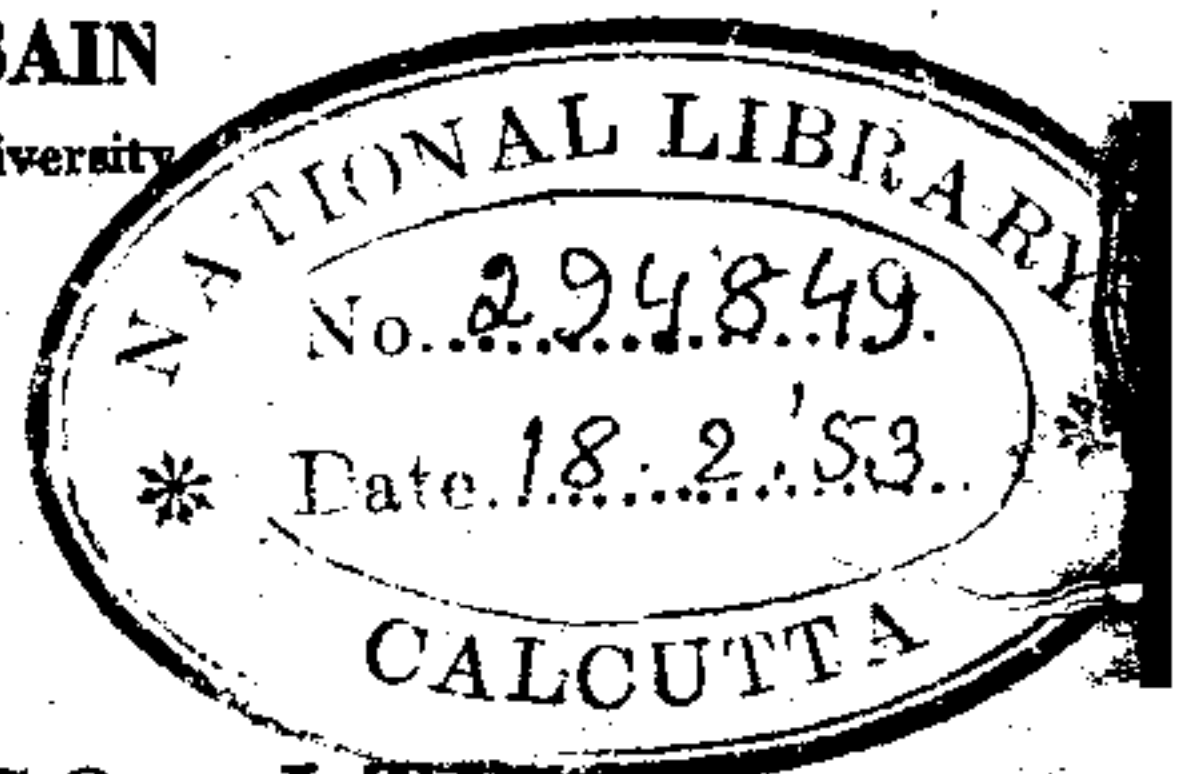
**A
HISTORY OF EDUCATION
IN INDIA**

(During the British Period)

By
SYED NURULLAH
B.A., M.Ed. (Leeds), Bar-at-Law

AND
J. R. NAIK, B.A.

With a Foreword
by
Dr. ZAKIR HUSAIN
Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh University



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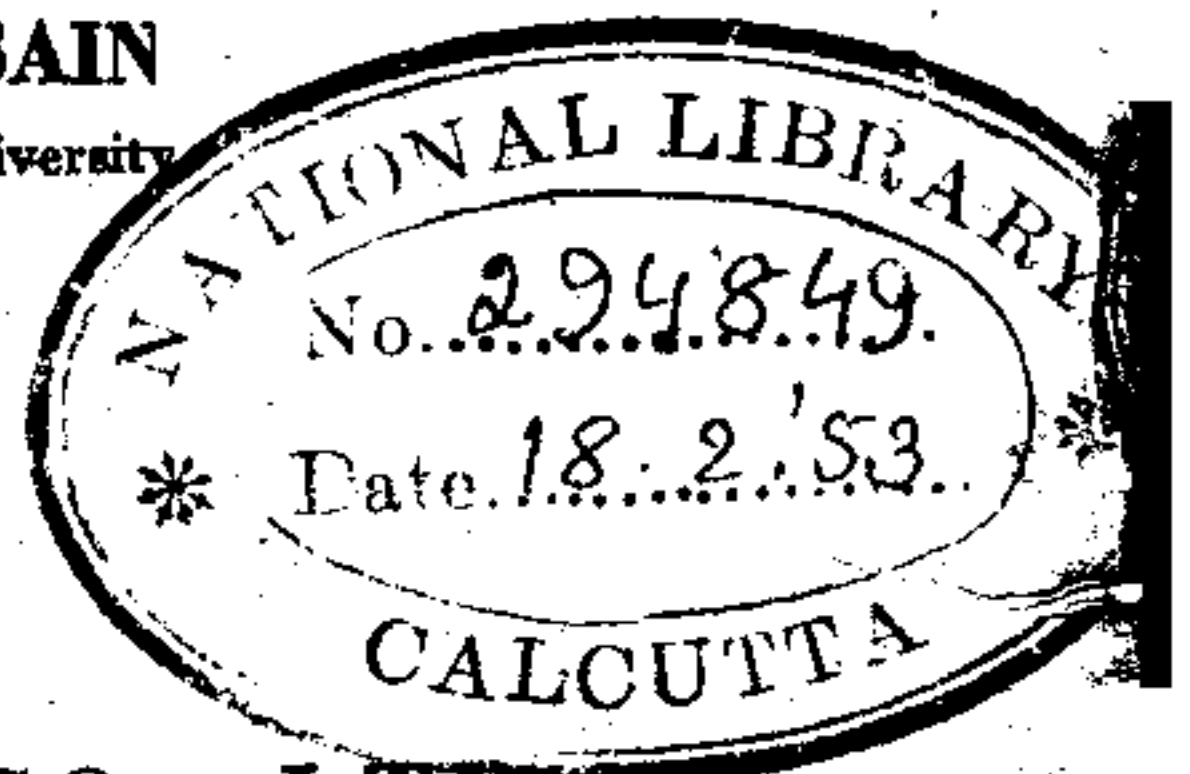
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Dedicated

TO THE LATE

M. R. PARANJPE

*who lived and died in the service of
Indian Education*

FOREWORD

It gives me great pleasure to write this foreword to *A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA—During the British Period* written by Shri Syed Nurullah and Shri J. P. Naik. The book, when it was first published in 1943, was acclaimed as a distinctive contribution to the understanding of the history of education in India, as it provided, in the form of a connected narrative, much valuable information that was scattered in a variety of publications and reports. The present edition, which has been thoroughly revised, enlarged and brought up-to-date, has enhanced the value of this contribution to a considerable degree.

I cannot think of any two persons better qualified than Shriyuts Nurullah and Naik to write a fair, balanced and authoritative account of Indian educational history during the last one hundred and sixty years. I have known Shri Nurullah since 1920, when in the wake of the non-co-operation movement, he gave up studies at the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, and became associated with the Jamia Millia Islamia, where he worked as a lecturer for two years. For the last twenty years he has been in the service of the Educational Department of the Government of Bombay and has acquired considerable experience as Educational Inspector, as Principal of a Training College, and finally as Joint Director of Public Instruction. His collaborator, Shri J. P. Naik, has had the rare advantage of a wide range of educational experience from teachership in a village primary school to secretaryship in a post-graduate teachers' training institution in Bombay. He is a silent selfless scholar, who has made a special study of Primary Education, and who has now devoted himself with indefatigable zeal and energy to the cause of educational research in India.

The importance of the present work of these two authors can be realised from the fact that, among existing publications on the history of education in India during the British period, there is not a single book that deals comprehensively with the subject from the Indian point of view. For the research scholar,

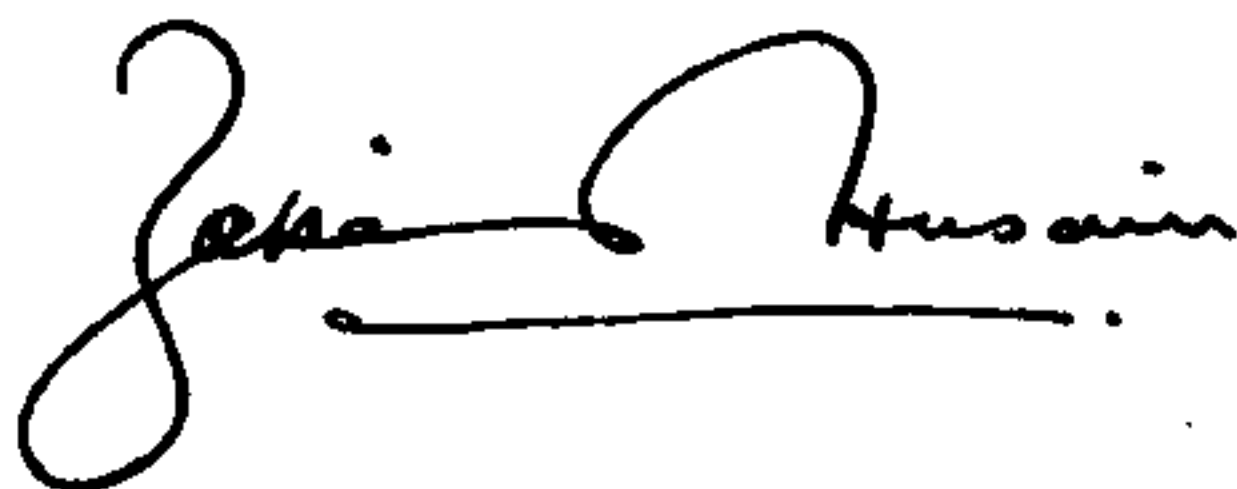
there is, of course, no dearth of material to draw upon, for there are the massive volumes of documents from government archives in the form of Reports, Educational Records, Quinquennial Reviews and other original sources. But these documents are not easily available for the average student, and in any case, are too voluminous to be of practical value to him. When he turns to books written on the subjects by missionaries, he finds that the best of them belong to the nineteenth century, so that they are absolutely out of date. If he takes up the works of British officials, he becomes sooner or later conscious that the point of view is British and not Indian. Books by Indian authors are few and far between and they either cover small portions of the period or are very broad surveys of the history of education since 1800. Students of education will therefore be specially grateful to Shriyuts Nurullah and Naik for this detailed and well-documented account of education in British India, an account which takes them right up to 15th August 1947 and which includes the findings of all the latest available research on the subject.

A history that draws freely on reports and similar documents is sometimes in danger of leaving on the reader's mind the impression of being a series of references and quotations. It may be so overladen with extracts that it may make him miss the wood for the trees. The present work is noticeably free from this defect. It is true that there are copious extracts from original sources. But the selections have been judiciously made and carefully integrated into the rest of the subject-matter, so that they give to the book the quality of authenticity without marring the clarity of the picture or the continuity of the narrative. Continuity may be said to be the pivotal point of the book, for the history of education in India during the British period is envisaged as a constantly evolving struggle between the Old and the New. In a systematic analysis of the various cross-currents at work in this conflict, the authors have succeeded in focussing attention on the fundamental causes of the backwardness of India.

It is clear to even a cursory reader that the book is animated by a purpose and that its authors have a definite point of view. But this point of view does not prejudice their judgment of men and events, as is evident from their balanced estimate of the contribution of Lord Curzon, one of the most controversial figures in Indian education. In any case, the point of view does not

detract from the compelling interest of the story that is unfolded and the immense value of the analysis that is presented. I have no doubt that *A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA—During the British Period* will be a standard work on the subject for many years to come, and that the student of education will have to turn to this volume for a proper understanding and interpretation of recent educational developments in this country.

Aligarh,
January, 26, 1951

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'J. A. Hussain', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION x

THE publication of this book hardly needs an apology. The books that are available on the subject fall broadly into two classes : some are selections or collections of original documents which are too voluminous to be within the reach of the average student, while the others are neither up-to-date nor written from the Indian point of view. This book, which attempts to give a well-documented and comprehensive account of Indian educational history during the last one hundred and sixty years and to interpret it from the Indian point of view, will, we trust, meet a very real need.

We are indebted to several publications, the more important of which have been given in the *acknowledgments*. We would like specially to mention here J. Richter's *A History of Missions in India* and A. N. Basu's complete edition of *Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar* (1835-38), both of which provide excellent material to all students of the History of Indian Education.

We are much obliged to R. V. Parulekar, Esq., M.A., M.Ed. (Leeds), and Miss S. Panandikar, M.A., M.Litt. (Cantab.), for going through the manuscript and making valuable suggestions, and to Dr. P. M. Joshi, Librarian of the University of Bombay, for his whole-hearted assistance in securing many old and rare books which have been drawn upon in this narrative.

BOMBAY,
7th June, 1943

SYED NURULLAH
J. P. NAIK

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION *

THE first edition of this book was published in 1943 and although the book has been out of print for more than two years now, we were prevented from undertaking a revision partly by pressure of work and partly by the desire to revise it thoroughly and to bring it up-to-date. We, however, undertook it last year on an urgent request made by the Indian Institute of Education and have great pleasure in presenting this volume to the public.

The chief features in which this edition differs from its predecessor are : (a) It brings the history up to 15th August 1947 whereas the first edition stopped with 1937; (b) the subject-matter is completely rearranged, principally in *chronological* rather than in *topical* order; (c) several sections have been entirely rewritten and the treatment of the subject has been made more comprehensive; (d) the findings of all the available latest research on the subject are included; and (e) an appendix on Education in Indian States and Bibliography have been newly added. We trust that these changes will make the book more useful to the students of education.

We would like to place on record our most grateful thanks to Dr. Zakir Husain, the Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University, for kindly writing a foreword to the book; to Shrimati Chitra Naik, who was kind enough to read the manuscript and the proofs; to Shrimati Madhuri R. Shah and Shri D. M. Desai for assisting us by preparing the appendices and checking up all references; and to Shri D. N. Marshall, the Librarian of the University of Bombay, for assistance and facilities given in obtaining the necessary reference books. We are also grateful to Messrs. Macmillan & Co. Ltd. for undertaking the publication; and in particular to Mr. J. H. Collins, the Manager of the Bombay Branch, for his unfailing courtesy and assistance.

BOMBAY,
4th October, 1950

SYED NURULLAH
J. P. NAIK

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors are indebted to the authors and publishers of the several publications from which extracts have been made, or which have been referred to in the text. These have been shown in the Bibliography by an asterisk.

INTRODUCTION

THE history of the evolution of the modern system of education in India may be likened to a great drama.

The *setting* for this play is provided, not only by the social, political, and constitutional history of India, but also by the social, political, and educational developments in contemporary England. Several Indian institutions were planned on similar institutions in England ; often the controversies in Indian education arose from contemporary controversies in English education ; and oftener still, a change in the educational policy of England had its echoes in Indian education, sooner or later. An attempt to understand Indian educational policy apart from this background is like trying to understand an effect without knowing the cause. An effort has, therefore, been made in this book to present this setting as clearly as possible and to correlate it to the various stages of the educational advance of India.

The *conflict* of the drama lies in the struggle between the Old and the New, between the effort—however well-intentioned it might have been—by non-Indians to impose a cheap imitation of the British educational system on India and the desire of the people of the country to create a new system to meet their own peculiar needs and problems. (In the early part of the nineteenth century, the indigenous system of education held the field. Soon afterwards missionaries began to spread Western knowledge and to encourage the study of the English language and literature. They were joined by the officials of Government and a few enlightened Indians who were either educated under the new system or valued its advantages, and between the combined efforts of these three sets of workers, the modern educational system saw the light of the day. It thrived quickly for several reasons : To begin with, the British people of the Victorian era complacently believed that their language, literature, and educational methods were the best in the world and that India could do no better than adopt them *in toto*. *Secondly*, the Indians of this period, on their part, were dazzled by their first contact with Western civilization and believed that their country could do no better than imitate the British model ; and *thirdly*, the system attained an artificial popularity and importance because the

Educ - h

young men and women educated under it were freely employed in Government service. By the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, the old indigenous system of education disappeared almost completely from the field and a new system of education, which aimed at the spread of Western knowledge through the medium of the English language, was firmly established in its place.

But a reaction soon set in. The sudden and great rise of other nations, such as Japan, exercised a profound influence on Indian public opinion, especially after the termination of the Russo-Japanese War, and made people look askance at the slow and unsatisfactory development of Indian education; a new spirit was gaining ground and, unlike the men of the earlier era, the Indians of the twentieth century began to study with reverence the cultural history of their own land; the Great War of 1914-18 revealed to the world that there was something radically wrong with the civilization of the West and made people sceptical about the utility of the wholesale imitation of Western models. The net result was that Indians gave up the attempt to imitate England *in toto*, and began to consider the creation of a new system of education more suited to their needs. Some of their attempts, such as the Visva-Bharati, or the Jamia-Millia, worked outside the official system, while others, like the Benares and Aligarh Universities, worked within it. A characteristic common to both, however, was the desire to *create* rather than to *imitate*.

An attempt has been made in this book to show the various aspects of this conflict and to trace its history.

The *actors* in this drama may be divided into three groups—the missionaries, the European Officers of the Education Department and the Indian people. To the missionaries belongs the honour of being pioneers in the modern educational system of India and even today they are doing some pioneer work in several branches of social service that have not yet attracted Indian workers on a sufficiently large scale. The European Officials of the Education Department came upon the scene in 1855 and dominated the whole educational field until very recently. The Indian people themselves were the last to enter the stage. They began, in the early nineteenth century, by collecting funds for the establishment of “modern” educational institutions, and, later on, undertook to direct and conduct them. In the closing

decades of the nineteenth century, they demanded Indianization of the educational services. But the political outlook soon widened and the demand for the power to control and direct educational policies was next put forward—a demand that was partly fulfilled in 1921, more completely in 1937 and absolutely in 1947. At the present moment, the whole field of educational activity is almost Indianized. The missionary societies are transferring their institutions to Indian Christians; the recruitment to the Indian Educational Service was stopped a long time ago and all the officials of the Education Department are now Indians; the bulk of the educational institutions is controlled by private Indian enterprise; and a National Government at Centre with autonomous ministries in the federating States have the power to lay down the policy of educational advance. The story of this great revolution forms an important part of the history of Indian education as presented in this book.

The drama is divided into six Acts.

The *first* Act of the drama opens about the beginning of the eighteenth century and closes with the Charter Act of 1813. Although the East India Company was established as early as in 1600, it undertook no educational activities for nearly one hundred years of its existence. Its attention was first drawn to educational matters by the Charter Act of 1698 which required it to maintain priests and schools in its garrisons; but even these provisions were meant more for the children of the Company's European servants than for the Indian people. There is no need, however, to be surprised at this unwillingness of the Company to undertake the responsibility of educating Indians. It was mainly a trading concern and a body of merchants cannot be expected to educate the people it trades with.]

Circumstances altered considerably by the middle of the eighteenth century. The Company had, by this time, emerged successful from the struggle with its European competitors—the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French—and the grant of the *Diwani* in 1765 made it a ruling power in India. It was only *then* that the Company was called upon to encourage education among its subjects as the earlier Hindu and Muslim rulers had done. But the Court of Directors naturally drew their inspiration from English models rather than from Hindu or Muslim traditions and, as Parliament itself did nothing to educate the English

people, the Company also refused to recognise any obligation on its part for the education of Indians.

The conflict of this Act, therefore, centred mainly round two issues. *Firstly*, there was a conflict between the unwillingness of the Directors of the Company to accept responsibility for the education of the Indians, and the agitation of their officers in India, mainly on grounds of political exigency, to persuade them to accept it. *Secondly*, there also arose a conflict between the desire of the missionaries to go to India to spread Christianity and the unwillingness of the Court of Directors to admit them to their territories for fear that their proselytizing activities might arouse the opposition of the people. It was only after a prolonged agitation that the Company was compelled, by the Charter Act of 1813, to accept responsibility for the education of Indians, to incur some expenditure for the fulfilment of this object, and to admit missionaries to its dominions for spreading Western "light and knowledge". This was the beginning of the State system of education in India under the British rule.

The *second* Act of the drama opens in 1813 and closes with Wood's Education Despatch of 1854. It is mainly a period of controversies and experiments.

The conflict of this Act lies between two schools of thought. One of these, which was represented by Macaulay, believed in the *substitution* of Western culture for the Indian and desired to create a class of persons who would be "Indians in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect". This school consisted mostly of the missionaries whose main aim was that of proselytization, and of the younger servants of the Company who were brought up in the traditions of the Romantic Revival and were consequently impatient to sweep out the Old and to sweep in the New. The other school believed in a *synthesis* of the Eastern and Western cultures. It consisted of the older servants of the Company who were brought up in the traditions of Hastings and Minto and most of the Indians who took an interest in education. Unfortunately, this party was divided within its own fold. One section, which held the field in Bengal, believed that such a synthesis could be brought about by spreading Western science and knowledge through the medium of Indian classical languages, while the other section which held the field in Bombay, believed that the best method

of bringing about a synthesis lay in spreading Western science and knowledge through the spoken languages of the people, enriched by a study of the Indian classical languages.

These fundamental issues were greatly confused in the controversies of this period and "the confusion became worse confounded by the failure to distinguish English as a medium from English as a subject of instruction". Violent controversies, therefore, ranged round the following four topics :—

- (1) What should be the *object* of the educational policy—to spread Western knowledge or to preserve Eastern learning?
- (2) What should be the *medium of instruction*—English, Sanskrit or Arabic, or the modern Indian languages?
- (3) What should be the *agency* for the spread of education—the mission schools, the institutions directly controlled by the Company, or the indigenous schools conducted by Indians themselves?
- (4) What should be the *method* of spreading education—should Government try to educate the masses directly, or should it only educate a few Indians and leave it to them to educate the others?

The Despatch of 1854 set these conflicts at rest for the time being by declaring that the main object of the educational system was to spread Western knowledge and science, although it was desirable to grant some encouragement to Oriental learning at the collegiate stage; that both English and the spoken languages of the people should be used as media of instruction at the secondary stage; that as Government could never have the funds to provide for all the educational needs of the country, the bulk of its educational institutions would have to be organized by private bodies—whether missionary or Indian; and that the efforts of Government should cease to be directed to the education of the few and that the education of the masses should, in future, be regarded as a duty of the State. With the receipt of this important document of educational history, the curtain falls upon the second Act of the drama.

The *third* Act opens in 1854 and closes about 1900. It is a period of rapid *Westernization* of the educational system but of *Indianization* of its agency.

This Act has two conflicts. The major conflict arose between the indigenous system of education on the one hand and the new system created by Wood's Education Despatch on the other. It was at first hoped that such a conflict would not arise and that indigenous schools would be wisely encouraged and incorporated in the official system of education. But for several reasons, these hopes did not materialize. The officials of those days generally neglected these institutions out of utter contempt ; in some instances attempts at improvement were made which, though well-meant, were so ill-advised as to lead rather to destruction than to improvement ; in several cases, pressure was brought upon parents to withdraw their children from indigenous schools and to send them to the departmental ones.¹ These errors of commission and omission combined with the patronage that was extended to the new system by the free employment of persons trained in it in Government service led to the almost complete extinction of the indigenous system of education ; and by 1900, practically all the institutions of higher education used English as the medium of instruction and aimed at the spread of Western knowledge and science.

The minor conflict of this Act arose between the agencies that undertook the spread of Western education in India. In 1854, this task had been mostly assumed by Europeans who came to India either as missionaries or as servants of the Company, Indians educated in the Western system were neither available in large numbers nor were they considered to be fit to conduct English schools or colleges. Hence, Indian educational efforts were mostly limited to the collection of funds and to the conducting of schools and colleges under European headmasters or principals requisitioned from abroad.

In 1880, however, circumstances were considerably altered and three different agencies for the spread of education grew up and began to compete for supremacy. The first of these was the agency of the mission schools and colleges ; the second was that of the educational institutions organized by the Education Departments, and the third was the small beginning of the private effort of Indians themselves. The Indian Education Commission was called upon to weigh the relative merits of each of these agencies and to decide upon the best mode of spreading education

¹ Sir Philip Hartog : *Some Aspects of Indian Education, Past and Present*, vide para 27, p. 106.

in India. It opined that missionary enterprise could only occupy a subordinate place in Indian education ; that departmental institutions were too costly to be multiplied ; that it would be in the best interests of a poor country like India to close them or transfer them to private enterprise ; and that the efforts of Government should be mainly directed to the encouragement of private Indian enterprise as the best means of spreading education in India.

These recommendations were generally acted upon by the Provincial Governments, and the twenty years between 1880 and 1900 saw such a great development of private schools and colleges conducted by Indians that, in 1901-02, Indian private enterprise was the most important agency for spreading Western education among the people.

The *fourth* Act opens in 1901 with the conference of the Directors of Public Instruction convened by Lord Curzon at Simla and closes in 1921 with the transfer of education to the control of Indian Ministers.

The twenty years between 1901 and 1921 were a period of intense and ever-increasing political unrest in India. The Bengal Partition Movement, the Morley-Minto Reforms, the World War, the Non-Co-operation Movement, and such other events, led to a great political awakening and discontent and it is out of these major political conflicts that the educational conflicts of the period saw the light of the day.

Secondly, it has to be noted that, during this period, both Indian and European educationists were greatly dissatisfied with the educational system. One section of thinkers—the officials mostly belonged to this—believed that the quality of education had materially deteriorated since 1880 ; that schools and colleges under private management had generally been unable to maintain discipline ; that educated Indians had been unable to digest an exotic culture ; that the ideal of spreading Western knowledge and science had outlived its utility ; and that the educational system ought to aim at training men and women of character and be replanned accordingly. This class of educationists attributed most of these defects to the policy of expansion and *laissez faire* to private enterprise which had been pursued since the report of the Indian Education Commission, and recommended

that Government should now aim at control and improvement of schools and colleges rather than at increasing their number.

The other school of thinkers—which included most of the enlightened Indians—still believed in the wisdom of the policy recommended by the Indian Education Commission. They were not unwilling to concede that education had deteriorated, but to them quality was not everything. They felt that the spread of Western knowledge was essential for creating a renaissance in Indian national life and advocated a very rapid expansion of higher education on a voluntary basis and the introduction of compulsory elementary education for the masses. This school of thinkers argued that private enterprise ought to be given full freedom to grow and that a policy of control and improvement would be suicidal to the best interests of the country.

It was the conflict between these two widely different schools of thought that makes up the fourth Act of this great drama. The conflict began first at the University stage. Battles royal were fought over the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 and the Indian Universities Act of 1904, and resulted in an almost complete victory for the protagonists of the theory of control and improvement of quality. The conflict then spread to the secondary stage and again this party obtained a great victory when the revised grant-in-aid codes were framed between 1904 and 1908. Lastly, the conflict reached the primary stage and an intensive struggle arose over Gokhale's bill for introducing compulsory elementary education. The party won for the third time and the bill was thrown out by a large majority. As may be easily anticipated, however, these "victories" led to considerable embitterment of public feeling and the Indian nationalist opinion began to demand the power to control the educational policy of the country. It was to satisfy this demand that the Department of Education was transferred to the control of Indian Ministers in 1921.

The *fifth* Act of this drama opens in 1921 and closes in 1937 when the Government of India Act of 1935 introduced Provincial Autonomy in eleven provinces of British India. It is a period of first experiments under Indian control.

A burst of enthusiasm, the transfer of education to Indian control, and many long-desired changes marked the opening of this Act. The political conflicts of the earlier period ceased to

exist ; all further recruitment to the Indian Educational Service was discontinued, power being given to each province to organize its own educational services ; and the control and supervision which the Government of India used to exercise over the details of administration came to an end. Consequently the Provincial Governments had much greater freedom to plan programmes of educational expansion and improvements, and the earlier part of this period thus witnessed the undertaking of several new schemes, the sanctioning of increased grants to education, and a rapid increase in the enrolment of scholars.

Unfortunately, however, a number of serious difficulties soon presented themselves and darkened the horizon. The financial arrangements introduced by the Government of India Act, 1919, enriched the Central Government at the cost of Provincial Governments ; the special grants to education which were liberally sanctioned by the Government of India in the period 1901 to 1921 were suddenly discontinued ; and the situation was made almost desperate by the world economic depression which affected the major portion of this period. Consequently, most of the new schemes undertaken had to be given up and drastic retrenchment had to be made even in the existing expenditure on education.

These financial difficulties gave a great set-back to the enthusiasm with which this Act opened. A still greater set-back, however, was given by the ideological conflicts that arose in this period. One school of thought advocated that India should concentrate on quality and consolidate one position before another was attacked. The other school advocated a rapid expansion of education and a planned and determined attempt to liquidate mass illiteracy. These conflicts, which, as we have seen above, had really begun in the earlier period, came to a head with the report of the Hartog Committee in 1929 and were in full swing when the Act came to an end in 1937.

With the introduction of Provincial Autonomy and the assumption of office by the Congress in seven Provinces out of eleven, a new page was turned in the history of India and the *sixth* Act of the drama began. The three years between 1937 and 1940 formed an extremely crowded hour in educational history. Even during this short period, larger funds for education were made available ; schemes for the expansion of primary

education, the introduction of compulsion, and the liquidation of adult illiteracy were undertaken; the Wardha Scheme of education was introduced; and a great fillip was given to physical and vocational education. But unfortunately, this great experiment came to a sudden end when the Second World War broke out and the Congress Ministries resigned and interim administrations under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, were set up in their stead. The five years (1940-45) of office by the *Caretaker Governments* were, therefore, mainly a period of marking time when no new educational schemes were undertaken, but an attempt was made to maintain, as far as possible, the work started by the Congress Ministries between 1937 and 1940. The one great achievement of this period, however, was the preparation, by the Central Advisory Board of Education, of a plan of Post-War Educational Development in India which was estimated to cost Rs. 300 crores and which intended to make India reach, at the end of 40 years, the stage of educational progress which has already been attained in countries like England and U.S.A. In 1946, the Congress Ministries came back and resumed their work of educational extension and reform. But the next two years were dominated by an intensive political agitation which left little time for educational reconstruction and before any substantial progress could be recorded, the British withdrew from India on 15th August 1947 and the British Period in the Indian educational history came to a close.

The object of this book is to narrate, in broad outline, the main events of the six Acts of the drama described above which cover a period of about one hundred and seventy years from the establishment of the Calcutta Madrassah in 1781 to the attainment of freedom in 1947. The book does not attempt to trace the history of individual movements such as the Arya Samaj movement among the Hindus, or the Aligarh movement among the Muslims. It does not also deal with the history of education in each individual Province or in Indian States. But subject to these limitations, it attempts to give a full and comprehensive review of each critical stage in educational history, to explain the *raison d'être* of each important decision and the consequences thereof, and to show how the present educational system has gradually come to be built up. The review is so designed

also in pointing out the main lines of future reform and reorganization.

One special feature of this book may be pointed out here. The reader will notice that the book is interspersed with a large number of quotations. These have been included for several reasons. Some are included because their original sources are now out of print and inaccessible to the average student ; some others are included with a view to introducing the reader to the vast amount of literature in original documents that is available on the subject ; but many have been included because they help to portray vividly the conflicts of a bygone day and the ideals that inspired the fighters on either side. For, in a historical drama of this type, it is always a great advantage to give full freedom to the actors to speak for themselves.

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CHAPTER ONE

INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN INDIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1. **Introductory.** The principal object of this book is to trace the growth of the modern system of education which came to be established in India during the British Period *in supersession* of the traditional indigenous system of education which had developed in the country through centuries past. It is a common belief, particularly among many Western scholars, that this indigenous system of education had hardly anything of value in it; that it was better dead than alive; and that the British officers of the Education Department were fully justified in allowing or even helping it to die and in replacing it by the modern system of schools, colleges and universities. It is an essential part of the work of those who undertake to write the history of education in India to find out whether, and if so, how far such a belief is justified. We, therefore, propose to discuss, in this initial chapter, the character and extent of the indigenous system of education as it prevailed in India at the beginning of the nineteenth century (when the British Government may be said to have begun laying the foundation of the modern system of education), its merits and demerits and its potentialities to develop into a national system of education by suitable improvement and extension.

2. **Sources of Information.** It is unfortunate that the sources of information regarding the character and extent of the indigenous system of education in the earlier half of the nineteenth century should be extremely meagre. In the first place, the available sources refer only to British territories which, at that time, formed but a small part of India, and we have next to no data regarding the vast remaining area which was under the rule of several Indian potentates. Secondly, our sources do not cover even the whole of that area which was then under British rule. In Madras, an inquiry into indigenous education was ordered by Sir Thomas Munro in 1822 and the information obtained refers to all districts except that of Kanara. In Bombay, a similar enquiry was ordered by M.

Elphinstone in 1823 and statistics were obtained through the Collectors for most of the Province while, in 1829, similar statistics for the Province as a whole were collected through the Judicial Department. In Bengal, a special enquiry into indigenous education was conducted in 1835-8, under the orders of Lord William Bentinck, by William Adam—a missionary who had devoted himself to the cause of Indian education. Adam submitted three reports of which the first is a digest of the earlier reports on the subject, the second is a thorough enquiry of one *Thana* in the district of Rajshahi and the third gives statistics of five districts in Bengal and Bihar out of a total of nineteen. It will thus be seen that any conclusions regarding the indigenous system of education in India, as a whole, must be based on the assumption that the area covered by the three enquiries referred to above is a fair sample of the whole countryside. Such an assumption is obviously not very sound from the statistical point of view ; but it becomes inevitable in the absence of any other data.

What handicaps a student of history, however, is not so much the inadequacy of the area covered by these enquiries as their defects from the statistical or other points of view. The enquiries in Madras and Bombay were most unsatisfactory in so far as accuracy and thoroughness are concerned and it will be shown later that they included neither *all* the schools in existence nor *all* the pupils under instruction. Adam's enquiries, on the other hand, were thorough and almost flawless. But they were conducted in a Province which had been subjected to general anarchy for a very long time and where the system of indigenous education, as Adam himself pointed out, was everywhere in a state of decay. The conclusions of Adam, therefore, are not quite applicable to those parts of India which had the good fortune to enjoy a more or less settled Government. These defects in the investigation will, therefore, have to be duly allowed for in forming a fair picture of the indigenous system of education as it existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

3. The Enquiry in Madras. The first of the three enquiries mentioned above was that undertaken by Sir Thomas Munro in Madras. In a Minute dated the 25th June 1822, he wrote as under :—

Much has been written, both in England and in this country, about the ignorance of the people of India and the means of disseminating knowledge among

them, but the opinions upon this subject are the mere conjectures of individuals, unsupported by any authentic documents, and differing so widely from each other, as to be entitled to very little attention. Our power in this country, and the nature of its own municipal institutions, have certainly rendered it practicable to collect materials from which a judgment might be formed of the state of the mental cultivation of the people. We have made geographical and agricultural surveys of our provinces; we have investigated their resources, and endeavoured to ascertain their population; but little or nothing has been done to learn the state of education. We have no record to show the actual state of education throughout the country. Partial inquiries have been made by individuals, but those have taken place at distant periods and on a small scale, and no inference can be drawn from them with regard to the country in general. There may be some difficulty in obtaining such a record as we want. Some districts will not, but others probably will, furnish it; and if we get it only from two or three, it will answer, in some degree, for all the rest. It cannot be expected to be very accurate, but it will at least enable us to form an estimate of the state of instruction among the people. *The only record which can furnish the information required is a list of the schools in which reading and writing are taught in each district, showing the number of scholars in each, and the caste to which they belong. The collectors should be directed to prepare this document according to the form which accompanies this paper.*¹ They should be desired to state the names of the books generally read at the schools; the time which scholars usually continue at such schools; the monthly or yearly charge to the scholars; and whether any of the schools are endowed by the public, and, if so, the nature and amount of the fund. Where there are colleges or other institutions for teaching theology, law, astronomy, etc., an account should be given of them. These sciences are usually taught privately, without fee or reward, by individuals, to a few scholars or disciples; but there are also some instances in which the native governments have granted allowances in money and land for the maintenance of the teachers.

In some districts reading and writing are confined almost entirely to Brahmans and the mercantile class. In some they extend to other classes, and are pretty general among the patails of villages and principal ryots. To the women of Brahmans and of Hindus in general they are unknown, because the knowledge of them is prohibited and regarded as unbecoming the modesty of the sex and fit only for public dancers; but among the women of the Rajbundah and some other tribes of Hindus, who seem to have no prejudice of this kind, they are generally taught. The prohibition against women learning to read is, probably, from various causes, much less attended to in some districts than in others; and it is possible that in every district a few females may be found in the reading schools. A column has been entered for them in the form proposed to be sent to the collector. The mixed and impure castes seldom learn to read; but as a few of them do, columns are left for them in the form.²

The information required in this minute was supplied by all Collectors except that of Kanara, a summary of whose report is given below in section 5. Munro himself summed up the results in the following words:—

The Board of Revenue were directed by Government on the 2nd July 1822, to ascertain the number of schools, and the state of education among the natives in the provinces, and with their letter of the 21st February last, they transmitted

¹ Italics ours.

² Selections from the Records of the Government of Madras, No. II, Appendix A.

the reports on this subject which they had received from the several collectors. From these reports it appears that the number of schools, and of what are called colleges, in the territories under this Presidency, amount to 12,498, and the population to 12,850,941; so that there is one school to every 1,000 of the population; but as only a very few females are taught in school, we may reckon one school to every 500 of the population.

2. It is remarked by the Board of Revenue, that of a population of 12½ millions there are only 188,000 or 1 in 67 receiving education. This is true of the whole population, but not as regards the male part of it, of which the proportion educated is much greater than is here estimated; for if we take the whole population as stated in the report at 12,850,000 and deduct one-half for females, the remaining male population will be 6,425,000; and if we reckon the male population between the ages of five and ten years, which is the period which boys in general remain at school, at one-ninth, it will give 713,000 which is the number of boys that would be at school if all the males above ten years of age were educated; but the number actually attending the school is only 184,110, or little more than one-fourth of that number. I have taken the interval between five and ten years of age as the term of education, because, though many boys continue at school till twelve or fourteen, many leave it under ten. *I am, however, inclined to estimate the portion of the male population who receive school education to be nearer to one-third than one-fourth of the whole, because we have no returns from the provinces of the number taught at home.*¹ In Madras² the number taught at home is 26,903, or above five times greater than that taught in the schools. There is probably some error in this number, and though the number privately taught in the provinces does certainly not approach this rate, it is no doubt considerable because the practice of boys being taught at home by their relations or private teachers is not unfrequent in any part of the country. The proportion educated is very different in different classes; in some it is nearly the whole; in others it is hardly one-tenth.

3. *The state of education here exhibited, low as it is compared with that of our own country, is higher than it was in most European countries at no very distant period.*¹ It has, no doubt, been better in earlier times; but for the last century, it does not appear to have undergone any other change than what arose from the number of schools diminishing in one place and increasing in another, in consequence of the shifting of the population, from war or other causes. The great number of schools has been supposed to contribute to keeping education in a low state, because it does not give a sufficient number of scholars to secure the services of able teachers. (The monthly rate paid by each scholar is from four to six or eight annas. Teachers in general do not earn more than six or seven rupees monthly, which is not an allowance sufficient to induce men properly qualified to follow the profession. It may also be said that the general ignorance of the teachers themselves is one cause why none of them draw a large body of scholars together; but the main causes of the low state of education are the little encouragement which it receives, from there being but little demand for it, and the poverty of the people.)³

4. **Report of the Collector of Bellary.** Of the reports of the Collectors, the most interesting are those of the Collectors

¹ Italics ours.

² The word 'Madras' refers to the City of Madras and not to the Province of Madras. Vide Sir Philip Hartog: *Some Aspects of Indian Education*, p. 72.

³ *Selections from the Records of the Government of Madras*, No. II, Appendix E.

of Bellary and Kanara. The former deserves to be quoted in extenso for the graphic picture it gives of the elementary indigenous schools of those days—a picture that closely resembles the account of elementary indigenous schools in Bengal and Bombay :—

2. The population of this district is specified in the enclosed statement at 927,857 or little less than a million of souls. The number of schools is only 533, containing no more than 6,641 scholars, or about 12 to each school, and not seven individuals in a thousand of the entire population.

3. The Hindoo scholars are in number 6,398, the Mussulman scholars only 243, and the whole of these are males, with the exception of only 60 girls, who are all Hindoo exclusively.

4. The English language is taught in one school only ; the Tamil in four ; the Persian in 21 ; the Mahratta in 23 ; the Telgoo in 226 ; and the Carnataca in 235. Besides these there are 23 places of instruction attended by Brahmins exclusively, in which some of the Hindoo sciences, such as theology, astronomy, logic and law, are still imperfectly taught in the Sanskrit language....

6.—The education of the Hindoo youths generally commences when they are five years old ; on reaching this age, the master and scholars of the school to which the boy is to be sent, are invited to the house of his parents, the whole are seated in a circle round an image of Gunasee and the child to be initiated is placed exactly opposite to it. The schoolmaster sitting by his side, after having burnt incense and presented offerings, causes the child to repeat a prayer to Gunasee, entreating wisdom. He then guides the child to write with its finger in rice the mystic name of the deity, and is dismissed with a present from the parents according to their ability. The child next morning commences the great work of his education.

7. Some children continue at school only five years ; the parents, through poverty or other circumstances, being often obliged to take them away ; and consequently in such cases the merest smattering of an education is obtained ; where parents can afford it, and take a lively interest in the culture of their children's minds, they not unfrequently continue at school as long as 14 or 15 years.

8. The internal routine of duty for each day will be found, with very few exceptions and little variation, the same in all the schools. The hour generally for opening school is six o'clock, the first child that enters has the name of Saraswatee, or the goddess of learning, written upon the palm of his hand as a sign of honour ; and on the hand of the second a cypher is written, to show that he is worthy neither of praise nor censure ; the third scholar receives a gentle stripe ; the fourth two ; and every succeeding scholar that comes an additional one. This custom, as well as the punishment in native schools, seems of a severe kind. The idle scholar is flogged and often suspended by both hands and a pulley to the roof, or obliged to kneel down and rise incessantly, which is a most painful and fatiguing, but perhaps a healthy mode of punishment.

9. When the whole are assembled, the scholars, according to their number and attainments, are divided into several classes, the lower ones of which are partly under the care of monitors, whilst the higher ones are more immediately under the superintendence of the master, who at the same time has his eye upon the whole school. The number of classes is generally four, and a scholar rises from one to the other according to his capacity and progress. The first business of a child on entering school is to obtain a knowledge of the letters, which he learns

the alphabet, as among European nations. When he becomes pretty dexterous in writing with his finger in sand, he has then the privilege of writing either with an iron style on cadjan leaves, or with a reed on paper, and sometimes on the leaves of the *Aristolochia Indica*, or with a kind of pencil on the Hulligi or Kadala, which answers the purpose of slates. The two latter in these districts are the most common. One of these is a common oblong board, about a foot in width and three feet in length; this board when planed smooth has only to be smeared with a little rice and pulverized charcoal, and it is then fit for use. The other is made of cloth, first stiffened with rice water, doubled into folds resembling a book, and it is then covered with a composition of charcoal and several gums. The writing on either of these may be effaced by a wet cloth, the pencil used is called Bultapa, a kind of white clay substance, somewhat resembling a crayon, with the exception of being rather harder.

10. Having attained a thorough knowledge of the letters, the scholar next learns to write the compounds, or the manner of embodying the symbols of the vowels in the consonants and the formation of syllables, etc., then the names of men, villages, animals, etc., and lastly arithmetical signs. He then commits to memory an addition table and counts from one to 100; he afterwards writes easy sums in addition and subtraction of money, multiplication and the reduction of money, measure, etc. Here great pains are taken with the scholar in teaching him the fractions of an integer, which descend, not by tens as in our decimal fractions, but by fours, and are carried to a great extent. In order that these fractions together with the arithmetical tables in addition, multiplication and the three-fold measures of capacity, weight and extent, may be rendered quite familiar to the minds of the scholars, they are made to stand up twice a day in rows, and repeat the whole after one of the monitors.

11. The other parts of native education consist in deciphering various kinds of handwriting in public, and other letters which the schoolmaster collects from different sources, writing common letters, drawing up forms of agreement, reading fables and legendary tales and committing various kinds of poetry to memory, chiefly with a view to attain distinctness and clearness of pronunciation together with readiness and correctness in reading any kind of composition

18. *The economy with which children are taught to write in the native schools, and the system by which the most advanced scholars are caused to teach the less advanced, and at the same time to confirm their own knowledge, is certainly admirable, and well deserves the imitation it has received in England.* The chief defects in the native schools are the nature of the books and learning taught and the want of competent masters.¹

5. **Report of the Collector of Kanara.** Of great historical importance is the report of the Collector of Kanara; but, unfortunately, it is not available in the original. The selections from the Records of the Madras Government, however, summarise it in the following words:—

The late principal collector (of Kanara) reported that education is conducted in that district so much in private, that any statement of the number of schools, and of scholars attending them, would be of little or no use, but on the contrary fallacious, in forming an estimate of the proportion of the population receiving instruction.²

¹ *Selections from the Records of the Government of Madras, No. II, Appendix D. (Italics ours).*

² *Ibid, Appendix C, para 10.*

This statement is one of the important authorities to show that the system of domestic instruction was far more prevalent at this time than that of sending children to *schools* of the type to which we are now accustomed.

6. Reliability of the Enquiry in Madras. The reliability of the statistics obtained from this enquiry is generally challenged by historians on grounds that are diametrically opposed to each other. One view holds that the statistics are over-estimates. This view is represented by Sir Philip Hartog who observes :—

But it is remarkable that A. D. Campbell, who was singled out by the Court of Directors of the East India Company as 'the only one among the Collectors from whom much information has been derived concerning the quality of the instruction given at the elementary schools', gave figures for Bellary far below the average reported by Munro. For a population of 927,857 there were only 533 schools (none of them receiving a grant from Government) with 6,641 scholars, of whom 6,398 were Hindus and only 243 Muslims. They included 60 girls, all Hindus. The education generally began at 5 and might be continued till 14.

If Munro's figures had been applicable to Bellary, there should have been some 927 schools in the district with over 13,000 pupils. The contrast between the figures of Munro for Madras as a whole with those of Campbell for Bellary, and those _____ provinces suggest that Munro's figures may have been over-estimates _____ on the returns of Collectors less careful and interested in education than Campbell.¹

A closer examination of the available data will, however, show that this view is not correct. In the first place, the statistics for children under *domestic instruction* were excluded (except for the District of Madras) in the figures given by the Collectors. It must be remembered that Munro's original circular did not refer to domestic instruction. Very possibly, Munro was unaware of its existence at that time. It would be obvious to any one who is conversant with official routine that the Collectors did not supply the figures of children under domestic instruction, not because it did not exist in their district, not even because they were unaware of its existence, but because *the figures were not explicitly called for in Government orders*. This is clear from the fact that no Collector except that of Madras gave statistics of children under domestic instruction although Munro was convinced that "the practice of boys being taught at home by their parents or private teachers is not unfrequent in *any* part of the country". The Collector of Madras apparently went out of the way and supplied the figures of pupils under

¹ Sir Philip Hartog : *Some Aspects of Indian Education*, p. 72.

domestic instruction also, even though they were not specifically called for. It is certainly an ill reward for all this labour to class him with Collectors "less careful and interested in education than Campbell" as Sir Philip seems to do.

Secondly, it must be noted that Munro himself was convinced that his statistics were underestimates. He calculated the population of school-going age at $1/9$ th of the total population. This gave him the number of boys of school-going age at 713,000 and he found that only 184,000 or one-fourth were in schools. But he felt that some allowance must be made for the children under domestic instruction. He was not prepared to accept the figures given by the Collector of Madras as reliable because he could not believe that for every boy in a *school* there were five under domestic instruction. But all the same, he admitted that the figures available were *underestimates* and observed that the number of boys under instruction was nearer to one-third than to one-fourth of the total number of boys of school-going age.

Perhaps the best course for Munro would have been to demand a rechecking of the Madras figures and to collect statistics of children under domestic instruction from other Collectors. But he was not interested in the problem. He did not aim at statistical accuracy. His only object, as he pointed out in his original Minute, was to have some idea of the indigenous system and he dropped all further enquiry in the matter as he felt that he had enough data to prepare his proposals for educational reform. It would be futile to speculate as to what would have been the result of a careful enquiry into the system of domestic instruction, but there can be no doubt that the available evidence clearly points to the conclusion that Munro's figures were largely underestimated.

7. **The Enquiries in Bombay (1823-25).** Shortly after Munro had started his enquiry into indigenous education in the Province of Madras, Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, started a similar enquiry in the Province of Bombay. At his instance, the Secretary to Government addressed a circular letter to all Collectors (dated 10th March 1824) and called for immediate information regarding indigenous education. The replies from most of the Collectors were received in 1824-25 and have been recently published, with an erudite editorial note,

by Shri R. V. Parulekar.¹ These reports do not cover the whole of the Province as it then existed; nor can all relevant papers of the enquiry be traced at present. But from such data as is available, the following general conclusions may be drawn about the then condition of indigenous education in the Province of Bombay :—

(a) *The Elementary Indigenous Schools*: “In all the reports under consideration, there is no mention of a single school which was held in a house exclusively used for itself The only report which supplies details about the places where schools were being held, is the one by T. B. Jarvis from the South Konkan district. Of the 86 schools recorded in that survey, 28 were held in temples and the rest in private dwellings or sheds, etc. Six schools were held in the houses of the teachers who conducted them. [In some cases, a respectable gentleman in the town or village gave a portion of his house for holding a school. A few schools were held in the sheds belonging to barbers, oilmen or potters.”² The schools had hardly any continuity and sprang up or vanished according to local demand or its absence. The average number of pupils per school worked out at 15 and varied from 2 to 150, and most of the schools were single-teacher institutions. “There were a few schools where the scholars and the master belonged to the same caste, although the schools were the only ones recorded for the villages concerned. There were also a few schools, the only ones in the villages concerned, which were conducted for the benefit of pupils of one community or caste only, although the teachers did not belong to the same caste. It must, however, be said that as a rule, the common schools were not communal in their working and they were open to all who could afford to pay for their schooling except to those who belonged to the *low castes* or depressed castes. The schools conducted for the Muslim Community where Persian or Hindustani (Urdu) was taught were, no doubt, exclusively resorted to by Muslim children. But the Hindoo schools were open to the Muslim boys if they wanted to attend them.”³

(b) *The Teachers*: Of the teachers, the majority were Brahmins who were attached to the profession more by the

¹ *A Source-Book of History of Education in the Bombay Province, Part I, Survey of Indigenous Education (1820-80).*

² R. V. Parulekar: *op. cit.*, pp. v-vi.

respectability which tradition gave to it rather than by considerations of actual gains in cash or kind. Among the other castes from which teachers generally came may be mentioned the names of Prabhus, Marathas, Bhandarees, Kunbis, Wanis, Shimpis, Bantias, etc. The total remuneration of the teacher as well as the mode of its payment varied from place to place. As Shri R. V. Parulekar observes :

KONKAN :—In South Konkan the average remuneration of a schoolmaster came to Rs. 4 p.m. This was by payment in cash. Besides, the master obtained from each scholar generally about a seer of rice each month and 2 pice on every great Hindu holiday. By these gifts the average remuneration increased to six rupees per month. In individual cases the remuneration was as low as six rupees a year. The fixed fee per month per boy was one anna on an average, although it was $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an anna in some schools

GUJRATH :—The methods of remunerating the schoolmasters in some parts of Gujrath had peculiarities of their own. The most distinguishing feature was that there was no monthly fee or payment in cash as in Konkan. Cash payments were made on different occasions, *e.g.*, at the commencement of education, on the completion of certain stages of instruction and at the time of leaving school. These occasional payments in cash varied from place to place in amount and according to the ability of the parents. Another feature of remuneration was that while in Konkan the payment in kind was made every fortnight or month by each scholar ; in Gujrath the scholar offered the gifts in kind every day, thus compensating for the absence of monthly payment in cash. An ingenious method was, however, adopted by which the income of the teacher was not allowed to be indefinitely augmented by these daily gifts, when the number of scholars was fifty or more. 'A present consisting of two seers of grain and the weight of four copper pice in ghee is given every fiftieth day by each pupil in rotation to the teacher ; but the amount and value of this donation never varies whether the number of pupils be more or less.' In the town at Jamboosar fixed allowances were given ranging from Rs. 6 to 2½ p.m. paid yearly, a rather unique method nowhere else observed. In some places 'children being the offsprings of priests were exempted from payment'. In the Kaira district 'the boys often beg something for their masters from strangers of rank visiting the villages'. In the Surat district there is mention of 'service lands produce to schoolmasters' and in the district of Ahmedabad there is mention of a case of 'pusaita or land granted by Patels' and another of 'presents from the villagers'. But details of these items are not available. In spite of all these varied modes of payments, the schoolmasters in Gujrath did not receive more than others. In the village schools in Surat the remuneration including gifts came to about Rs. 3 p.m. and in the town of Surat, to about Rs. 5 p.m. for a school of fifty scholars. In Broach district 'on an average the schoolmaster got Rs. 20 to Rs. 50 a year according to the size of village'. Even in the town of Broach the emoluments amounted to Rs. 3 to 5 p.m. and the same was the case in Kaira district. Even in very large schools (100 pupils or more) the total remuneration seldom exceeded Rs. 150 annually. But in such schools the master had to take the help of some assistant and pay him from his income

THE DECCAN :—In the Ahmadnagar district the average income of a schoolmaster was Rs. 3 p.m., which the Collector characterised as too little to allow the teachers 'to dedicate their whole time and thoughts to their pupils'.

In this district we meet the solitary case of two schools teaching gratuitously, rather an exception in the field of elementary instruction of the time. A reporter raises a wail, 'the masters are much distressed to live'. The lowest remuneration recorded is Re. 1 p.m. and the highest Rs. 10 p.m. The Poona Collector's report for the district says that in the villages the average contribution of each scholar per month came to from 4 to 8 annas. Thus with about 15 scholars to teach the master received Rs. 4 to 8 p.m. In the city of Poona one master taught 25 to 40 children and received from 2 to 8 annas monthly fee from each.

THE KARNATAK:—The information from the Karnatak is interesting in some ways. In the Dharwar subha 'the charge for schooling varies from seven and a half annas to one anna per month for each boy; the income of the teacher averages about 4 rupees 6 annas'. In other parts of the district the fee varied from 4 annas to a rupee p.m. according to the ability of parents or the nature of education. In some parts of the Karnatak it was the practice in those days to teach Marathi along with Kanarese and hence teachers knowing both the languages were in demand; and they naturally demanded more pay than others. A teacher demanded 16 to 12 rupees per month to instruct 25 children in Marathi and Kanarese, and Rs. 8 p.m. in Kanarese alone.

We have so far considered the regular emoluments which the schoolmasters expected to get as their dues. In actual practice, however, they scarcely got the full amount. The schoolmaster of the time, however, could claim certain privileges from the community which compensated, not to a small extent, for the smallness of his earning. He was entirely a man of the people whose children he taught. He was always remembered in the hearts and at the hearths of the people. The well-to-do and the rich gave him more than others, both in cash and kind. He could command a meal from the parents of his pupils for mere asking. On marriage ceremonies of his pupils—and these were not rare in those days of early marriage—he received substantial presents and gave his blessings. The Ahmedabad report says 'A schoolmaster is invariably invited to all great dinners in his own caste and besides his fixed and established emoluments, he generally receives considerable presents at Dusserah, Dewally and other great days, from the wealthy inhabitants of his village. It is usual when marriage procession passes by a school, to make small present in money to the schoolmaster, and to obtain a holiday, for the boys. From the Karnatak, a similar practice is also reported where the teacher was remembered with equal love and respect on occasions of joy and festivity.'

The teachers who taught in the common elementary schools of the time were required to teach the rudiments of the three R's. Knowledge of the multiplication and other tables in their long and complicated array was essential to every teacher; but beyond that a tolerably good handwriting and ability to read simple writing formed the minimum attainments of a common schoolmaster. It is not, therefore, surprising that a report from Gujrath says 'the masters are ignorant, and in fact, as to knowledge to be gained from books, have as much to learn as the boys themselves.'¹

(c) *The Pupils* of the elementary schools came from all Hindu castes, except the Harijans. About 30 per cent of the pupils were Brahmins and their percentage varied from district to district. The other castes which sent large numbers of pupils to these schools were Wanis, Prabhus, Sonars and Baniyas.

¹ R. V. Parulekar : op. cit. pp. vi-ix.

The *advanced* communities contributed about 70 per cent of the total number of pupils. The age of the pupils varied from 6 to 14 but the average duration of school life was about 2 or 3 years in Gujerat and about 3 or 4 years in the other areas. Shri R. V. Parulekar gives the following explanation for this difference :—

The difference of one year in the maximum and the average length of the school course in Gujrath and the rest of the Province, could be justified on several grounds. In Gujrath, the schoolmasters were mostly 'hereditary', i.e., the profession ran in their families for generations. This must give the masters, some sort of 'efficiency' and even a sort of 'training' in general. In Gujrath, in most cases, the payment of grain was done daily by the scholar. It was in the interest of the teacher that the boy attended daily and thus there was a check on the irregularity of scholars. In the other parts, the gift of the grain was fortnightly or monthly. In Gujrath the payment of cash was made, in general according to the stages of instruction attained by scholars. It was a sort of 'payment by results'. The master was naturally keenly interested in bringing the pupils to each stage of instruction as quickly as possible. The schools in Gujrath were larger in strength than in other parts of the Province and, therefore, more permanent and possibly more efficient than elsewhere. Lastly, the greater stress on the acquisition of the skill in counting than on reading and writing, was a point in favour of a shorter course of instruction in Gujrath.¹

(d) Curriculum and Methods of Teaching: The elementary schools taught the rudiments of Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. A large variety of multiplication tables were taught to the pupils mainly with a view to enabling them to solve mentally all types of sums that ordinarily occurred in daily life. There was a complete absence of printed books. The equipment of the schools was very simple and crude, if it existed at all, and the punishments awarded to pupils were both frequent and severe. The daily routine of an elementary school is thus described in the report of T. B. Jervis on South Konkan :—

8. *General Principles and Method.* The teacher or one of the boys more advanced writes out the letters, or other lessons, on a Board covered with sand, or brick dust; he then consigns the lekhnee or pencil to his pupil, who traces the form of the letters, in succession, and repeats after his instructor, the various sounds and powers of each combination. Having repeated his lesson twice, or three times, after his instructor, he is left to himself, and proceeds in the same method, till he is perfect master of his task. He then rubs out the teacher's lesson, and writes it himself, and continues to do so, till he has fixed the form as well as the powers of the several characters in his memory.

9. *Course of Instruction.* A month, or even two are usually devoted to the ceremony of tracing the letters, *Shree Guneshayunumuhu*; after this, come the letters of the alphabet, and the *barakuree* or twelve combinations of consonants with vowels, and the figures which are learnt as far as 100; certain small portions being written, and their powers learnt from the instructor till all are thoroughly

acquired. They then proceed to Multiplication Table, called *Lekhe*, as far as 10 times 20 ; after which they write down and commit to memory various tables called *Paokee*, *Neemukee*, *Paonekee*, *Suwakee*, *Deerkee*, *Ureechkee* ; which are multiples of fractional parts by integers ; and lastly tables of money, weights and measures : These rudiments, having been thoroughly acquired, the children are said to have got through the *Doolukshur*, or dust writing, and they proceed to writing on paper, to reading, and arithmetic. For writing they have six copies all of which are the complimentary Titles of Princes, and men of rank,—affixed to letters, orders, etc., and with the exception of the first in the subjoined list, are altogether useless to nine-tenths of the children, who receive education. The first however in that list, is most commonly given to the children of every class. They are usually written out by the best writer in the Village either for money, or as an act of charity, and kindness. In the first instance the scholars have them written out for them by their instructor and it is usual for them, to trace the form of the letters for some time with a plain wooden pencil. They then go over the letter repeatedly, till the paper is almost perfectly black, and after one or two months they get a new piece of paper, and begin again. At first they write very large, and get to smaller hand by slow degrees. They never alternate their studies but write on paper in the morning, and in the evening either write or learn arithmetic on their sand boards. In arithmetic they proceed through the simple rules of addition, and subtraction called *Wujabakee berij* ; Multiplication and Division, called *Goonakar Bagakar* ; the last of each serving to prove the former and after this, they learn the application of these rules to money, weights and measures. Occasionally a better sort of instructor will teach them a few questions in simple interest, and in the rule of three, and in Goozerat this is common ; the Mharattas however never seem to have aspired to such an extent of knowledge. For reading they are but ill supplied with means ; each by bringing whatever old papers his parents may have put into his hands, and getting through them, as well as he is able. These are usually found to be copies of letters of the Peshwah, his Mamlutdars or their inferior agents, or perhaps village accounts or Caols ; and now and then, a tale or romance finds its way to the school but is only of service to the Owner.

10. Before the children are dismissed in the evening, they all stand up in a posture of reverence, and go through the *Purwuttees*, which is to repeat all the *Doolukshur* or Elements of their instruction, and wind up the ceremony by singing a Prayer or rather a song, which is so difficult of comprehension, being nearly two-thirds Sungskrit that it would be wholly useless however replete it might be with good sense, a recommendation however, which it does not appear to possess.¹

But the most interesting feature of these schools was an ingenious adaptation of the monitorial system under which the pupils were conveniently paired off. “ When a boy (the girls are never taught to read and write amongst the Natives of India) joins the school, he is immediately put under the tuition and care of one who is more advanced in knowledge, and whose duty it is to give lessons to his young pupil, to assist him in learning and to report his behaviour and progress to the master. The scholars are not classed, but are generally paired off, each pair

consisting of an instructor and a pupil. These pairs are so arranged that a boy less advanced may sit next to one who has made greater progress, and from whom he receives assistance and instruction. When however several of the elder boys have made considerable and nearly equal progress, they are seated together in one line and receive their instruction directly from the master; by these means the master has sufficient leisure to exercise a vigilant superintendence on the school and of enquiring with the progress made by each pupil under his instruction."¹

✓(e) *Female Education*: "It must be admitted that in the year 1824 when the Reports were obtained from the districts, there is no mention of a female scholar attending any of the common schools of the Province. This is by no means due to hurry or omission. The common schools of the time were meant for boys only. In the nine Talookas of the South Konkan district where detailed statistics of each school are given, there is a remark for each of the nine Talookas—'That there are no females educated'. The only redeeming feature recorded is contained in the following statement of T. B. Jervis when after stating that no females received education in the district he added 'if we except a few that are taught in the families of the principal Moosalmans'. Whether a similar practice prevailed in the families of the principal Hindoos cannot be ascertained in the absence of any record to that effect. That the common Schools of the time were meant for boys only could be seen from some of the remarks in the Reports. ['Native custom excludes females from the advantage of education.' 'Schools strictly speaking are confined to the education of boys'.]"²

(f) *Domestic Instruction*: The Bombay reports do not take into consideration the system of domestic instruction and do not give any details about the system, although they contain some stray references to its existence in different parts of the Province.

✓(g) *Education of the Muslims*: There were several indigenous schools which were attended by Muslims alone and which were in charge of Muslim teachers. These schools taught Persian and, in some cases, *Hindustani*. In several places,

¹ R. V. Parulekar: op. cit. p. xiii.

² *Ibid.*, p. xix.

Muslims attended the ordinary Hindu schools.² The reports reveal that one remarkable Muslim institution for higher learning existed at Surat. It was a College for Boharas and was maintained from private funds at an annual cost of about Rs. 32,000. "Arabic was the language taught and the number of Bohara scholars 'among whom are several grown-up persons' numbered 125. The scholars came from all parts of India. It was, no doubt, an object of pride not only for the Boharas but for all the people of Western India."¹

(h) *Hindu Schools of Higher Learning*: Several of the Reports take no notice of the Hindu Schools of higher learning; but others mention them. In Ahmednagar, 16 such schools existed and in Poona City, there were as many as 164 (out of a total of 222 educational institutions of all kinds).

8. The Enquiry in Bombay (1829). This enquiry was different from those of 1823-25 because the information was now called for, not through the Collectors, but through the District Judges. It showed the existence of 1,705 schools with 35,153 pupils for a population of 4,681,735 as can be seen from the Table on page 16.

9. Reliability of the Enquiries in Bombay. How far are these reports reliable? From the qualitative point of view, it may be admitted that they give a fairly correct picture of the indigenous educational institutions of the period. But it may well be doubted whether they give an equally realistic picture on the quantitative side. It has already been stated that these reports do not take much notice of the system of domestic instruction which certainly existed in Bombay. Even in respect of formal schools, it is highly improbable that they include statistics of *all* the institutions in existence. Several of these reports were compiled in great haste. For instance, the Broach, Kaira and Surat Collectors were able to submit their reports within about four months of the Government letter instituting the enquiry. Although others were not so expeditious, the time taken by them was not certainly enough for such an extensive enquiry touching every village in the districts reported upon, especially in view of the slow means of conveyance and despatch of correspondence which then prevailed. The 1828-29 report

¹ R. V. Parulekar : op. cit. p. xxiv.

Statement of Scholars in different Collectorships showing the proportion of persons attending schools to the population. 16

	Schools in which Masters are paid by Government	No. of Scholars	Village Schools	No. of Scholars	Total Schools	Total Scholars	Population	Proportion attending schools to the total population
In the Deccan :								
Poona	5	266	304	4,651	309	4,917	558,902	One in 113
Ahmednagar ..	4	232	164	2,906	168	3,138	500,000	One in 159
Khandesh	2	59	112	1,610	114	1,669	377,321	One in 226
In Guzerat :								
Surat	2	96	188	4,068	190	4,164	254,882	One in 61
Broach	2	75	24	967	26	1,042	238,421	One in 228
Kaira	2	157	82	3,024	84	3,181	444,298	One in 139
Ahmedabad ..	3	127	88	3,226	91	3,353	470,729	One in 140
Konkans :								
North Konkan ..	2	188	135	2,490	137	2,678	387,264	One in 144
South Konkan ..	1	21	281	6,700	282	6,721	655,776	One in 97
Dharwar	2	94	302	4,196	304	4,290	794,142	One in 185
Total	25	1,315	1,680	33,838	1,705	35,153	4,681,735	One in 133

N.B.—This table is taken from R. V. Parulekar, op. cit. p. 114.

was also not more cautious in this respect. Secondly, errors seem to have crept in because of the peculiar situation of this period. "The Peshwa's rule was just ended and the New Rulers were just establishing theirs. There was an atmosphere of suspicion that whatever Government did was with some ulterior motive for its own benefit."¹ In such an atmosphere, it is hardly to be wondered if the people deliberately suppressed information regarding several schools from the enquiring officers of the Government. Thirdly, the reports were mostly compiled by busy officers who were not particularly interested in the problems and any one who is conversant with such official enquiries knows that their results are not always reliable. All things considered, it would be nearer the truth to take these statistics with a pinch of salt. As Shri R. V. Parulekar observes :—

The object of the discussion about the reliability or completeness of the figures of the indigenous schools and scholars given in the reports, is that too much reliance should not be placed on the figures of schools and scholars given in these 'official' reports and they should not be taken to represent a true picture of the extent of education among the people of the Bombay Province in those days. And yet these very 'official' figures are thrown into the scales to disprove any general observations made by responsible officers and others which indicate a wider extent of education at the time than what is strictly warranted by these official figures of schools and scholars (*Vide* Some Aspects of Indian Education, Past and Present by Sir Philip Hartog, p. 72). In view of the imperfections and discrepancies in the official figures of the time, it is not fair to take them as a proper measure of the extent of education. We believe that under the circumstances in which education was imparted at the time in general, observations made by responsible persons who had opportunities to see things for themselves are not to be set aside as 'myths', simply because they are not supported by 'official' figures of whose unreliability we have already said so much.

We give below some general observations made about the extent of education in the Bombay Province during a period contemporaneous with the period in which the reports were submitted by the officers.

The following remarkable statement was made by Mr. G. L. Prendergast, a member of the Bombay Governor's Council in his Minute of 1821 :

I need hardly mention what every member of the Board knows as well as I do, that there is hardly a village, great or small, throughout our territories, in which there is not at least one school, and in larger villages more, many in every town and in larger cities in every division; where young natives are taught reading, writing and arithmetic, upon a system so economical, from a handful or two of grain, to perhaps a rupee per month to the school master; according to the ability of the parents, and at the same time so simple and effectual that there is hardly a cultivator or petty dealer who is not competent to keep his own accounts with a degree of accuracy, in my opinion, beyond what we meet with

¹ R. V. Parulekar : op. cit. p. iv.

amongst the lower orders in our own country ; while the more splendid dealers and bankers keep their books with a degree of case, conciseness and clearness, I rather think fully equal to those of any British Merchant (Evidence of 1832, p. 468).

There are schools maintained by the natives in almost every village in Candeish (Evidence of 1832, p. 296).

There are probably as great a proportion of persons in India who can read, write and keep simple accounts as are to be found in European Countries (Fifth Annual Report (1819) of the Bombay Education Society, p. 11).

Schools are frequent among the natives and abound everywhere (B.E.S's sixth report (1820) p. 21).

We do not suggest that these general impressions about the extent of education in the Province of Bombay should be taken at their face value, but to ignore them altogether and to insist on taking the ' official ' figures at their face value would be equally improper.¹

Observations of this type from several other officials of those days have also been found and it is, therefore, argued that the statistics given above were indifferently collected. It is difficult, however, to pronounce any definite opinion on the subject, as the direct evidence available is extremely scanty. At present, it is purely *a question of taste* to choose between the report of 1829 or the views of Mr. Prendergast and others. But the indirect evidence that is available leads one to the conclusion that the report of 1829 cannot be accurate. For instance, it is a well-known fact that the Bombay Education Department deliberately neglected the indigenous schools. Between 1829 and 1882, therefore, the number of indigenous schools in the Province *must* have decreased considerably owing to the unfair competition with the Departmental and Local Fund Cess Schools which were organised in large numbers during these years. And yet, in 1881-82, the Indian Education Commission found 3,954 indigenous schools with 78,205 pupils! In the face of this evidence, it is impossible to believe that there were only 1,705 schools with 35,143 pupils in 1829. An approach to the problem with an open mind is more likely to show that the Bombay statistics are unreliable underestimates than to prove that they can be taken as the yardstick with which to measure the extent of elementary education in India as a whole.

10. Enquiries in Bengal. The enquiries conducted in Bengal regarding the indigenous system of education differed strikingly from those in Madras and Bombay. These enquiries were conducted by a non-official—a zealous missionary of the name

¹ R. V. Parulekar : op. cit. p. v.

of William Adam—and not through the official channels of the Revenue and Judicial Departments. Moreover, the work of these enquiries was far more methodical and spread over a far longer time than was the case with those in Madras and Bombay. The findings of William Adam, therefore, deserve a very careful study.¹

A few words may be said here regarding the life and work of this great man who did so much to foster the cause of indigenous education in India. [He was a native of Dunfermline, Scotland, and came to India as a missionary in 1818. He worked for a time with the missionaries at Serampore but soon severed his connection with them and went to reside in Calcutta where he made a thorough study of the Sanskrit and Bengali languages.

During his stay in Calcutta, Adam came in contact with Raja Ram Mohan Roy and soon became his intimate friend. This friendship, which lasted throughout the life of the Raja—who even provided for Adam and his family in his will—was the turning point in the life of Adam. Under the Raja's influence Adam renounced his belief in the Trinity, and became a Unitarian in 1821. He then became the first Unitarian minister of Calcutta and took a leading part in the public life of Bengal. He was the editor of the *Calcutta Chronicle* till it was suppressed (1827), of the *India Gazette* from 1829 to 1833, and of the tri-weekly edition of the *Bengal Harkaru* from 1833 to 1835.

As early as 1829, Adam had written to Lord William Bentinck requesting him to institute an enquiry into the system of indigenous education, but nothing came out of the proposal. So he wrote again in 1834 and this time his idea attracted some attention, and at the request of Bentinck, Adam wrote a formal letter to Government repeating his proposal and the Governor-General-in-Council approved it in a Minute dated 20th January 1835.] It is worthy of note that the Minute is *not* signed by Macaulay who was then the Law Member of the Executive Council and the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction for Bengal.

Adam worked on his enquiry for three years, 1835-38, and submitted three reports. The first, which was submitted on 1st July 1835, is merely 'a digest of the earlier enquiries and

¹ The information given in this and the following paragraphs is taken from the edition of *Adam's Reports* edited by Shri A. N. Basu and published by the University of Calcutta.

reports on the subject. Adam states that the sources of this report were the following :—

- (a) The reports of Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton) ;
- (b) Records of the General Committee of Public Instruction ;
- (c) (Walter) Hamilton's East India Gazetteer (2nd Edition, 2 Vols., 1828) ;
- (d) Missionary, college, and school reports ;
- (e) A memoir, with supplement, compiled by the Searcher of Records at the India House, showing the extent to which aid had been afforded by the local governments in India towards the establishment of Native Schools in this country, and published in the first Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 16th August 1832.

Adam's second Report was submitted on 23rd December 1835 and contains a complete survey of one Thana, viz., Nattore, in the district of Rajshahi ; and his third report, which was submitted on 28th April 1838, contains full statistics for the Districts of Murshidabad, Burdwan, Birbhum, Tirhut, and South Bihar. It also contains Adam's proposals for the improvement and extension of the indigenous system of education.

A few words may be added here regarding the later life of Adam. Towards the end of 1838, he went to America and thence to England in 1840. He never returned to India, but continued to serve the cause of Indians in his own way. He published *The Law and Custom of Slavery in British India* (1840) and *The East India Year Book* (1841). He also edited for a time a periodical entitled *The British India Advocate*—the organ of the British India Society of London. But no further details of his life in England are known and even the place and time of his death cannot be ascertained.

11. Adam's First Report. The first report of Adam is, as stated already, a carefully prepared digest of all the data then available. It makes very good reading although the information it contains is neither so adequate nor so reliable as that in his own two later reports. The main interest of the report lies, however, in the following passage

which, in recent years, has become the subject of a great controversy :—

Indigenous Elementary Schools: By this description are meant those schools in which instruction in the elements of knowledge is communicated, and which have been originated and are supported by the Natives themselves, in contra-distinction from those that are supported by religious or philanthropic societies. The number of such schools in Bengal is supposed to be very great. A distinguished member of the General Committee of Public Instruction in a minute on the subject expressed the opinion, that if one rupee per mensem were expended on each existing village school in the Lower Provinces, the amount would probably fall little short of 12 lakhs of rupees per annum. This supposes that there are 100,000 such schools in Bengal and Behar, and assuming the population of those two provinces to be 40,000,000, there would be a village school for every 400 persons.....It will follow that in Bengal and Behar there is on an average a village school for every sixty-three children of the school-going age. These children, however, include girls as well as boys, and as there are no indigenous girls' schools, if we take the male and female children to be in equal or nearly equal proportions, there will appear to be an indigenous elementary school for every thirty-one or thirty-two boys. The estimate of 100,000 such schools in Bengal and Behar is confirmed by a consideration of the number of villages in those two provinces. Their number has been officially estimated at 150,748, of which, not all, but most have each a school. If it be admitted that there is so large a proportion as a third of the villages that have no schools, there will still be 100,000 that have them. Let it be admitted that these calculations from uncertain premises are only distant approximations to the truth, and it will still appear that the system of village schools is extensively prevalent.....¹

This report has been dubbed a *myth* or a *legend* by some students of educational history (like Sir Philip Hartog) while others (like Shri R. V. Parulekar) maintain with equal force that it is substantially correct. The argument chiefly centres round two points: firstly, the two sides differ in the interpretation of the word *school*. One side uses the expression in its *modern* sense, viz. an institution of a more or less permanent nature conducted by a person who teaches a certain number of the children of the locality in return for fees and perquisites from the pupils and/or a remuneration from the community. If the word is used in this sense, it is correct to conclude that the idea of 100,000 *schools* in Bengal is a *fantastic exaggeration of facts*. But the other side contests this interpretation. It argues that, in those days, the word *school* was used to mean *a place where instruction was given* and included the centres where the system of domestic instruction prevailed. According to this view, a family where a teacher was employed to give education to its children, or where the

¹ *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, pp. 6-7.

father taught his own children—with or without other children from the locality—was also a *school* as understood in those days. In support of this theory, it is pointed out that Adam collected all statistics of families giving domestic instruction as part of his enquiry about schools and scholars.¹ If this view is accepted, it follows that almost every village in Bengal had a school, public or private, and that the larger ones had several each.

Secondly, the question as to why Adam himself did not point out the falsity of the *legend* of one lakh schools is also variously answered. The honesty of Adam is not doubted; but Sir Philip thinks that he could not “summarize his statistics clearly” (*Some Aspects of Indian Education—Past and Present*, p. 75); while the other side points out the great powers of observation and analysis that he displays in his reports and asserts that the legend of 100,000 schools has persisted in official and non-official circles for the simple reason that it was *not* a legend. As the late Shri M. R. Paranjpe observed :—

Officials and publicists who belong to this century and who have no personal knowledge of the educational conditions of the country in the middle half of the nineteenth century are unwilling to believe that there ever were schools in villages where the modern Departments of Education find it impossible to maintain them. They cannot conceive of simple instructional centres maintained by the villages jointly or by rich landlords individually, by paying the teachers in kind. But officials and non-officials who lived in the fifties and sixties of the last century have, like Adam, admitted the existence of a school in every village. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there existed a fairly widespread organization for primary education in most parts of India. In Madras Presidency, Sir Thomas Munro found ‘a primary school in every village’ (Mill—*History of British India*, Vol. I, p. 562, 4th edition). In Bengal, Ward discovered that ‘almost all villages possessed schools for teaching reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic’ (Ward—*View of the Hindoos*, Vol. I, p. 160). In Malwa, which was for more than half a century suffering from continuous anarchy, Malcolm noticed that ‘every village with about a hundred houses had an elementary school at the time of its coming under the British suzerainty’ (Malcolm—*Memoirs of Central India and Malwa*, Vol. II, p. 150).²

12. Adam's Second Report. In his second report, Adam made a thorough and comprehensive enquiry of one Thana, Nattore, in the district of Rajshahi. His main object in doing this was to get an insight into the problem and the difficulties of investigation.

¹ Adam's own words on this subject are the following :—

“Elementary instruction in this district (i.e. Rajshahi) is divisible into two sorts: Public and Private, according as it is communicated in public schools, or private families. The distinction is not always strictly maintained, but it is sufficiently marked.”—*Reports*, Calcutta Edition, pp. 136-7.

² *Progress of Education*, July 1940, p. 38.

He selected Nattore because it was the most central of the Thanas of the Rajshahi district and could be regarded as a standard for judging conditions in the other sub-divisions. The results of Adam's enquiries are briefly stated in the following paragraphs.

The population of the Thana was 195,296 of which 129,640 were Muslims and 65,656 were Hindus. The number of villages was 485. According to ages, the population would be classified as under :—

Below	{	Males	18,442	}	Total
5 years	{	Females	16,497	}	34,939
Between	{	Males	22,637	}	39,429
5 and 14 years	{	Females	16,792	}	
Above	{	Males	59,500	}	120,928
14 years	{	Females	61,428	}	

Adam found only 27 elementary schools with 262 pupils. Of these 10 were Bengali schools with 167 pupils, 4 were Persian schools with 23 pupils, 11 were Arabic schools (for the teaching of the Koran) with 42 pupils, and 2 were Bengali and Persian schools with 30 pupils. Besides these, there were 1,588 families belonging to 238 villages, which gave instruction to 2,342 children. In other words, the number of children under domestic instruction was nearly nine times the number of pupils in public schools. (The average age of admission to a public elementary school was 8 years and the average age of leaving school was 14 years. The average pay of the teachers in elementary schools was Rs. 5-8 per month.)

There were no indigenous colleges conducted by Muslims. But Adam found 38 Sanskrit colleges with 397 students. The average age of admission was 11 years and the average age of completing the course was 27 years. Of the 397 students, 136 belonged to the villages where the colleges were situated and received free education only, while 261 students belonged to other villages and received food, lodging, and education, free of charge, from their teachers.

(Female education was practically non-existent.) But Adam estimated that the total number of instructed adults in Nattore was 6,121 as under :—

Teachers in Hindu Colleges	..	..	..	..	39
Learned men who were not teachers	..	..	..	..	88
Students in Colleges	..	..	..	..	397
Persons who had received an education superior to reading and writing	..	..	..	..	3,255
Persons who could sign their names or read imperfectly	..	..	..	..	2,342
Total	..	..	..	..	6,121

X

This gives a literacy percentage of 6.1 to the total male population and 3.1 to the whole population including females.

These statistics are interesting no doubt ; but the descriptions of Adam are even more so and the reader is strongly advised to study the original report itself. The following few quotations are given here as mere specimens :—

(a) *Remuneration of Primary Teachers* : The school at Dharail (No. 34) affords a good specimen of the mode in which a small native community unite to support a school. At that place there are four families of Chaudhuris—the principal persons in the villages ; but they are not so wealthy as to be able to support a teacher for their children without the co-operation of others. They give the teacher an apartment in which his scholars may meet, one of the outer apartments of their own house in which business is sometimes transacted, and at other times worship performed and strangers entertained. One of those families further pays four annas a month, a second an equal sum, a third eight annas, and a fourth twelve annas, which include the whole of their disbursements on this account, no presents or perquisites of any kind being received from them, and for the sums mentioned their five children receive a Bengali education. The amount thus obtained, however, is not sufficient for the support of the teacher, and he, therefore, receives other scholars belonging to other families—of whom one gives one anna, another gives three annas, and five give each four annas a month, to which they add voluntary presents amounting per month to about four annas, and consisting of vegetables, rice, fish, and occasionally a piece of cloth, such as a handkerchief or an upper or under garment. Five boys of Kagbariya, the children of two families, attend the Dharail school, the distance being about a mile, which, in the rainy season, can be travelled only by water. Of the five, two belonging to one family give together two annas, and the three others belonging to the other family give together four annas a month, and thus the whole income of the master is made up. This case shows by what pinched and stinted contributions the class just below the wealthy and the class just above the indigent unite to support a school ; and it constitutes a proof of the very limited means of those who are anxious to give a Bengali education to their children, and of the sacrifices which they make to accomplish that object.¹

(b) *Methods of Teaching in Persian Schools* : The Persian schools in Nattore are four in number, containing twenty-three scholars, who enter school at an age varying from four and a half to thirteen years, and leave it at an age varying from twelve to seventeen. The whole time stated to be spent at school varies from four to eight years. The teachers intellectually are of a higher grade than the teachers of Bengali schools, although that grade is not high compared with what is to be desired and is attainable. . . . The total remuneration of a teacher varies from four to ten rupees per month, averaging about seven rupees. The principal object of the patrons of these schools is the instruction of their own children ; but in one instance a worthy old Musalman, who has no children, contributes a small monthly allowance, without which the teacher would not have sufficient inducement to continue his labours ; and in another case besides two children of the family, ten other boys are admitted, on whom instruction, food, and clothing, are gratuitously bestowed. Two of the schools have separate school-houses, which were built by the benevolent patrons who

¹ *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, pp. 139–40.

principally support them. The scholars of the other two assemble in out-buildings, belonging to one or other of the families whose children receive instruction.

✓ Although in the Persian schools printed books are unknown, yet manuscript works are in constant use. The general course of instruction has no very marked stages or gradations into which it is divided. Like the Hindus, however, the Musalmans formally initiate their children into the study of letters. When a child, whether a boy or a girl, is four years, four months, and four days old, the friends of the family assemble, and the child is dressed in his best clothes, brought in to the company, and seated on a cushion in the presence of all. The alphabet, the form of letters used for computation, the Introduction to the Koran, some verses of Chapter LV, and the whole of Chapter LXXXVII, are placed before him, and he is taught to pronounce them in succession. If the child is self-willed, and refuses to read, he is made to pronounce the Bismillah, which answers every purpose, and from that day his education is deemed to have commenced. At school he is taught the alphabet, as with ourselves by the eye and ear, the forms of the letters being presented to him in writing, and their names pronounced in his hearing, which he is required to repeat until he is able to connect the names and the forms with each other in his mind. The scholar is afterwards made to read the thirtieth Section of the Koran, the chapters of which are short, and are generally used at the times of prayer and in the burial service. The words are marked with the diacritical points in order that the knowledge of letters, their junction and correct orthography, and their pronunciation from the appropriate organs may be thoroughly acquired ; but the sense is entirely unknown. The next book put into his hands is the *Pandnameh* of Sadi, a collection of moral sayings, many of which are above his comprehension, but he is not taught or required to understand any of them. The work is solely used for the purpose of instructing him in the art of reading and of forming a correct pronunciation, without any regard to the sense of the words pronounced. It is generally after this that the scholar is taught to write the letters, to join vowels and consonants, and to form syllables. The next book is the *Amadnameh*, exhibiting the forms of conjugating the Persian verbs which are read to the master and by frequent repetition committed to memory. The first book which is read for the purpose of being understood is the *Gulistan* of Sadi, containing lessons on life and manners and this is followed or accompanied by the *Bostan* of the same author. Two or three sections of each are read ; and simultaneously short Persian sentences relating to going and coming, sitting and standing, and the common affairs of life, are read and explained. The pupil is afterwards made to write Persian names, then Arabic names, and next Hindi names, especially such as contain letters to the writing or pronunciation of which difficulty is supposed to attach. Elegant penmanship is considered a great accomplishment, and those who devote themselves to this art employ from three to six hours every day in the exercise of it, writing first single letters, then double or treble, then couplets, quatrains, &c. They first write upon a board with a thick pen, then with a finer pen on pieces of paper pasted together ; and last of all, when they have acquired considerable command of the pen, they begin to write upon paper in single fold. This is accompanied or followed by the perusal of some of the most popular poetical productions such as Joseph and Zuleikha, founded on a well-known incident in Hebrew history ; the loves of Leila and Majnun ; the Secundar Nameh, an account of the exploits of Alexander the Great, &c., &c. The mode of computing by the Abjad, or letters of the alphabet, is also taught, and is of two sorts : in the first, the letters of the alphabet in

a thousand; and in the second the letters composing the names of the letters of the alphabet being employed for the same purpose. Arithmetic, by means of the Arabic numerals, and instruction at great length in the different styles of address, and in the forms of correspondence, petitions, &c., &c., complete a course of Persian instruction . . .

In a Persian school, after the years of mere childhood, when the pupils are assumed to be capable of stricter application, the hours of study with intervals extend from six in the morning to nine at night. In the first place in the morning they revise the lessons of the previous day, after which a new lesson is read, committed to memory, and repeated to the master. About midday they have leave of absence for an hour when they dine, and on their return to school they are instructed in writing. About three o'clock they have another reading lesson which is also committed to memory, and about an hour before the close of the day they have leave to play. The practice with regard to the forenoon and afternoon lessons in reading, is to join the perusal of a work in prose with that of a work in verse; as the *Gulistan* with the *Bostan* and *Abulfazl's* letters with the *Secundar Nameh*, the forenoon lesson being taken from one and the afternoon lesson from the other. In the evening they repeat the lessons of that day several times until they have them perfectly at command; and, after making some preparation for the lessons of the next day, they have leave to retire. Thursday every week is devoted to the revision of old lessons; and when that is completed, the pupils seek instruction or amusement according to their own pleasure in the perusal of forms of prayer and stanzas of poetry, and are dismissed on that day at three o'clock without any new lesson. On Friday, the sacred day of Musalmans, there is no schooling. In other districts in respectable or wealthy Musalman families, besides the literary instructor called *Miyan* or *Akhun*, there is also a domestic tutor or *Censor Morum* called *Alalik*, a kind of head-servant whose duty is to train the children of the family to good manners, and to see that they do not neglect any duty assigned to them; but I do not find any trace of this practice in Rajshahi.

Upon the whole the course of Persian instruction, even in its less perfect forms such as are found to exist in this district, has a more comprehensive character and a more liberal tendency than that pursued in the Bengali schools. The systematic use of books although in manuscript, is a great step in advance, accustoming the minds of the pupils to forms of regular composition, to correct and elegant language, and to train consecutive thought, and thus aiding both to stimulate the intellect and to form the taste.¹

¹ N.B.—This extract is taken from pp. 148–51 of the Calcutta Edition. In this connection, the following passage which occurs in Adam's third report deserves a perusal:—

"The Hindustani or Urdu is the current spoken language of the educated Musalmans of Bengal and Behar, and it is a remarkable feature in the constitution of Mohammedan society in these provinces, and I infer throughout India that the vernacular language of that class is never employed in the schools as the medium or instrument of written instruction. Bengali school-books are employed by the Hindus of Bengal, and Hindi school-books by the Hindus of Behar; but although Urdu is more copious and expressive, more cultivated and refined than either, and possesses a richer and more comprehensive literature, Urdu school-books are wholly unknown. It is the language of conversation in the daily intercourse of life and in the business of the world, and it is the language also of oral instruction for the explanation of Persian and Arabic, but it is never taught or learned for its own sake, or for what it contains. It is acquired in a written form only indirectly and at second hand through the medium of the Persian, whose character it has adopted and from which it has derived almost all its vocables, and it is employed as a written language chiefly in popular poetry and tales and in female correspondence and often also in the pulpit. The absence of Urdu schools for the Musalman population, corresponding with the Bengali and Hindi schools for the Hindus, may explain in some measure, the greater degradation and ignorance of the lower classes of Musalmans when compared with the corresponding classes of the Hindu population; and the first step to their improvement must be to supply this defect." (*Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, pp. 290–91.)

(c) *Domestic Instruction*: Those who give their children domestic instruction are Zemindars, Talukdars, and persons of some little substance; shop-keepers and traders possessing some enterprise and forecast in their callings; zemindars' agents or factors (gomashtas), and heads of villages (mandals), who know practically the advantage of writing and accounts; and sometimes persons of straitened resources, but respectable character, who have been in better circumstances, and wish to give their children the means of making their way in the world. Pundits, too, who intend that their children should pursue the study of Sanskrit begin by instructing them at home in the rudiments of their mother tongue; and Brahmans who have themselves gone through only a partial course of Sanskrit reading, seek to qualify their children by such instruction as they can give for the office and duties of a family priest or spiritual guide.

The instruction given in families is still more limited and imperfect than that which is given in schools. In some cases I found that it did not extend beyond the writing of the letters of the alphabet, in others the writing of words. Pundits and priests, unless when there is some landed property in the family, confine the Bengali instruction they give their children to writing and reading, addition and subtraction, with scarcely any of the applications of numbers to agricultural and commercial affairs. Farmers and traders naturally limit their instructions to what they best know, and what is to them and their children of greatest direct utility, the calculations and measurements peculiar to their immediate occupations. The parents with whom I have conversed on the subject do not attach the same value to the domestic instruction which their children receive which they ascribe to the instruction of a professional schoolmaster, both because in their opinion such instruction would be more regular and systematic, and because the teacher would probably be better qualified.

It thus appears that, in addition to the elementary instruction given in regular schools, there is a sort of traditionary knowledge of written language and accounts preserved in families from father to son and from generation to generation. This domestic elementary instruction is much more in use than scholastic elementary instruction, and yet it is not so highly valued as the latter. The reasons why the less esteemed form of elementary instruction is more common cannot in all cases be accurately ascertained. The inaptitude to combination for purposes of common interest sometimes alleged against the natives might be suggested; but the truth is that they do often club together, sometimes to establish and support schools and sometimes to defray the expenses of religious celebrations, dances, and plays. In those cases in which scholastic instruction would be preferred by the parents, and I believe such cases to be numerous, poverty is the only reason that can be assigned; and in other instances, as of the zemindar and the Brahman Pundit, the pride of rank and station in the one case, and of birth and learning in the other, acting also upon circumscribed means, may prevent the respective parties from looking beyond their own thresholds for the instruction which their children need. Inability to pay for school instruction I believe to be by far the most prevalent reason and this is confirmed by the fact that in at least six villages that I visited, I was told that there had been recently Bengali schools which were discontinued because the masters could not gain a livelihood, or because they found something more profitable to do elsewhere. The case of the Dharail school shows the difficulty with which a small income is made up to a schoolmaster by the community of a village. From all I could learn and observe, I am led to infer that in this district elementary instruction is on the decline and has been for some time past decaying. The domestic instruction which many give to their children in elementary knowledge would seem to be an indication of the struggle which the ancient habits and the

practical sense of the people are making against their present depressed circumstances.¹

(d) *Education of Women* : Of the total female population, 16,792 are between fourteen and five years of age, that is, are of the age at which the mind is capable of receiving in an increasing degree the benefit of instruction in letters. The state of instruction amongst this unfortunate class cannot be said to be low, for with a very few individual exceptions there is no instruction at all. Absolute and hopeless ignorance is in general their lot. The notion of providing the means of instruction for female children never enters into the minds of parents; and girls are equally deprived of that imperfect domestic instruction which is sometimes given to boys. A superstitious feeling is alleged to exist in the majority of Hindu families, principally cherished by the women and not discouraged by the men, that a girl taught to write and read will soon after marriage become a widow, an event which is regarded as nearly the worst misfortune that can befall the sex; and the belief is also generally entertained in native society that intrigue is facilitated by a knowledge of letters on the part of females. Under the influence of these fears there is not only nothing done in a native family to promote female instruction, but an anxiety is often evinced to discourage any inclination to acquire the most elementary knowledge, so that when a sister, in the playful innocence of childhood, is observed imitating her brother's attempts at penmanship, she is expressly forbidden to do so, and her attention drawn to something else. These superstitious and distrustful feelings prevail extensively, although not universally, both amongst those Hindus who are devoted to the pursuits of religion, and those who are engaged in the business of the world. Zemindars are for the most part exempt from them, and they in general instruct their daughters in the elements of knowledge, although it is difficult to obtain from them an admission of the fact. They hope to marry their daughters into families of wealth and property, and they perceive that, without a knowledge of writing and accounts, their daughters will, in the event of widowhood, be incompetent to the management of their deceased husband's estates, and will unavoidably become a prey to the interested and unprincipled. The Mahomedans participate in all the prejudices of the Hindus against the instruction of their female offspring, besides that a very large majority of them are in the very lowest grades of poverty, and are thus unable, even if they were willing, to give education to their children. It may, therefore, be affirmed that the juvenile female population of this district, that is, the female population of the teachable age or of the age between fourteen and five years, without any known exception and with so few probable exceptions that they can scarcely be taken into the account, is growing up wholly destitute of the knowledge of reading and writing.²

9 / 13. **Adam's Third Report.** The third report of Adam is the most important of all. It is divided into two parts. In the first part, Adam gives the statistics collected by him for five districts, viz., Murshidabad, Birbhum, Burdwan, South Bihar and Tirhut. In the second part, he gives his proposals for the reform of indigenous schools.

Adam prefaces his third report by admitting that, in spite of all that he could do, his statistics were *under-estimated*. The

¹ *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, pp. 158-9.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 187-8.

causes are mainly two: In the first place, he conducted the investigation under his personal supervision in one Thana of each district and employed agents to collect information from the other Thanas. This enabled him to collect a good deal of data but he found that the reports of his agents were not quite reliable. "Although I believe", wrote Adam, "that the returns I receive are in general worthy of confidence as far as they go, yet I have no security that they are not defective. In traversing a district, my agents could not visit all the villages it contained, amounting to several thousands. This was physically impossible without protracting the inquiry beyond all reasonable limits. They were, therefore, compelled to depend either upon their personal knowledge, or upon the information that could be gathered from others as to the places possessing schools, every one of which was invariably visited and examined; but that in no instance a village-institution has been overlooked is more than I dare affirm, and in point of fact I have sometimes discovered instances in which such institutions had at first escaped attention."¹ Secondly, he found that sometimes the people got frightened at the enquiry and concealed the exact number of females in the house, and that often, even schools and colleges "concealed themselves to escape the dreaded inquisition."² But even after making allowance for these candid confessions, it must be admitted that his statistics of indigenous education are the most reliable of all the statistics we possess on the subject.

The following tables summarise the general statistics given by Adam:—

TABLE I.—*Schools*

District	Number of schools								Total
	Bengali	Hindi	Sanskrit	Persian	Formal Arabic	Arabic	English	Girls	
Murshidabad	62	5	24	17	..	2	2	1	113
Birbhum	407	5	56	71	..	2	2	1	544
Burdwan	629+1 (infants)	..	190	93	3	8	3	4	931
South Bihar	..	286	27	279	..	12	1	..	605
Tirhut	..	80	56	234	..	4	..	..	374
Total	1,099	376	353	694	3	28	8	6	2,567

¹ *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, p. 219.

² *Ibid.*, p. 220.

TABLE II.—*Scholars*

District	Number of scholars					Total
	Bengali & Hindi	Sanskrit	Persian & Arabic	English	Girls	
Murshidabad	1,080	153	109	26	28	1,396
Birbhum	6,383	393	490	73	11	7,350
Burdwan	13,190	1,358	971	120	175	15,814
South Bihar	3,090	437	1,486	23	..	5,036
Tirhut	507	214	598	..	..	1,319
Total ..	24,250	2,555	3,654	242	214	30,915

These statistics *exclude* the centres of domestic instruction and if reliance is to be placed on these alone, it is obvious that the report of one lakh schools in Bengal can only be a *myth*. This is exactly the argument used by Sir Philip Hartog who gives the following figures :—

Area	Population	No. of schools actually existing	Hypothetical number of schools on the basis of one school per 400 of population
Murshidabad	1,86,841	113	467
Birbhum	12,67,067	544	3,168
Burdwan	11,87,580	931	2,969
South Bihar	13,40,610	605	3,352
Tirhut	16,97,700	374	4,244

(Taken from p. 83 of *Some Aspects of Indian Education*.)

Evidently, Adam could not but have noticed the great discrepancy between his earlier statement of the existence of one lakh schools in Bengal and these figures ; and the only way in which one can explain his silence is to assume that he *knew* that centres of domestic instruction were excluded from these figures and that his earlier report would have been true

if they had been included. For instance, he collected the figures for centres of domestic instruction in one Thana of each of the above districts and his figures bear out his earlier statement in its entirety :—

Area	Popula- tion	No. of towns and villages	Number of schools				Total	No. of hypothetical schools on the basis of one school for 400 people
			Elementary schools (includes Persian)	Schools of learning	Other schools	Private schools of domestic instruction		
City of Murshidabad	124,804	..	59	26	3	216	304	312
Thana Daulatbazar.	62,037	183	25	..	..	254	279	155
„ Nanglia ..	46,416	267	34	2	..	207	243	116
„ Culna ..	116,425	288	79	38	2	475	594	291
„ Jehanabad ..	81,480	803	85	7	..	360	452	203
„ Bhawara ..	65,812	402	6	7	..	235	248	164
Total ..	496,974	1,943	288	80	5	1,747	2,120	1,241

Another argument may be advanced in support of this view. While commenting upon the statistics of domestic instruction given in his third report, Adam observes :—

When I was in the Rajshahi district I ascertained the number of families only in which domestic instruction was given to the children, without noting the number of children in each such family. In the localities subsequently visited, this omission, it will have been seen from the preceding section, was supplied, and the average number of children receiving domestic instruction in each family is subjoined :—

City of Murshidabad ..	1·388	Thana Culna ..	1·423
Thana Daulatbazar ..	1·279	„ Jehanabad ..	1·219
„ Nanglia ..	1·375	„ Bhawara ..	1·225

I estimated the Rajshahi average at $1\frac{1}{2}$, which is in excess of all these averages subsequently ascertained, from which it may be inferred that the number of children receiving domestic instruction in that district was probably over-estimated.¹

When we find him pointing out such minute discrepancies, it is impossible to agree with Sir Philip Hartog when he tries to show that Adam did not discover the immense difference between his earlier statement regarding the existence of one lakh schools

in Bengal and the results of his personal enquiries given in Table I on p. 29.

Similarly, we shall have to take into consideration the number of children under domestic instruction if we want to have a correct idea of the population receiving instruction. The following statistics for the six Thanas where intensive studies were undertaken are supplied by Adam :—

	Popula- tion	No. of children receiving school instruction	No. of children receiving domestic instruction	Total no. of children receiving domestic and school instruction
1	2	3	4	5
City of Murshidabad ..	124,804	959	300	1,259
Thana Daulatbazar ..	62,037	305	326	631
„ Nanglia ..	46,416	439	285	724
„ Culna ..	116,425	2,243	676	2,919
„ Jehanabad ..	81,480	366	539	905
„ Bhawara ..	65,812	60	288	348
Total ..	496,974	4,372	2,414	6,786

These figures show that the ratio of pupils to total population was 1 to 73. If male population alone is considered, the ratio would be 1 to 36, that is to say, a little less than the ratio given by Munro.

Let us now turn to the statistics of literacy given by Adam. The two tables on pages 33 and 34 summarise his figures.

These statistics are really equivalent to “the first systematic census of literacy in India”.¹ But one aspect of these statistics is challenged by scholars like Sir Philip. Adam divided his adult literates into six classes under the sixth of which he enumerated all persons who could “decipher or sign their names”. The census definition of literacy is “ability to read and write a letter” and judged from this point of view, these persons cannot be considered to be literate. In comparing Adam’s figures of literacy with those of later days, therefore, Sir Philip excludes the 5,519 persons who could only “decipher or sign their names.” This view, however, is challenged by other students of history like Shri R. V. Parulekar. He, and others who agree with him,

	City of Murshi- dabad	Thana Daulat- bazar	Thana Nanglia	Thana Culna	Thana Jehan- abad	Thana Bhawara	Total of last six columns
1. Adults who have received a learned education and are engaged in the business of teaching .	33	...	2	38	6	7	86
2. Adults who have received a learned education and who are not engaged in the business of teaching	75	13	12	99	19	27	245
3. Adults who have not received a learned education and who are engaged in the business of teaching with attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing	60	25	34	93	53	6	271
4. Adults who have neither received a learned education nor are engaged in the business of teaching but who possess attainment superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing .	4,767	555	352	2,424	992	425	9,515
5. Adults who can merely read and write.. ..	1,700	614	593	2,304	761	303	6,275
6. Adults who can decipher or sign their names ..	715	565	620	2,350	1,004	265	5,519
Total ..	7,350	1,772	1,613	7,308	2,835	1,033	21,911

N.B.—This table is taken from *Literacy of India in Pre-British Days* by R. V. Parulekar.

Area	Total adult population (above 14 years of age)	Adult male population	Adult literate population		Percentage of literacy for male adult population only		Percentage of literacy for total adult population	
			Inclusive of sixth class	Exclusive of sixth class	Inclusive of sixth class	Exclusive of sixth class	Inclusive of sixth class	Exclusive of sixth class
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
City of Murshidabad	97,818	46,670	7,350	6,635	15·74	14·21	7·51	6·77
Thana Daulatbazar	42,837	20,222	1,772	1,207	8·76	5·96	4·13	2·81
Thana Nanglia	30,410	14,414	1,613	993	11·18	6·82	5·99	3·26
Thana Culna	81,045	30,974	7,308	4,958	18·75	15·68	8·99	6·11
Thana Jelanabad	57,573	29,936	2,835	1,831	9·43	6·15	4·91	3·18
Thana Bhawara	44,416	23,224	1,033	768	4·44	3·36	2·32	1·72
Total ..	354,099	165,440	21,911	16,392	12·6	9·45	6·1	4·63

contend that standards of attainment are bound to vary from age to age and that it would be wrong to judge Adam's age by standards which came to be adopted a century later. In his days, there were no papers, no printed books, no post-offices and hence the requirements of people in the matter of literacy were very limited indeed. They, therefore, argue that in comparing Adam's figures of literacy with those of later years, we must include all persons whom he himself regarded as literate. This point will be discussed in further detail in Chapter X. It would, however, be enough to state here that the principal use of these statistics, *viz.*, comparison with the statistics of literacy in British India in 1921 is not materially affected by the adoption of either view and we, therefore, give the percentage of literacy separately from both these points of view. (See table on page 34.)

14. Sanskrit Schools of Learning in the Burdwan District. Over and above the invaluable statistics of schools and literacy quoted already, Adam's third report contains excellent studies of Sanskrit schools of learning and Persian and Arabic schools. The quotations given below in this and the next paragraph will be found interesting from this point of view :—

The district contains 190 Sanskrit schools, of which two villages contain six each, one village contains five, three villages contain four each, seven villages contain three each, twenty-seven villages contain two each and eighty-six villages contain one each.

The number of learned teachers is the same as the number of schools, and their average age is 45·2 years. One hundred and eighty are Rarhi, four Varendra, and two Vaidika Brahmans, and four of the Vaidya or medical caste.

The following are the annual receipts, estimated by themselves, of the whole body of teachers :—

	Rs.
185 receive in the form of presents at assemblies	10,928
1 receives in presents and monthly allowance	376
2 receive by medical practice	500
1 receives by medical practice and in the form of monthly allowance	156
1 a medical professor, practises as well as teaches gratuitously.	

Thus 189 professors of learning receive in all rupees 11,960 averaging to each per annum Rs. 63-4-5. Of the two teachers who receive monthly allowances, one is a learned Brahman and the other a learned Vaidya, and the Rajah of Burdwan is the patron of both. There are only two teachers holding endowments of land, one amounting to eight and the other to ten bighas of land, the former yielding about eighteen, and the latter about fifteen rupees a year

The majority of the teachers have school-houses either built at their own charge, or at the expense of patrons and friends, or by the subscriptions of the most respectable inhabitants of the village where the school is situated. In

those instances in which there is no regular school-house, the Baithakkhana or Chandimandop of the Pundit, or of some wealthy friend, answers the purpose.

In 190 Sanskrit schools there are 1,358 students, averaging 7·1 to each school. Of the total number 590 are natives of the villages in which the schools are situated, and 768 natives of other villages. They are thus distributed in respect of caste :—

Brahmans	1,296	Daivajnas	11
Vaidyas	45	Vaishnavas	6

The students of 105 schools receive nothing in the form of presents or by mendicancy. Those of 85 schools receive Rs. 391, averaging Rs. 4-9-7 annually to the students collectively of each school. The following is an enumeration of the studies pursued and the number of students engaged in each:—

Grammar	644	Vedants	3
Lexicology	31	Medicine	15
Literature	90	Mythology	43
Rhetoric	8	Astrology	7
Law	238	Tantras	2
Logic		277. ¹	

15. Persian and Arabic Schools in the District of South Bihar.

X/ This district contains 291 schools, of which 279 are Persian and 12 Arabic.

One town contains nineteen, another eleven, a third seven, a fourth six and a fifth five schools. Five villages contain three each ; twenty-four, two each ; and a hundred and eighty, one each.

The number of teachers is the same as the number of schools, and their average age is 34·2 years.

One of the Persian teachers is a Hindu of the writer caste, and all the other teachers, both Persian and Arabic, are Musalmans.

Two of the teachers instruct gratuitously, and two others give both food and instruction to their pupils. The remaining teachers are remunerated as follows :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
1 teacher receives monthly wages and clothes and food for himself and scholars	46	8	0
1 teacher receives monthly wages, food for himself and scholars and the proceeds of an endowment of land	165	5	4
2 teachers receive monthly wages	3	0	0
2 teachers receive fees	7	7	0
5 teachers receive monthly wages and uncooked food	16	8	0
14 teachers receive fees and uncooked food	49	6	0
2 teachers receive monthly wages and subsistence-money	8	8	0
22 teachers receive fees and subsistence-money	75	11	0
2 teachers receive fees and weekly presents	8	10	0
3 teachers receive monthly wages and annual presents	5	10	9
10 teachers receive fees and annual presents	27	3	9
6 teachers receive monthly wages, uncooked food, and annual presents	80	15	3
57 teachers receive fees, uncooked food, and annual presents	243	11	3
29 teachers receive monthly wages, subsistence-money, and annual presents	101	8	9
95 teachers receive fees, subsistence-money, and annual presents	454	7	3
1 teacher receives fees, subsistence-money, and weekly presents	7	0	0

¹ *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, pp. 261-6.

1 teacher receives fees, uncooked food, weekly presents, and annual presents	Rs. a. p.
1 teacher receives monthly wages, weekly presents, and annual presents	4 6 0
10 teachers receive monthly wages, subsistence-money, weekly presents, and annual presents	3 2 3
22 teachers receive fees, subsistence-money, weekly presents, and annual presents	47 5 0
1 teacher receives fees, uncooked food, subsistence-money, weekly presents, and annual presents	110 8 0
Thus 287 teachers receive in all Rs. 1,472 ³ / ₇ , averaging to each Rs. 5·2 per month.	5 6 9

There is another source of gain to the teachers of Persian schools in this district called Shuruati, or payment made by every scholar at the commencement of a new book. This is so uncertain that it cannot strictly be regarded either as a monthly or an annual gain. In 579 instances in which I ascertained that this payment had been made, the total amount was Rs. 138/9/6, which average only three annas and about ten pies in each case; and as it is seldom that a school-book is changed oftener than once a year, and the average number of scholars to each school is about five, this will give each teacher an additional sum of Rs. 1/3/2 per annum, or about an anna and a half monthly.

Two Maulavis in this district are highly distinguished for learning, and they are both authors.....

There are only two Persian and two Arabic schools that have appropriate buildings or school-houses, the pupils of the remaining schools finding or making accommodation for themselves, chiefly in the thresholds or verandas of the private dwelling houses occupied by the patrons or teachers.

In 291 schools there are 1,486 scholars averaging 5·1 to each school. There are 1,424 Persian scholars and 62 Arabic students. Of the Arabic students two are Hindus of the writer caste and sixty are Musalmans, and of the Persian scholars 865 are Hindus and 559 are Musalmans. The following are the subdivisions of the Hindus who are Persian scholars :—

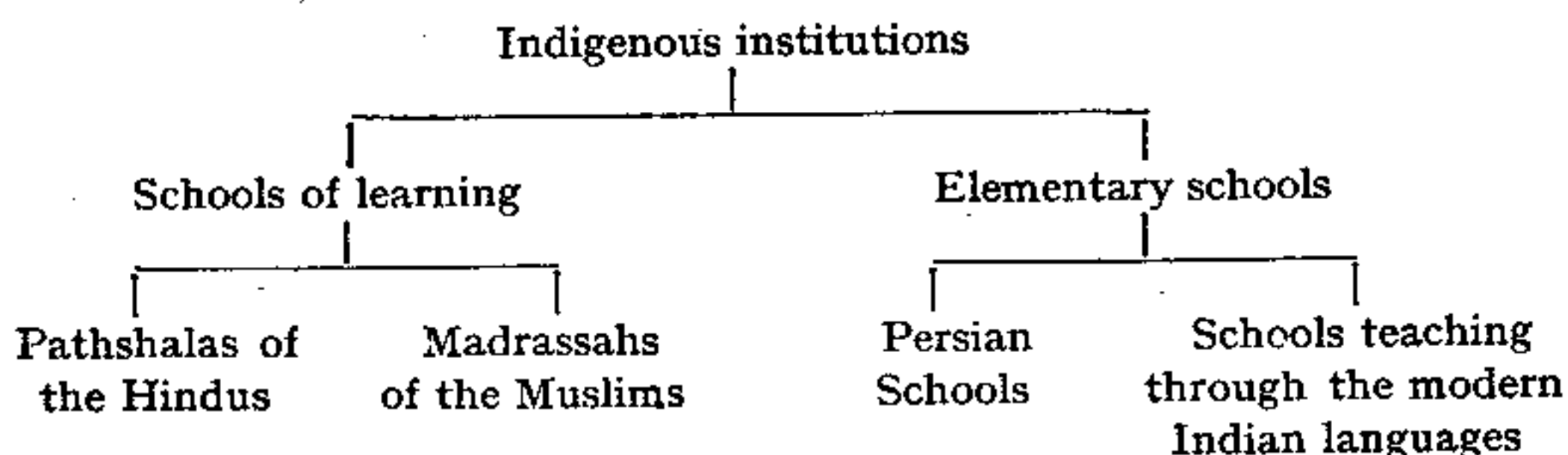
Kayastha	711	Mahuri	3
Magadha	55	Vaishnava	2
Rajput	30	Sunri	2
Kshatriya	13	Kamar	1
Brahman	11	Luniar	1
Gandhabanik	11	Napit	1
Kairi	90	Kurmi	1
Teli	4	Mayra	1
Swarnakar	4	Aguri	1
Bundela	3		

Of the total number of Hindu scholars eight were absent and of the Musalman scholars 3 were absent at the time the schools were visited, the remaining number of each class being present. The average ages of the Persian and Arabic scholars at the three periods formerly mentioned are as follows :—

	Age on Admission.	Age at the time of visit.	Age (probable) at the time of leaving school.
Persian scholars	7·8	11·1	21·5
Arabic students	12·3	16·0	24·2 ¹

16. Extent and Character of the Indigenous System of Education at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century. In the foregoing pages, we took a bird's-eye view of the principal sources of information regarding the indigenous system of education. We shall now conclude this discussion with a brief description of the character and extent of indigenous education as it existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

(a) *Types of Institutions* : The indigenous educational institutions of this period were divided into four main types as under :—



(b) *Schools of Learning* : Although the Hindus and Muslims had separate schools of learning, several important features were common to both the types of institutions. For instance, both kinds of institutions received pecuniary assistance from rulers, chieftains, and opulent or religious citizens. Both were staffed by learned teachers, some of whom were authors of repute, but most of whom received very low remuneration. In both, instruction was mostly given gratis and no regular fees, as now understood, were charged. Both were mediæval in character, used a classical language as the medium of instruction (Sanskrit in one case and Arabic or Persian in the other), and imparted instruction on traditional lines. In both, the teachers were remunerated in one or more of the following ways, *viz.*, grants of land made by rulers, occasional voluntary presents from pupils and members of the public, allowances paid by wealthy citizens, and payment in the form of food, clothes, or other articles. Lastly, both had a few teachers who not only taught gratis but also provided food and lodging to their pupils.

Generally speaking, the schools had no special buildings of their own. Where these existed, they were built either by the teachers themselves, or at the expense of patrons or friends, or by subscriptions from the people. In most cases, however, the schools were held in the local temple or mosque and not infrequently in the house of some local magnate or patron or

of the teacher himself. The students entered the schools at a fairly early age and studied as long as they desired and often for as long as twelve years or more. It must be noted that the State had nothing to do with the day to day work of these schools. They were conducted by learned men individually who did so more for religious than for pecuniary considerations.

The Hindu schools of learning were conducted almost exclusively by Brahmins and a very large majority of the students attending them was Brahmins. There were no women students nor any persons belonging to the large number of communities who were denied the right to study the sacred lore. In the Persian and Arabic schools, on the other hand, though the teachers were generally Muslims, a Hindu teacher of Persian was not a rare phenomenon. Moreover, several Hindus attended Persian schools conducted by Muslims because Persian was then the Court language. In some of the Bengal districts, Adam even found that the majority of students in Persian schools were Hindus.

(c) *The Indigenous Elementary Schools*: The schools of learning of this period correspond to the colleges of modern type. They gave the highest instruction known, which, in those days, meant mostly religious instruction. Their chief object was to produce Moulavis and Pandits, and people were led to support them mainly by religious motives. Although they were highly venerated by the people, they were really the weaker and less useful part of the educational system on account of their exclusive character, conservative tone and obsolete ideals and methods of instruction.

The indigenous elementary school, the main agency for the spread of mass education, was a humbler but far more useful institution. The instruction given in it was of a practical type and mostly limited to the three R's. It catered, not to the needs of the priestly class, but to the mundane requirements of the petty zamindar, the bania, and the well-to-do farmer. It had no religious veneration attached to it, and consequently, it had no endowments either from the State or from the public. Its teachers were men of ordinary attainments and, very often, they knew no more than the little they taught in their schools. Their remuneration was much lower than that of the teachers in the schools of learning and, except in those cases, where the teacher was maintained by a rich person, consisted of small

collections or occasional presents from parents of children who attended the school. Occasionally, some of the teachers in these schools followed some other profession or trade for their maintenance and conducted the school only as a side business. Unlike the schools of learning, it is worthy of note that the pupils in these schools included a small percentage of girls and children of many communities although the children of the upper classes formed the large majority.

Some features of the indigenous elementary schools are of great interest. For instance, their equipment was extremely simple. They had no buildings and were held, sometimes, in the house of the teacher or the patron of the school, often in a local temple, and not infrequently under a tree. There were no printed books and the slates or pencils used by pupils were such as could be easily made in the locality. The hours of instruction and the days of working were finely adjusted to local requirements. The size of the school was generally small—the number of pupils varying from one or two to ten or fifteen at the most. There were consequently no classes, no regular period of admission, etc. A pupil joined the school at any time, became a class by himself, followed his own pace of study, and left the school when he had acquired all that he desired to know or the school had to teach. In bigger schools, there was in vogue a system under which the senior pupils were appointed to teach junior ones. It was this system that attracted the attention of Dr. Bell, the Presidency Chaplain at Madras, and which he introduced in England as a cheap and efficient method of educating the poor. The system later came to be known as the Monitorial or Madras system in England. The curriculum was very narrow and consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic (both written and oral) and accounts. There was no fee in the modern sense, but each parent who sent his child to the school generally made some payment to the teacher—either in cash or in kind. The amount of the payment depended upon the capacity of the parent and even the time and mode of payment were left to his convenience.

✓ The chief merits of the indigenous system of elementary schools were their adaptability to local environment and the vitality and popularity they had earned by centuries of existence under a variety of economic conditions or political vicissitudes.

Their main defects were the exclusion of girls and Harijan pupils. To these may be added (although such a judgement suffers from the defect of imposing modern concepts of education upon an earlier period) the lack of training or sound education among their teachers, their narrow and limited curriculum, and the severe forms of punishment adopted. As this last point is not sufficiently illustrated in the sources studied so far we give below an extract from the Calcutta Review, No. IV, which gives a description of the different kinds of punishments that were generally used in indigenous elementary schools :—

(1) A boy is made to bend forward with his face toward the ground ; a heavy brick is then placed on his back, and another on his neck, and should he let either of them fall, within the prescribed period of half an hour or so, he is punished with the cane. (2) A boy is condemned to stand for half an hour or an hour on one foot ; and, should he shake or quiver or let down the uplifted leg before the time, he is severely punished. (3) A boy is made to sit on the floor in an exceedingly constrained position, with one leg turned up behind his neck. (4) He is made to sit with his feet resting on two bricks, and his head bent down between both legs, with his hands twisted round each leg so as painfully to catch the ears. (5) A boy is made to hang for a few minutes, with his head downwards, from the branch of a neighbouring tree. (6) His hands and feet are bound with cords ; to these members so bound a rope is fastened, and the boy is then hoisted up by means of a pulley attached to the beams or rafters of the school. (7) Nettles, dipped in water, are applied to the body, which becomes irritated and swollen ; the pain is excruciating and often lasts a whole day ; but, however great the itching and the pain, the sufferer is not allowed to rub or touch the skin for relief, under the dread of a flagellation in addition. (8) The boy is put up in a sack along with some nettles, or a cat, or some other noisome creature, and then rolled along the ground. (9) The fingers of both hands are inserted across each other with a stick between and two sticks without drawn close together and tied. (10) A boy is made to measure so many cubits on the ground, by marking it along with the tip of his nose. (11) Four boys are made to seize another, two holding the arms and two the feet ; they then alternately swing him and throw him violently to the ground. (12) Two boys are made to seize another by the ears ; and, with these organs well outstretched, he is made to run along for the amusement of the by-standers. (13) A boy is constrained to pull his own ears ; and, if he fail to extend them sufficiently, he is visited with a sorer chastisement. (14) Two boys, when both have given offence, are made to knock their heads several times against each other. (15) The boy who first comes to school in the morning receives one stroke of the cane on the palm of the hand, the next receives two strokes, and so each in succession, as he arrives, receives a number of strokes equal to the number of boys that preceded him,—the first being the privileged administrator of them all. (p. 334)

(d) *The Extent of Mass Education* : It appears that schools, particularly centres of domestic instruction, abounded in every part of the country and that some humble means of instruction or other was available even in very small villages where, for

years together, the British administration found it difficult to establish and maintain even a primary school. The percentage of literacy was anything between 8 and 12 among the male adult population, or between 4 and 6 for the population as a whole. Certain of the higher castes were wholly literate in so far as the male adult population was concerned, while the women of all castes (with a very few individual exceptions) and the entire population of several lower castes were wholly illiterate.

(e) *Decaying Condition of Indigenous Education*: Another feature that emerges from the study of the sources is that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the indigenous system of education was fast decaying on account of the prevailing anarchy or the growing impoverishment of the people under the British Rule. We give below three quotations in support of this view. The first two are from Adam and the third is taken from the report of Mr. Campbell, the Collector of Bellary:—

(i) Inability to pay for school instruction I believe to be by far the most prevalent reason (of schools being closed), and that is confirmed by the fact that, in at least six villages that I visited, I was told that there had been recently Bengali schools which were discontinued, because the masters could not gain a livelihood or because they found something more profitable to do elsewhere. . . . From all I could learn and observe, I am led to infer that in this district (Rajshahi) elementary instruction is on the decline and has been some time past decaying.¹

(ii) At *Pundua*, a place formerly of some celebrity in the district (Hugly), it is said to have been the practice of the Musalman land-proprietors to entertain teachers at their own private cost, for the benefit of the children of the poor in their neighbourhood, and it was a rare thing to find an opulent or head of a village who had not a teacher in his employment for that purpose. That class, however, is alleged to have dwindled away and scarcely any such schools are now found to exist.²

(iii) Imperfect, however, as the present education of the natives is, there are few who possess the means to command it for their children. . . .

I am sorry to state that this is ascribable to the gradual, but general, impoverishment of the country. The means of the manufacturing classes have been of late years greatly diminished by the introduction of our own European manufactures in lieu of the Indian cotton fabrics. The removal of many of our troops from our own territories to the distant frontiers of our newly subsidized allies has also, of late years, affected the demand for grain; the transfer of capital of the country from the native governments and their officers who liberally expended it in India, to Europeans restricted by law from employing it even temporarily in India and daily draining it from the land, has likewise tended to this effect, which has not been alleviated by a less rigid enforcement of the revenue due to the State. The greater part of the middling and lower classes of the people are now unable to defray the expenses incident upon the education of

¹ *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, p. 159.

² *Id.* p. 57.

their offspring, while their necessities require the assistance of their children as soon as their tender limbs are capable of the smallest labour.

It cannot have escaped the Government that of nearly a million of souls in this district, not 7,000 are now at school, a proportion which exhibits but too strongly the result above stated. In many villages where formerly there were schools, there are now none ; and in many others where there were large schools now only a few children of the most opulent are taught, others being unable from poverty to attend or pay what is demanded.¹

17. Comparison with Conditions in England. Such was the indigenous system of education that prevailed in India in the early 19th century. Its weaker part consisted of the schools of learning which were a relic of the middle ages and out of perspective with modern requirements. But its main strength lay in the system of elementary schools which, in spite of all their defects, were doing yeoman service to the cause of mass education. The overall picture is by no means bright ; but it must be remembered that, at this time, the educational conditions in most countries of the world were more or less similar. A brief study of the educational conditions in England at the close of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century, will bear out the truth of the above statement.

At this period, elementary education was provided in England either by individual or by charitable enterprise and the Government neither conducted elementary schools of its own nor assisted those conducted by other agencies. The elementary schools of this period can be grouped under several types. The richer classes mostly educated their children at home (as in India) and later sent them to the endowed public or grammar schools. The middle classes or the parents who were well-to-do enough to pay fees sent their children either to the *dame schools* or the *private schools*. The *dame school* was usually conducted by an elderly woman for a weekly fee of a few pence per pupil. Although some writers of the nineteenth century have spoken highly of this type of school, the instruction given in them was most rudimentary and they were more like *baby-minding establishments* to which *humble, busy wives* sent their children in order to obtain *freedom through the day*. The *private school* usually admitted older children and was a slightly better type of an educational institution. The curriculum was rudimentary ; the teachers were often ignorant

and handicapped by physical deformities, and sometimes even cruel and dissolute. But there were some exceptions also and several private schools were described by contemporary writers as fairly efficient. For the poor people who did not sufficiently appreciate the advantages of education or who could not pay fees, the rudiments of education were provided by the *charity schools*, *schools of industry*, and *Sunday schools*. At this time, the causes of poverty among the masses were but little understood and it was generally believed that the ignorance and vices of the poor were alone responsible for their sad condition. The humanitarians, therefore, joined hands with the Church and took up the task of educating "the poor to poverty, an honest, upright, grateful, industrious poverty."¹ The curriculum of the charity schools was generally restricted to religious instruction (which meant learning the catechism by heart) and reading. Writing and arithmetic were added in certain cases. The schools were associated with the parishes and the teachers were practically of the same type as in the *private schools*. The *schools of industry* were generally restricted to the children from the workhouse or to the children of parents who were in receipt of parish relief. The intellectual education given in these schools was restricted to religion and reading and most of the time was devoted to the teaching of *industries* such as spinning, winding, knitting, plaiting, sewing, gardening, cobbling, etc. The sale of the produce generally met the expenses of the school and the surplus, if any, was distributed to the pupils. The *Sunday schools* as the name shows, worked only on Sundays and tried to educate children who were employed all the week.² Their curriculum was limited to religious instruction and reading. The teachers were paid a small fee originally but, as the movement spread, a large number of voluntary teachers also began to work. These schools were extremely popular because the children could be given some education through them without interfering with the work which they had to do for the family.

The statistics of 1833 show an enrolment of 1,276,947 scholars in daily and infant schools which works out at 8.8 per cent of the then estimated total population of 14,400,000 (or 1 in 12). (As shown in para. 13, this ratio in India, was 1 in 73 for

¹ C. Birchenough : *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales*, p. 27

the population as a whole or 1 in 36 for the male population.) The Sunday schools had even a larger attendance but they have been excluded from this calculation because most of the children of the daily schools attended Sunday schools also. Moreover, the Sunday schools were also largely attended by adults and no separate figures of their attendance are available. The population of the working classes is not separately available at this period. But Dr. Farr's investigations in 1864 showed that one in every 7.2 of the population belonged to the upper and middle classes.¹ On this assumption, the population of the working classes at this period would be 12,400,000 and total enrolment of 795,219 of the scholars from the working classes would then work out at 6.4 per cent (or 1 in 16).

Turning to the important questions of buildings, teachers, and instruction, one finds that the conditions were extremely unsatisfactory. "Many of the schools," says Dr. Sadler, "were doubtless held in the upper room of a cottage, or in a room of the vicarage, in chapels, or in whatever building was obtainable. They were often deficient in apparatus and books, ill-drained and imperfectly ventilated".² Even in 1848, *i.e.*, after a period of fifteen years during which things had considerably improved, the inspectors reported that most of the schools were "very deficient in books". The commonly used books were "the Society's books, Nos. 1 and 2, the parables, miracles, discourses of our Lord, and the Sermon on the Mount". Even these books were often in a "dirty and tattered" condition and "children read them over and over again" until they knew them by heart. Several schools "possessed no books whatsoever save the Bible and the extracts from the Bible".³ The general education and equipment of teachers was far from satisfactory. With his characteristic rhetoric, Macaulay described them as "the refuse of all other callings, discarded footmen, ruined pedlars, men who cannot work a sum in the rule of the three, men who do not know whether the earth is a sphere or a cube, men who do not know whether Jerusalem is in Asia or America" and deplored that to these men whom "none.... would entrust the key of his cellar, ... the mind of the rising generation, the freedom, the happiness,

¹ *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 447.

² *Ibid.*, p. 448.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 449.

the glory of the country" were entrusted.¹ Very few teachers received training. The British and Foreign School Society had one training college, but the training seldom exceeded five months. Dr. Sadler states that "3,000 to 4,000 teachers with about four months' training each is the utmost that can be estimated for the 24,000 elementary schools".² The attendance of pupils was very irregular. The evidence given in 1837 recorded that "at one of the national schools in which the books were well-kept, there were 400 scholars, and although they had admitted nearly 900 in eleven months, they never had more than 400 on the books at the same time during the eleven months".³ This, incidentally, was the condition of a *good* school.

It will be seen from the above that England was far ahead of India in so far as quantitative aspects of mass education are concerned. But from the qualitative point of view, *i.e.* the teachers, the curricula, the buildings, the equipment, etc., the elementary British schools for the masses did not differ very materially from the indigenous schools of India. England was, however, a very advanced nation. But there were many other countries in Europe then, which, quantitatively speaking, were no better than India of the same period. Munro put the whole thing in a nutshell when he said that "the state of education here exhibited, low as it is compared with that of our own country is higher than it was in most European countries at no very distant period".⁴

18. Potentialities of the Indigenous System of Education to Develop into a National System of Education by Suitable Extension and Improvement. The preceding discussion regarding the character and extent of the indigenous system of education brings us to the final point, whether the system had potentialities which made it capable of being developed into a national system of education by suitable improvement and extension. In our opinion it certainly had these potentialities. We are led to this conclusion by two general considerations. Firstly, we find that, in most countries of the world which are now educationally progressive, the national system of education was built up on the foundations of the traditional system—in

¹ C. Birchenough ; op. cit., p. 414.

² *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 448.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

⁴ See Section 3 *supra*.

spite of its admitted and numerous defects. In England, for instance, mass education was spread by gradual expansion and improvement of the defective voluntary schools which already existed. A great authority like Sir Michael Sadler justifies the wisdom of this step and pays a tribute to their valuable contribution to the development of mass education in England. He says, "Although the teachers were, as a rule, not trained, and often unable to impart knowledge, although the buildings were frequently not suitable for schools, the books deficient in numbers and quality, the attendance of the scholars very irregular, yet the *first* step not only had been taken but the children had been accustomed to school life".¹ What the voluntary school did to the cause of mass education in England, the indigenous schools could certainly have done to the cause of education in India as a whole, if only those in authority had seen their way to help them to live, expand and improve.

Secondly, our view is also supported by that of several British officers and workers. Adam, for instance, was thoroughly convinced that a national system of education ~~could be built up in India on the foundation of the indigenous schools.~~ He said :

To whatever extent such institutions may exist, and in whatever condition they may be found, stationary, advancing, or retrograding, they present the only true and sure foundations on which any scheme of general or national education can be established. We may deepen and extend the foundations; we may improve, enlarge and beautify the superstructure; but these are the foundations on which the building should be raised. All men, particularly uninstructed and half-instructed men, attach the same importance to forms as to substance, and as forms are merely conventional, it is desirable in the work of reform to disembarass ourselves of opposition founded on the overthrow of ancient forms, and to enlist on our side the prepossessions in favour of their continued use. Besides, there is a probability that those forms, if not at the period of their original adoption, yet by long continued usage are suited to the manners, habits, and general character of the people whom we desire to benefit, and that any other forms which we might seek to establish would in reality be less fitted to supply their place. All schemes for the improvement of education, therefore, to be efficient and permanent, should be based upon the existing institutions of the country, transmitted from time immemorial, familiar to the conceptions of the people and inspiring them with respect and veneration. To labour successfully *for* them, we must labour *with* them; and to labour successfully *with* them, we must get them to labour willingly and intelligently *with* us. We must make them, in short, the instruments of their own improvement; and how can this be done but by identifying ourselves and our improvements with them and their institutions? ²

¹ *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 449.

² *Adam's Reports*, Calcutta Edition, pp. lviii-ix.

Adam, therefore, recommended that—

*“existing native institutions from the highest to the lowest, of all kinds and classes, were the fittest means to be employed for raising and improving the character of the people, that to employ those institutions for such a purpose would be the simplest, the safest, the most popular, the most economical, and the most effectual plan for giving that stimulus to the native mind which it needs on the subject of education, and for eliciting the exertions of the natives themselves for their improvement, without which all other means must be unavailing. . . .”*¹

With these general observations Adam described the proposed working of his plan for the improvement of indigenous schools in the following seven stages :—

- (a) The first step was to select one or more districts in which the plan could be tried as an experiment.
- (b) The second step was to hold a thorough educational survey of the district or districts selected more or less on the same lines on which he had conducted his investigations.
- (c) The third step was to prepare a set of books in modern Indian languages for the use of teachers and pupils.
- (d) The fourth step was to appoint an Examiner for each district as the chief executive officer of the plan. His duties would be to survey his area, to meet teachers, to explain the books, to conduct examinations, to grant rewards, and generally to be responsible for carrying out the plan successfully.
- (e) The fifth step was to distribute the books to teachers and stimulate them to study them by the holding of examinations and the granting of rewards to those who passed the tests. Adam also recommended the establishment of Normal schools where teachers of indigenous schools could be encouraged to study from one to three months a year for about four years so that their qualifications could be improved without inconveniencing their pupils.
- (f) The sixth step was to encourage the teachers to impart the newly acquired knowledge to their pupils by holding examinations for them and by granting rewards.

¹ *Adam's Reports*, Calcutta Edition, pp. 349-50.

(g) The seventh step was to grant endowments of lands to village schools in order to encourage teachers to settle down in villages and to educate the rural children. Adam pointed out several sources from which such gifts of land could be made or secured by Government.

Other plans for the development of the indigenous institutions were prepared or suggested by several administrators and educationists, such as Munro, Elphinstone, Thomason, Leitner, and were described in detail in several documents on educational policy such as the Despatch of 1854 or the Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882-3. These will be dealt with in due course. But these proposals mostly went unheeded; the officials of the Education Department allowed the indigenous system to die and spent their time and energy in creating a new system of education, *ab initio*.

Before we end this discussion of the indigenous educational system of India, we would like to point out with pride that the indigenous schools of India contributed the idea of the *monitorial system* to England. Historians talk only of England's contribution to Indian Education and they generally ignore the great contribution which was made by India to the spread of education among the poorer classes of England herself. Dr. Bell, the Presidency Chaplain at Madras, was the first Englishman to realise the value of the Indian system of teaching with the help of monitors—a system that prevailed extensively in the indigenous schools. Although the main principle of the system is the use of senior pupils in teaching the juniors, several different forms of it were in use. One form in which pupils of the senior classes taught the lower classes has been described in Mr. Campbell's report quoted above (section 4 *supra*). Another form of the system, which prevailed in Bombay has also been referred to in section 7 *supra*. Dr. Bell realised that the main advantage of the system was to enable the teacher to manage a large number of pupils at a time so that the spread of education could be effected at a very low cost. He, therefore, advocated the adoption of this system in England in a book entitled *An Experiment in Education made at the Male Asylum at Madras, suggesting a system by which a school or a Family may teach itself under the superintendence of the Master or Parent* (1798). This book attracted great attention and eventually the Indian system was

almost universally adopted in England. This system, variously described as the Madras system, or the Monitorial system, was the chief method by which England achieved expansion of primary education at a very low cost between 1801 and 1845. It is an irony of fate that the indigenous schools of India should thus contribute to the spread of education in England and be of no avail in spreading mass education in India herself!

The modern educational system in India should have been built upon the foundations of the indigenous system, and the efforts of our educational administrators should have been directed to the improvement of these institutions and to their incorporation in the modern system of education. But this was never done. On the other hand, some attempts were made to encourage the schools of learning which were admittedly the weaker side of indigenous education, but even these were soon abandoned. The vast network of elementary schools never received the attention it deserved at the hands of Government. In spite of the exhortations of thinkers like Adam, Munro and Thomason, the directions of the Despatch of 1854 and the strong recommendations of the Indian Education Commission, indigenous elementary schools were either killed by ill-planned attempts at reform, or destroyed by deliberate competition, or allowed to die of sheer neglect.

The results have been disastrous. It is true that attempts were made by the officers of the East India Company, and later by the Education Departments, to create a new system of education in India. For several reasons, the process was slow, and it could hardly compensate for the loss of the indigenous schools, with the result that the educational position of India in 1921 was hardly better than that in 1821. In the meanwhile, other nations of the East and West, whose educational advance was equal, or even inferior to that of India in 1821, made such rapid advances that India soon lost her position of vantage in the comity of nations and became one of the most educationally backward countries of the world!

CHAPTER TWO

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY ACCEPTS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE EDUCATION OF INDIANS

(1600-1813)

✓ 1. **The British East India Company : Its Establishment and Acquisition of Political Sovereignty (1600-1765).** (On 31st December 1600, Queen Elizabeth granted a Charter to a few enterprising merchants of the City of London giving them a monopoly of trade with India and the East. Thus came into existence a unique commercial-cum-political venture under the name of the *East India Company*.) The original object of the concern was trade and not political conquest. Commerce, however, was inevitably welded with colonies and conquests in the career of the Portuguese and Dutch traders, and the British East India Company also soon learnt that it would never be able to cope with her foreign rivals unless it assumed a semi-political character for itself. From the time of Charles II, therefore, the Company was, in Charter as in deed, "a State within the State itself . . . it was empowered to perform all the State functions—executive, judicial, legislative and economic It was legally and virtually, in its corporate capacity, the British State itself, untrammelled by all the legal and constitutional restrictions of councils, Parliament and ministers".¹ The Company ultimately emerged triumphant from all its struggles with European rivals and founded an Empire in India.

As the transformation was insidious and gradual, it is not possible to say exactly when the Company lost its purely commercial character and became a political power in India. In the first hundred and fifty years of its existence, it was primarily a commercial concern and was chiefly engaged in struggles with its European rivals. These finally ended with the conclusion of the Third French War in 1763 ; but they inevitably led to conflicts with the Indian Princes and the foundation of the British Empire in India may be said to have been well and truly laid with Clive's victory in the Battle of Plassey (1757) or more

definitely, with Emperor Shah Alam's grant of the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company (1765). In 1813, its commercial accounts were separated from the political revenues and in 1833, its commercial activities were closed down altogether. Thenceforward it continued to be merely a political body which made conquests on behalf of the mother-country until it was superseded in 1858 by the Crown. It has, therefore, been assumed, for the purposes of this narrative, that the East India Company was mainly a commercial body until 1765 and that it became a ruling power in India, and hence legally responsible for the education of the Indian people, with the grant of *Diwani* in 1765.

2. **Proselytising and Educational Activities of the East India Company (1600-1765).** The East India Company was, in this period, a primarily commercial concern and it is, therefore, not proper to expect it to take any steps for the education of the Indian people. (But N. N. Law points out that, even in these early years, the Company was engaged in fostering some proselytising and educational activities within its possessions.) As early as in 1614, steps were taken "for the recruitment of Indians for the propagation of the Gospel among their countrymen and for imparting to these missionaries such education, at the Company's expense, as would enable them to carry out effectively the purposes for which they were enlisted".¹ It is also on record that an Indian youth, christened *Peter* by King James I, was taken to England for education in the Christian doctrine although what he did later on is not known.² In 1659, the Court of Directors explicitly stated that it was their earnest desire by all possible means to spread Christianity among the people of India and allowed missionaries to embark on their ships.³ This evangelical zeal found good support in contemporary England where the Church was experiencing the revival of a deep religious fervour so that, when the Charter of the Company was renewed in 1698, the famous *missionary clause* was inserted in it by Parliament. This clause directed the Company to maintain ministers of religion at their factories in India and to take a Chaplain in every ship of 500 tons or more. The ministers were required to learn the Portuguese language which

¹ N. N. Law : *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers*, pp. 7-8.

was then commonly understood by the inferior servants at the factories, and also "to apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or slaves of the same Company or of their agents, in the Protestant religion".¹ The Charter also directed the Company to maintain schools, wherever necessary, in all their garrisons and bigger factories. The first part of this direction obviously implies that the Company was expected to spread the Gospel amongst all the Hindu employees of the Company at least, if not among the people as a whole.

Two questions arise in connection with these early proselytising activities of the East India Company. Why did the Company undertake them at all?—is the question most frequently asked. Various answers are suggested: J. W. Kaye thinks that they arose out of "the Christian duty of instructing the Gentoos",² it may also be that, in this case, the British East India Company was following in the footsteps of the Portuguese and Dutch traders who also encouraged proselytisation; N. N. Law suggests that the Company's attempt to obtain Protestant converts to Christianity may be due to its desire to remove "the apprehended trouble owing to the preponderance of Roman Catholics among the inhabitants of the places where they had settled";³ or a combination of all these causes may have led the Company to encourage or undertake proselytisation.

Can these proselytising activities be regarded as the beginning of the Company's educational enterprise in India?—is the next question raised. Some historians seem to think that they can be; but it is wrong to equate the *education* of Indians with their *conversion to Christianity*. Such a view was common among the missionaries and the officers of the East India Company at this period. But no educationist can ever subscribe to it and it would be far more correct to hold that these early proselytising activities of the Company had nothing to do with the education of the Indian people because they did not, in any way, contribute to the modern movement in education that began in India with the Charter Act of 1813.

¹ Sir C. Ilbert: *Government of India*, p. 29.

² J. W. Kaye: *Administration of the E. I. Company*, Pt. V, Chap. I, p. 58.

³ N. N. Law: *op. cit.*, p. 5 (The Roman Catholics were presumably regarded as having pro-Portu-

What then is the importance of the *missionary clause* contained in the Charter Act of 1698? It may be said to have laid the foundation, not of the education of the Indian people, but of the education of the European and Anglo-Indian children who lived in the possessions of the Company. In accordance with the directions of this Charter, Chaplains were appointed in all the three Presidency towns. They regarded it as their pious duty to look after the education of the Christian children and, in particular, after the welfare and education of the Anglo-Indian children born of the Company's soldiers and their Indian wives. These children were generally neglected and the Chaplains were anxious to claim them for the Christian fold and to educate them properly.¹ With this object in view, they collected subscriptions and established *charity schools*. The name was borrowed from England and indicated that the schools were supported by charity and were primarily meant for poor children or orphans.)

Thus arose the most important of the charity schools conducted in India during the eighteenth century. Some idea of their working can be had from the detailed account given by N. N. Law in his interesting book *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers*. In the years immediately following 1698, the Chaplains of the Company seem to have followed the provisions of the Charter literally and conducted schools in Portuguese which was then the *lingua franca* at the factories of the Company. But the attempt never became popular; it was soon given up and English was adopted as the medium of instruction. The oldest charity school to be established on this new model was *St. Mary's Charity School* at Madras founded by Rev. W. Stevenson in 1715. It was financed

¹ Compare, for instance, the following passage from the first Annual Report of the *Bombay Education Society*, which describes why the Society was started in 1815. It is equally applicable to all the charity schools established in India at this period :—

"There are the European soldiers. They at their embarkation, are not permitted to take home with them their native families; and no provision being made for them in the country, their children are thrown upon the world totally unprovided for; the mother is in most cases totally unable to afford them the common necessities of life; in some cases indeed the mother is dead and then the children become associated with the lowest profligates. There are again lower classes of Europeans. They are driven to this country by their crimes or their vices. They generally co-habit either with low native women or native Portuguese women. In cases of family quarrels the woman carries off the children and brings them up among her own relatives. So on the 29th of January 1815 a very respectable meeting of European gentlemen started this Society with the benevolent object of training up the children of their own countrymen in pious attachment to the principles of Christianity and implanting in their minds such other knowledge and habits of industry as might render them

by legacies, donations, and occasional grants from the Company. In 1719, a charity school was established at Bombay by Rev. Richard Cobbe on the same principles. Chaplain Bellamy of Calcutta founded a similar charity school sometime between 1720 and 1731 and it is on record that a new building was constructed for it in 1739. In 1787, a *Female Orphan Asylum* was opened at Madras and named after Lady Campbell, the wife of the Governor, who took a leading part in collecting funds. It received a grant of Rs. 5 per student per month from the Company (subject to an upper limit of Rs. 750 p.m.) and was exclusively meant for the legitimate children of European officers (from Indian or European wives) and orphans of officers and soldiers. In the same year, a *Male Asylum* was started at Madras by Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, the Chaplain. This received a grant of Rs. 5 per child per mensem from the Company, subject to an upper limit of Rs. 500 per mensem. Moreover, permission was given to the school to run a lottery in its support—an order that proved to be a veritable gold-mine because, between 1795 and 1805, 14 lakhs of *pagodas* were raised thereby. This school is of great historical importance because it was here that Dr. Bell tried the *monitorial system* which he later introduced in England.

{The East India Company assisted these charity schools} in various ways. For instance, it (a) sanctioned recurring grants for maintenance; (b) permitted lotteries in their support; (c) gave non-recurring grants for buildings or provided sites; (d) allowed their officers to collect funds or act as school accountants or other office-bearers; (e) occasionally repaired the school buildings; and (f) accepted the funds of the schools as deposits at comparatively higher rates of interest. But when all is said, it must be admitted that {these schools were maintained by subscriptions and donations rather than by the grants sanctioned by the Company.}

③ **Educational Policy of the Company between 1765 and 1813.** After 1765 when the Company became a political power in India, its educational policy underwent a change. | Hitherto, the Company had restricted its attention to the education of European and Anglo-Indian children. | It now began to feel that it must do something for the Indian people. Politically, it was a successor to Hindu and Muslim rulers who encouraged higher

learning in classical languages by (a) establishing *madrassahs* and *pathshalas*, (b) by giving marks of honour or pecuniary grants to learned *Pandits* and *Moulavis*, or (c) by endowing educational institutions for higher religious studies. It was felt that the Company must continue these traditions. Moreover, the Company wanted to educate sons of influential Indians for higher posts under Government and thereby win the confidence of the upper classes and consolidate its rule in India.} It was, therefore, felt that the Company should establish some centres of higher learning for the Hindus and the Muslims—a desire that led to the establishment of institutions entirely different from the charity schools. Among these, the most important were the Calcutta Madrassah and the Benares Sanskrit College.

) The Calcutta Madrassah was founded by Warren Hastings in order “to conciliate the Mahomedans of Calcutta....to qualify the sons of Mahomedan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State, and to produce competent officers for Courts of Justice to which students of the Madrassah on the production of certificates of qualification were to be drafted as vacancies occurred”.¹ The immediate cause that led to the establishment of the Madrassah, however, was a representation made by local influential Muslims which Hastings himself has summarised as follows :—

In the month of September 1780 a petition was presented to me by a considerable number of Mussulmen of credit and learning, who attended in a body for that purpose praying that I would use my influence with a stranger of the name of Mudgid O'din who was then lately arrived at the Presidency to persuade him to remain there for the instruction of young students in the Mahomedan law, and in such other sciences as are taught in the Mahomedan schools for which he was represented to be uncommonly qualified. They represented that this was a favourable occasion to establish a Madressa or College, and Mudgid O'din the fittest person to form and preside in it, that Calcutta was already become the seat of a great empire, and the resort of persons from all parts of Hindoostan and Deccan, that it had been the pride of every polished court and the wisdom of every well-regulated Government both in India and in Persia to promote by such institutions the growth and extension of liberal knowledge, that in India only the traces of them now remain, the decline of learning having accompanied that of the Mogul Empire, that the numerous offices of our Government which required men of improved abilities to fill and the care which had been occasionally observed to select men of the first eminence in the science of jurisprudence to officiate as judges in the criminal and assessors in the Civil Courts of Judicature, and (I hope this addition will not be imputed to me as ostentation on an occasion in which the sincerity of what I shall hereafter propose for the public patronage will be best evident by my own example) the belief which generally prevailed

that men so accomplished usually met with a distinguished reception from myself (which) afforded them particular encouragement, to hope that a proposal of this nature would prove acceptable to the actual Government.¹

As an astute politician, Warren Hastings saw that here was an excellent opportunity to conciliate the Muslims and decided to utilise it to the full. He at once sent for Mudgid O'din and offered him the post of the Principal of the Madrassah which the latter readily accepted. As a reference to the Court of Directors would have involved delay, he decided to finance the whole project from his private income and Mudgid O'din began his Madrassah as early as in October 1780. The scholarship of Mudgid O'din was so widely known that the Madrassah began to attract students from all parts of India, and even as early as in January 1781, Warren Hastings reported that students came from Kashmir, Gujerat and Karnatak.

Originally, Mudgid O'din was the sole preceptor at the Madrassah and arrangements were made to take in 40 boarders who were given free tuition, boarding and lodging. In addition to them, a number of day scholars were also admitted and given free tuition. But the success of the Madrassah was so great and its psychological effect in conciliating the Muslims was politically so valuable that Warren Hastings felt it necessary to expand the institution by appointing more preceptors and by increasing the number of boarders to 100. But as this reform involved an expenditure which was beyond his private resources and as he desired to place the institution on a permanent footing, he requested the Court of Directors to take it under their control. They readily accepted the proposal and even paid back all the expenditure which Hastings had incurred on it from his personal funds.

In the early years, the Court of Directors followed the oriental practice of assigning lands for the support of educational institutions and lands which yielded an annual revenue of about Rs. 29,000 (known as Madrassah Mahal) were assigned for the support of the Madrassah. In 1785, the lands were assigned by *Sanad* to Muhammad Muiz-ud-din, the Head of the Madrassah and his successors. But constant complaints regarding inefficiency and mismanagement led finally to the appointment of a European secretary to control the institution and to a

guaranteed expenditure of Rs. 30,000 from the State treasury in lieu of assignment in lands.

The courses of studies provided at the Madrassah varied from time to time. It is not necessary here to trace all the changes in its curriculum and a general idea of its work can be had from the branches of knowledge which were taught therein in 1791, viz., (1) Natural Philosophy, (2) Theology, (3) Law, (4) Astronomy, (5) Geometry, (6) Arithmetic, (7) Logic, (8) Rhetorics, (9) Grammar. "The course extended to seven years. Along with the staff, a Khatib who read the Quran, and a Mu'adhdhin (a crier) were to attend the Madrassah to enable the students to perform religious worship and Friday was set apart for prayers and purification."¹

The *Benares Sanskrit College* owed its establishment to the same political considerations as had operated in the case of the Calcutta Madrassah and was an attempt to conciliate the Hindu population of the newly acquired territories of the Company. It was founded in 1791² by Jonathan Duncan,³ the Resident at Benares who thus explained the considerations that made him undertake the project :—

Two important advantages seemed derivable from such an establishment, the first to the British name and nation in its tendency towards endearing our Government to the native Hindus ; by our exceeding in our attention towards them and their systems, the care shown even by their own native princes. The second principal advantage that may be derived from this institution will be felt in its effect upon the natives by preserving and disseminating a knowledge of the Hindu law, and proving a nursery of future doctors and

¹ M. D. Sufi : *Al-minhaj*, p. 91.

² A doubt has been raised regarding this date. In his *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, Sharp publishes a letter from Duncan regarding the establishment of the college. This is dated 1st January 1792 (pp. 10-12). A reply to this letter was sent by Lord Cornwallis on 18th January 1792 in which sanction was accorded to the proposals of Duncan (pp. 12-13). It is argued from this that the college was established in 1792. But a careful study shows that this inference is incorrect. Lord Cornwallis wrote "We entirely approve of the plan of the Hindu College which you have established from the commencement of 1199 Fussly". It is therefore evident that Duncan had already founded the college and applied for *ex-post-facto* sanction—a common procedure of this period. Moreover, there is other indisputable evidence to show that the college was established in 1791. Fisher states in his Memoir that it was projected in 1791 (*Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, p. 186) and G. Nicolls who wrote the book *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshala or Sanskrit College* agrees with him in this respect (p. 1). Boman-Behram states that the professors of the college "met for the first time on the 28th of October 1791" and that "the Resident paid his first visit to the new College on 17th November 1791". (*Educational Controversies in India*, p. 20.) All things considered, there is hardly any doubt that the College was established in 1791.

³ Jonathan Duncan (1756-1811) : He was born at Wardhouse, in the county of Forfar, Scotland in 1756 and came to India at the early age of 16. By his ability, he soon came to hold very high posts—was first the Resident at Benares and then the Governor of Bombay from 1795 to 1811. He was described as the "true friend of the Hindu" and one of his principal achievements was the abolition of infanticide in Benares and Kathiawar. He died at Bombay on 11th August 1811 after an uninterrupted service of 39 years.

expounders thereof, to assist European judges in the due, regular, and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of the people.¹

In the first year of the college, a grant of Rs. 14,000 was sanctioned and it was then raised to Rs. 20,000 per annum. But as in the case of the Madrassah, the affairs of the college continued to be badly managed by the Pandits and, consequently, a European superintendent was appointed to conduct the institution. The course of studies at the college was exactly similar to that of an indigenous *Pathshala* and it was laid down that "the discipline of the college was to be conformable in all respects to the Dharma Sastra in the Chapter on education. The second book of Manu contains the whole system of discipline".²

Taken together, the Calcutta Madrassah and the Benares Sanskrit College show the beginning of the *Orientalist School of Educational Policy*. The followers of this school of thought believed that the Company must not lend any support to missionary enterprise and to proselytisation; that it need not make any hasty attempt to teach Western knowledge to the Indian people; that its only duty was to follow in the footsteps of Hindu and Muslim rulers and to encourage classical learning in Sanskrit and Arabic on traditional lines; and that the ancient system of education which the Hindus and Muslims had inherited was good enough for them for all practical purposes. Obviously, this school of thought was dominated by *political* rather than by educational considerations and decided its policies on grounds of *religious neutrality* or the *political expediency of conciliating the people*. But this was a period when politics, and not education, dominated the Indian scene. The Orientalist views were, therefore, readily accepted by the Court of Directors and between 1765 and 1813, the principal object of the educational policy of the Company was to encourage traditional Oriental learning in Sanskrit and Arabic and the bulk of its educational expenditure was incurred on the maintenance of the Calcutta Madrassah and the Benares Sanskrit College.

4. **The Reasons which led the Missionaries to undertake Educational Activities.** Side by side with these educational activities conducted by the Company, a number of other educational activities were also organised by missionaries who ordinarily

¹ W. H. Sharp : op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 11-12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

worked under the shadow of its political authority. These institutions are of great significance in the history of education in modern India as pioneers of private enterprise in education] and deserve detailed notice.

Before, however, coming to their history proper, it is necessary to understand why the missionaries undertook educational activities as an integral part of their work in India. The first and foremost object of the missionaries was to convert people to Christianity and one could not expect them to start educational institutions or to work as teachers. In fact, there was a time in early missionary history when the *Home Authorities* of missions refused to support educational institutions and opined that the priests had no business to found schools. But the practical experience of the early missionaries soon convinced them that they had to start schools as an important means of proselytisation. As Rev. Dr. D. O. Allen, an eminent missionary of the American Board, observed :

In commencing their operations, missionaries have generally seen the propriety and importance of establishing schools. One reason for them is to educate the minds of the people, so that they may be more capable of understanding and appreciating the facts and evidences, the doctrines and duties of the Scriptures. Another reason for them is to increase the influence of the missionaries with the people, by communicating some advantage which they can appreciate, and by showing that Christianity rests on an intelligent perception of its doctrines, and contains reason for the performance of all its duties. And another reason for such an education, is in its procuring means and opening ways of access to the people, and opportunities of preaching to them. One great difficulty which missionaries often experience, is in obtaining access to the people, in circumstances where Christianity can be made the subject of communication or conversation. In such circumstances schools become very important, as a means of communication with different classes of people, with children and parents, and with men and women. And school-houses also become important as places for becoming acquainted with people, for social intercourse and religious worship. School-houses become chapels under the control of missionaries. Their use for this purpose is often more important than for education.¹

In the same way, it soon became equally evident that the missions had to conduct schools for the converted population. The early converts to Christianity came mostly from the lowest rung of the Hindu society. They were generally illiterate; and as reading the Bible was held to be essential for salvation, the missionaries were required to establish schools in order to teach the new converts to read and write. For the same reason, they were also compelled to introduce the printing press and to

¹ R. G. Wilder : *Mission Schools in India*, pp. 36-7.

print the Bible in the Indian languages. They had also to start vocational schools and to secure employment under Government to the converts in order to give them a living and a status in society. In fact, the early missionaries found that their work began, rather than ended, with a conversion, and that their main task was not so much the conversion of the people to Christianity as the improvement of the social, cultural, and economic condition of the converted people—an object which could only be secured by conducting schools for their education. This duty became all the more urgent because neither the indigenous schools nor the Government schools could admit all the Indian Christian children and they would have remained without any education whatsoever if the missionaries had not organised schools of their own. In short, the missionaries soon realised that schools were both the cause and the effect of proselytisation and that educational and missionary work had to be undertaken side by side; and it is out of this realisation that the mission schools of modern India were born.

5. **The Work of the Danish Mission in the Province of Madras (1706-92).** The history of the educational enterprise of the early missionaries can be conveniently studied under three main heads: (a) the work of the Danish Mission in the Province of Madras between 1706 and 1792; (b) the work of the *Serampore Trio* and others in the Province of Bengal between 1758 and 1813; and (c) the change in the attitude of the Company towards the missionaries which came about between 1765 and 1793 and its effect on the educational enterprise of the missions.

Taking the first of these topics, it may be said that the honour of being the first Protestant Missionaries to work in the territories of the East India Company goes to the Danish Mission. The famous pioneers of this Mission—Ziegenbalg and Plustschau started their activities at Tranquebar—a Danish station in the South—in 1706. But since the Danes did not obtain a footing in India, most of the Danish missionaries who succeeded these pioneers “substantially identified themselves with the English colonies in South India, halting where they halted and advancing where they advanced”.¹ Other missions that came to India later followed the same policy and, as Richter rightly points out, “modern missionary work in India has as its background and

¹ J. A. Richter : *A History of Missions in India*, p. 27.

setting the Anglo-Indian Empire ; it is intimately connected with the beginnings of that empire ; and has extended along with it from one end of the country to the other ".¹

Ziegenbalg and his colleagues did considerable missionary and educational work. For example, a printing press in Tamil was established in 1713. An institution for training teachers was opened at Tranquebar in 1716 and, in the following year, two charity schools were opened in Madras—one for Portuguese and the other for Tamil children. Ziegenbalg died in 1719 but his work was continued by other competent missionaries amongst whom may be mentioned the names of Grundler, Kiernander and Schwartz. In Madras, Grundler started, a little before 1717, " a Portuguese school in the White town and a Malabar school in the Black ".² In 1742, Kiernander founded charity schools for Eurasians as well as Indians in and near Fort St. David. His work became so well known that Clive invited him to Calcutta where in 1758, he founded a charity school. Kiernander continued to work in Bengal for the rest of his life and did the same pioneer service to that Province which Ziegenbalg did to Madras. But even more important was the work of Schwartz who is looked upon as the pioneer of education in the Province of Madras. He founded a school for European and Eurasian boys at Trichinopoly (about 1772) and an English Charity School at Tanjore with the help of the purse presented to him by Haider Ali of Mysore. With the assistance of John Sullivan, the Resident at Tanjore, he started three schools at Tanjore, Ramnad and Shivganga in 1785 with the object of teaching English to Indian children. These may be said to be the earliest schools for teaching the English language to Indians and Sullivan hoped that they would help " the Company and the people to understand each other " and to " facilitate dealings of all kinds between them ".³ " Christianity was not expressly taught (in these schools) ; nor were any deceitful methods used to instil Christian doctrines into the pupil's minds ".⁴ The Court of Directors were enthusiastic about them and while sanctioning a grant-in-aid, wrote as follows :—

The utility and importance of establishing a free and direct communication with the natives, having been sensibly experienced during the late war in India,

¹ J. A. Richter : *op. cit.*, p. 128.

² N. N. Law : *op. cit.*, p. 74.

³ N. N. Law : *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

and their acquiring a knowledge of the English language being the most effectual means of accomplishing this desirable object, it is with great pleasure we learn from Mr. John Sullivan our late Resident at Tanjore, that he had, seconded in his laudable undertaking by the zealous exertions of the Reverend Mr. Swartz, prevailed on the Rajah of Tanjore, and the Rajahs of the great and little Marawar to establish schools for teaching English at Tanjore, Ramenedaporam and Shevagunga, the capitals of their respective countries, the two latter assigning Pagodas 300 (three hundred) each, for the support of their two seminaries. These works of peace Mr. Sullivan informs us have been interrupted by the calamities of War, and the funds assigned for their support necessarily diverted to other purposes, but we hope they will revive with the restoration of tranquillity.

Highly approving of institutions calculated to establish mutual good faith ; to enlighten the minds of the natives and to impress them with sentiments of esteem and respect for this British nation, by making them acquainted with the leading features of our Government so favourable to the rights and happiness of mankind ; we have determined to evince our desire of promoting their success, by contributing 250 pagodas per annum towards the support of each of the schools above mentioned, and of any other school which may be opened for the same purpose, and we accordingly direct you to pay such schools, respectively the annual stipend of 250 pagodas, flattering ourselves that our example will excite the Native Princes in alliance with us to similar and more extensive benefactions.¹

It will be seen from the above account that the missionaries were conducting, even at this early date, a number of educational institutions in India ; and that these institutions differed from those conducted by the Company's Chaplains in a number of ways. The mission schools used Indian languages as media of instruction ; they were meant, not only for European and Anglo-Indian children, but for converted Indian children in general ; and some of them were meant for Indian children and aimed at teaching the English language as a means of communication between the rulers and the ruled. These distinctive features make the educational enterprise of early missionaries even more important than that of Chaplains. Besides, it was the early missionaries who introduced the printing press in India and began the printing of books in Indian languages.

The Company maintained, throughout this period, an attitude of sympathy with this missionary enterprise. In some cases, they gave financial assistance to the mission schools. But what is even more important, they extended *benevolent protection* and sympathy to all such activities. As Law observes :

In the seventeenth century, we find the Directors taking the initiative in educational work, but with the arrival of the missionaries in the beginning of the eighteenth century we find a change gradually setting in. They shifted their educational duties to the shoulders of the new-comers, though of course they did not stand aloof altogether. During the first three quarters of the eighteenth

century, they gave assistance to schools of various kinds in various ways: they ordered, for instance, their servants at Fort St. David to act in the schools as accountants and occasionally repaired the school buildings. They did not, however, want to have a hand in the actual educational work, so that, up to 1787, all that was done outside Fort St. George, was done by the missionaries either in their capacity as such or as garrison or station chaplains.¹

6. The Work of the Serampore Trio and Others in Bengal (1758-1813). The Danish missionaries who worked in the South in the eighteenth century were indeed lucky because they were able to obtain *benevolent protection* and sympathetic assistance from the East India Company. The missionaries who worked in Bengal, however, were far less fortunate. They had to struggle hard against a hostile attitude and had it not been for the protection given to them by the Dutch Settlements at Serampore and Chinsura, they would hardly have been able to achieve anything at all.

Reference has already been made to the work of Kiernander. He was not only the pioneer missionary in Bengal, but had also the good fortune to obtain sympathetic treatment from the Company. He was followed by Dr. Carey, a representative of the Baptist Missionary Society, in 1793. He worked for a time at Calcutta; but owing to difficulties, finally shifted to Malda where he superintended an indigo factory and used all his spare time in translating the New Testament into Bengali, holding daily religious services for the servants on the estate, preaching among the neighbouring villagers and in supervising a school he had established. In 1799, two other missionaries—Ward and Marshman—arrived in Calcutta. Their original object was to join Carey in his work in North Bengal; but they found that the East India Company would not permit them to do so. They, therefore, persuaded Carey to join them and decided to settle down at the Dutch Settlement of Serampore which was only about 15 miles from Calcutta and where the Dutch Governor gave them all the protection they needed. Thus came into existence the famous *Serampore Trio*. Indeed, these three friends formed an excellent combination for mission work because Carey was a great propagandist, Ward was a printer and Marshman was a school teacher. They translated and printed the Bible in several languages and also issued a number of tracts on useful subjects. In this connection, Sherring observes:

In no country in the world; and in no period in the history of Christianity, was there ever displayed such an amount of energy in the translation of the

¹ N. N. Law: *op. cit.*, p. 33.

Sacred Scriptures from their originals into other tongues, as was exhibited by a handful of earnest men in Calcutta and Serampore in the first ten years of the present century. By their own industry and that of others in various parts of India who had caught from them inspiration for the work, during this short period, portions of the Bible, chiefly of the New Testament, had been translated, and actually printed, in thirty-one Indian languages and dialects. One is amazed, and almost overwhelmed, at the stupendousness of this undertaking. It cannot be supposed that these first attempts are to be compared with the versions which have been subsequently made in these languages. But this must not diminish the intense admiration we ought to feel towards men of such boldness of design, and such astounding energy of execution. Not content with their labours in this direction, they also published a great multitude of tracts, the Serampore press alone issuing them in twenty languages, and, in addition, books for schools and colleges.¹

In addition to this work of translating and printing the Bible, the Serampore trio also conducted several schools for boys and girls at Serampore, Calcutta and other outlying stations.

On the whole, the Serampore trio did not come into any serious conflict with the officials of the Company except on one occasion. In 1808, they published certain tracts called *Addresses to Hindus and Mahomedans*. These were so worded as to offend the religious sentiments of the Indian people and, therefore, the Company prohibited their circulation within its territories. It really wanted to take some more drastic action and directed that their press should be removed to Calcutta so as to bring it under the proper control of the Company's officials. This would have been a great blow to their work ; but the Danish Governor intervened and finally, the earlier order was withdrawn and the trio were directed to "submit works intended for circulation in the Company's territories to the inspection of its officers".² This incident made them more careful in their proselytisation although it did not affect their educational activities in any way.

Of the other missionaries who worked in Bengal at this period only two deserve mention. The London Missionary Society (established 1795) sent Rev. N. Forsyth, its first missionary, to India in 1798. He established a station at the Dutch possession of Chinsura and did some inconspicuous work till 1812 when he was succeeded by Rev. R. May who, however, did excellent educational work later on.

As the following two extracts will show, the extent and volume of mission work in India was very small even in 1813. X

¹ M. A. Sherring : *The History of Protestant Missions in India*, p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

Sherring observes :—

The entire number of missionaries sent out up to the end of the century was only 50, and at no one time were there more than ten in the field. They had in all respects to begin at the beginning—to translate the Scriptures, to write Christian tracts and books, to prepare school manuals, to find out the best methods on which to conduct missions, and to meet a number of most perplexing questions affecting the relations of themselves and their work to home societies and individuals, to European and Native Governments, and to the peculiarities of Hindu and Muhammadan society. And they were left almost single-handed to contend with enormous difficulties. There were no great societies at home to sustain them.¹

Richter also writes in the same vein :—

Taken all in all, it was a day of small things. About 1812, there existed mission stations at Serampore (still in the hands of the Danes) whence Calcutta was worked ; out-stations of the Baptists of Dinajpur, in the indigo district, where Carey had laboured before settling in Serampore ; and at Jessore, in the well-watered delta-district of Eastern Bengal. The London Missionary Society was busy in Dutch Chinsura and at Vizagapatam. In Madras and the Tamil country no new work had as yet sprung up alongside that of the veteran fathers of the Danish Mission. In the Kanarese country there was only the solitary station of Bellary, and that had been founded in 1812. In Bombay the first missionaries of a non-English Society, the American Board, had after great anxiety just managed to obtain a foothold. The only seed which appeared to be sprouting hopefully was the work of Ringeltaube in Southern Travancore.²

7. Change in the Company's Attitude to Missionary Enterprise. This slow growth of missionary enterprise prior to 1813 was due to several causes, the most important of which was probably the hostile attitude of the East India Company. As shown already in Section 3 *supra*, the attitude of the Company was generally favourable to missionary enterprise prior to 1765. But a change began to come about as soon as the Company became a political power in India. The acquisition of sovereignty made the Company conscious of the political importance of maintaining strict religious neutrality and this realisation made it abandon all its earlier inclinations towards proselytisation and to lose all its former sympathy for missionary enterprise. As the Company's empire began to grow, it became more and more particular to maintain religious neutrality and to sever all connection with missionary enterprise. Incidents like that of the Sepoy Mutiny at Vellore strengthened these ideas and by about 1800, the East India Company became a staunch opponent of all attempts at proselytisation and tried to keep the missionaries out of its territories as far as possible. In the same way, the adoption of the Orientalist policy in education between

¹ M. A. Sherring : *op. cit.*, p. 49.

² Richter : *op. cit.*, p. 49.

1781 and 1791 deprived the mission schools of the sympathy and support of the Company which they had enjoyed so far.

The missionaries did not like these changes and began to criticise the new policies and to plead for a return to the old days. As early as in 1793, when the Charter of the Company came up for renewal, Wilberforce moved the following Resolution in the House of Commons :—

That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the British Legislature to promote by all just and prudent means the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British Dominions in India ; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge and to their religious and moral improvement.¹

But Wilberforce realised that a pious resolution like this had no administrative value ; and hence he proposed to insert a clause in the Company's Charter to the effect that

the Court of Directors of the Company shall be empowered and commissioned to nominate and send out from time to time a sufficient number of skilled and suitable persons who shall attain the aforesaid object by serving as schoolmasters, missionaries, or otherwise.²

The Court of Directors opposed this violently. They had now fully realized the importance of the policy of religious neutrality in consolidating their empire in India and also knew that the missionary with his excessive zeal for conversions invariably got into trouble with the Indian people. Nor were they apparently anxious to undertake the duty of educating the Indian people even apart from giving them religious guidance as desired by Wilberforce. For political and financial reasons, therefore, they urged that "the Hindus had as good a system of faith and of morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they already possessed,"³ and the proposal of Wilberforce was negatived by Parliament.

This defeat gave a great set-back to missionary enterprise. The Company's position on the missionary issue was now greatly strengthened and it began to put all possible obstacles in the path of the missionaries who worked in its dominions. This active hostility of the Company enraged the missionaries who, in their turn, began to criticise, not only the anti-missionary policy of the Company, but its political and commercial

¹ Richter : *op. cit.*, p. 149.

² *Ibid.*, p. 150.

³ W. H. Sharp : *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, p. 17.

undertakings and even the personal conduct of its officials. The following passage from Richter will give the reader an idea of the nature of such criticism :—

Further, the English officials had, almost without exception, abandoned the principles of Christian morality. Even a Governor-General like Warren Hastings and his inconvenient rival, Philip Francis, were not ashamed to live in open adultery. Their sole connection with the Church was that once a year, at Christmas or at Easter, they attended divine service in great state. . . Over-zealous Orientalists, moreover, sang the praises of the religions of the East, especially of the then newly discovered Indian religions and systems of philosophy, and even if every one did not go so far as to declare them to be better and truer than Christianity, still the general opinion was that they were quite good enough for the Hindus, and better adapted to their necessities than Western forms of religion. Besides all this the Company took up the narrow-minded point of view that it would have no European within its territories who was not engaged in its service or who did not hold its passport : if any such person were allowed, he would probably enter into business relationships behind its back and thus lessen its gains : or he might talk about its methods of colonial government on his return home, and there were many things which there was every reason to keep concealed from European eyes and ears.¹

The relations between the missionaries and the officials of the Company became, therefore, extremely strained after 1793. As an illustration, the treatment given to the Serampore trio may be compared with that given to the Danish Mission prior to 1792. Sherring gives some other instances of this hostile attitude of the Company. He says :—

In 1812 the Government first ordered two missionaries to be expelled from the country, and then all others brought to their notice, excepting, as they always did, the brethren at Serampore. Two missionaries from the United States, the Rev. Messrs. Judson (afterwards the ' Apostle of Burmah ') and Newell, having reached Calcutta, proceeded to the police-office, and stated to the presiding magistrate their purpose to establish a mission to the east of Bengal ; at the same time presenting the passports which they had received from the Governor of Massachusetts. Presently six more missionaries arrived, three of whom were British subjects and three American. Of the five Americans, three, including Messrs. Judson and Newell, were forthwith expelled, but permission, obtained after great entreaty, was allowed them to proceed to Mauritius. The other two escaped to Bombay, having secretly left Calcutta through the connivance of some European residents, who felt outraged at the despotic course the Government was pursuing. But thither they were followed by a peremptory despatch ordering their immediate deportation to England. Two of the three English missionaries were residing in Serampore, and the third was in the Dutch settlement of Chinsurah. The two former, together with Mr. Robinson, who had been in India six years, after a long discussion, and after the Serampore brethren had exhausted every effort in trying to overcome the scruples of the Government, and to retain them, were ordered to quit the country. Mr. Robinson baffled the authorities, however, by leaving for Java, where he founded a mission on the invitation and under the express sanction of Mr., afterwards Sir Stamford Raffles,

¹ Richter : *op. cit.*, p. 182.

the Governor. The second was permitted to remain, as it was shown that he could be useful in the literary work of the press. But the third Mr. Johns, in spite of all protestations, was sent home to England at an expense to the Mission of £100.¹

Several other examples of this type are on record and it may be said without fear of exaggeration that, between 1792 and 1813, the East India Company did not ordinarily issue a permit to any missionary to work within its territories, expelled several missionaries as soon as they became active and tried to convert people, put every obstacle possible in the way of the missionaries, and did not give any assistance even to mission schools. In India, the missionaries were powerless to fight against this policy. They and their friends, therefore, began an intensive agitation in England with the object of persuading Parliament to legislate on the matter and give the necessary freedom and assistance to missionaries. The foremost among those who thus agitated was Charles Grant—the father of modern education in India.

8. **Charles Grant.** *A Biographical Study*: Charles Grant, the eldest son of Alexander Grant, a Highlander of the Urquhart branch of the clan of this name, was born in 1746. Owing to the vicissitudes of his father's career and the early death of his parents, Charles had a difficult childhood and was educated at Elgin by one of his uncles. He began life as a clerk in a commercial firm at the age of 17. He came to Calcutta in 1767 and took up employment under one Richard Baker. During 1769-70, a terrible famine occurred in Bengal and Grant worked so hard in the cause of famine-relief that his health broke down and he had to return to England in 1771.

Having recouped his health and got married, he returned to Calcutta again as an employee of the Company in 1773. For a time, he led a gay and extravagant life which involved him in debt and led to financial embarrassments. In 1775, he lost his brother and in the following year, his two young daughters died of small-pox within a few days of each other. These financial and domestic catastrophes led to a revolution in Grant's life and he decided to lead thenceforth a pious and simple life as a devout Christian. From this time onwards, Grant associated himself with missionaries and strove his utmost to convert Indians to Christianity and to educate them.

¹ Sherring: *op. cit.*, pp. 76-7.

His career between 1780 and 1790 was extremely successful. He first worked as the Commercial Resident at Malda and later, as a member of the Board of Trade. He also acquired a considerable fortune, through his private commercial enterprises. As his wife's health was failing he retired from service and returned to England in 1790.

In England, Grant came in contact with Wilberforce and became a member of the famous *Clapham sect*. He continued his labours to organise a campaign for the evangelisation of India and in 1792, wrote his famous pamphlet entitled *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals; and the means of improving it*. This, however, remained in manuscript only. In 1793, the Company's Charter came up for renewal and Wilberforce, under the obvious inspiration of Grant, tried to introduce the *pious* clauses to which a reference has already been made. As the move failed, Grant decided to further his objective by becoming a Director of the Company. He contested the elections and became a Director in 1797. He was elected Chairman of the Board of Directors in 1805, 1809 and 1815. He also became a Member of Parliament in 1802 and represented Inverness from 1802 to 1818. It was mainly his work and influence during this period that led to the educational clauses of the Charter Act of 1813. He also did his best to assist the missionaries in India and was chiefly responsible for the establishment of the Church Missionary Society in 1799. He retired from public activities in 1818 and led a peaceful life of rest and seclusion till his death in 1823.

✓ **9. Grant's Observations.** The ideas of Charles Grant on the subject of the education of the Indian people were typically missionary and can be best illustrated by quotations from his *Observations*. The first point in his thesis was to make the English people realise the utterly *immoral* and wretched condition of Indian Society. He wrote :—

In the worst parts of Europe there are no doubt a great number of men who are sincere, upright and conscientious. In Bengal, a man of real veracity and integrity is a great phenomenon; one conscientious in the whole of his conduct, it is to be feared, is an unknown character. . . . Power entrusted to a native of Hindoostan seldom fails of being exercised tyrannically, or perverted to the purpose of injustice. Official or ministerial employments of all sorts, and in all gradations are generally used as means of peculation. . . . The distribution of justice. . . . has commonly become a traffic in venality: the best cause being

obliged to pay for success, and the worst having the opportunity of purchasing it . . . Such is the power of money, that no crime is more frequent, hardly any less thought of, than perjury. . . The apathy with which a Hindoo views all persons and interests unconnected with himself, is such as excites the indignation of Europeans. . . Patriotism is absolutely unknown in Hindoostan.¹

Can all this be literally true? Admittedly, the state of affairs was not quite happy in those last decades of the eighteenth century when the whole country was in the grip of the anarchy that followed the decay of the Mughal Empire. "It was a period when life and property were always in danger and when it was risky to confide even in one's dearest friend or relation; when learning was at a discount, appalling ignorance and superstition prevailed in the land, and the people were harassed by thugs, pindarees or mercenaries in alien employment."² Even after making due allowance for this unhappy background, one cannot but feel that Grant is exaggerating the evils. It is the more easy to think so because such keen observers as Elphinstone, Munro and Metcalfe who came in contact with all sections of Indian society have nowhere expressed a wholesale condemnation of the morals of the average Indian. One may, however, pardon Grant's exaggerations because his motives were honourable and his exaggeration of the existing conditions was solely due to his anxiety to awaken an apathetic British public to a realisation of the extreme urgency for organising the education of the Indian people.

After having painted this exaggerated picture of the *depraved* condition of the Indian Society, Grant proceeds to analyse its causes and to suggest a remedy. According to Grant, the causes of the miserable condition of the Indian people were two: ignorance and want of a *proper* religion. He, therefore, felt that the situation could only be improved if Indians were first educated and finally converted to Christianity. He said:—

The true cure of darkness is the introduction of light. The Hindoos err, because they are ignorant; and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders; and this remedy is proposed, from a full conviction that if judiciously and patiently applied, it would have great and happy effects upon them, effects honourable and advantageous for us.³

The question naturally arose: What should be the medium through which this Western *light and knowledge* should be communicated to the Indian people? Grant suggested that the

¹ M. R. Paranjpe : *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education*, pp. viii-ix.

² *Ibid.*, p. viii.

³ S. M. Mehrotra : *History of English Education in India*, p. 11.

English language should be adopted as the medium of instruction. He said :—

There are two ways of making this communication : the one is, by the medium of the languages of those countries ; the other is, by the medium of our own. In general, when foreign teachers have proposed to instruct the inhabitants of any country, they have used the Vernacular tongue of that people, for a natural and necessary reason, that they could not hope to make any other means of communication intelligible to them. This is not our case in respect of our Eastern dependencies. They are our own, we have possessed them long ; many Englishmen reside among the Natives, our language is not unknown there, and it is practicable to diffuse it more widely. The choice, therefore, of either mode, lies open to us ; and we are at liberty to consider which is entitled to preference. . .

The acquisition of a foreign language is, to men of cultivated minds, a matter of no great difficulty. English teachers could, therefore, be sooner qualified to offer instruction in the native languages, than the Indians would be prepared to receive it in ours. This method would hence come into operation more speedily than the other ; and it would also be attended with the advantage of a more careful selection of the matter of instruction. But it would be far more confined and less effectual ; it may be termed a species of deciphering. The decipherer is required to unfold, in intelligible words, what was before hidden. Upon every new occasion, he has a similar labour to perform, and the information obtained from him is limited to the single communication then made. All other writings, in the same character still remain, to those who are ignorant of it, unknown ; but if they are taught the character itself, they can at once read every writing in which it is used. Thus superior in point of ultimate advantage does the employment of the English language appear ; and upon this ground, we give a preference to that mode, proposing here, that the communication of our knowledge shall be made by the medium of our own language.

We proceed, then, to observe, that it is perfectly in the power of this country, by degrees, to impart to the Hindoos our language ; afterwards, through that medium, to make them acquainted with our easy literary compositions, upon a variety of subjects ; and, let not the idea hastily excite derision, progressively with the simple elements of our arts, our philosophy, and religion. These acquisitions would silently undermine, and at length subvert, the fabric of error ; and all the objections that may be apprehended against such a change, are, it is confidently believed, capable of a solid answer.

The first communication, and the instrument of introducing the rest, must be the English language ; this is a key which will open to them a world of new ideas, and policy alone might have impelled us, long since, to put it into their hands.

To introduce the language of the conquerors, seems to be an obvious means of assimilating a conquered people to them. The Mahomedans from the beginning of their power, employed the Persian language in the affairs of government, and in the public departments. This practice aided them in maintaining their superiority, and enabled them, instead of depending blindly on native agents, to look into the conduct and details of public business as well as to keep intelligible registers of the income and expenditure of the State. Natives readily learnt the language of Government, finding that it was necessary in every concern of Revenue and of Justice ; they next became teachers of it ; and in all the provinces over which the Mogul Empire extended, it is still understood and taught by numbers of Hindoos.

It would have been our interest to have followed their example ; and had we done so, on the assumption of the Dewannee, or some years afterwards, the English language would now have been spoken and studied by multitudes of Hindoos

throughout our provinces. The details of the revenue would, from the beginning, have been open to our inspection ; and by facility of examination on our part, and difficulty of fabrication on that of the natives, manifold impositions of a gross nature, which have been practiced upon us, would have been precluded. An easy channel of communication also, would always have been open between the rulers and the subjects, and numberless grievances would have been represented, redressed, or prevented, which the ignorance of the former in the country languages, and the hindrances experienced by the latter in making their approaches, have sometimes suffered to pass with impunity, to the encouragement of new abuses. We were long held in the dark, both in India and in Europe, by the use of a technical Revenue language ; and a man of considerable judgment, who was a member of the Bengal Administration near twenty years since, publicly animadverted on the absurdity of our submitting to employ the unknown jargon of a conquered people. It is certain, that the Hindoos would easily have conformed to the use of English ; and they would still be glad to possess the language of their masters, the language which always gives weight and consequence to the Natives who have any acquaintance with it, and which would enable every Native to make his own representation directly to the Governor-General himself, who, it may be presumed, will not commonly, henceforth, be chosen from the line of the Company's servants ; and therefore, may not speak the dialects of the country. Of what importance it might be to the public interest, that a man in that station should not be obliged to depend on a medium with which he is unacquainted, may readily be conceived.

It would be extremely easy for Government to establish, at a moderate expense, in various parts of the provinces, places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English ; multitudes, especially of the young, would flock to them ; and the easy books used in teaching, might at the same time convey obvious truths on different subjects. The teachers should be persons of knowledge, morals, and discretion ; and men of this character could impart to their pupils much useful information in discourse : and to facilitate the attainment of that object, they might, at first make some use of the Bengalese tongue. The Hindoos would, in time, become teachers of English themselves ; and the employment of our language in public business, for which every political reason remains in full force, would, in the course of another generation, make it very general throughout the country. There is nothing wanting to the success of this plan, but the hearty patronage of Government. If they wish it to succeed, it can and must succeed. The introduction of English in the Administration of the Revenue, in Judicial proceedings, and in other business of Government, wherein Persian is now used ; and the establishment of free schools, for instruction in this language, would insure its diffusion over the country, for the reason already suggested, that the interest of the Natives would induce them to acquire it. Neither would much confusion arise, even at first, upon such a change ; for there are now a great number of Portuguese and Bengalese clerks in the provinces, who understand both the Hindoostanny and English languages. To employ them in drawing up petitions to Government, or its officers, would be no additional hardship upon the poorer people, who are now assisted in that way by Persian clerks ; and the opportunity afforded to others who have sufficient leisure, of learning the language of the Government gratuitously, would be an advantage never enjoyed under Mahomedan Rulers.

With our language, much of our useful literature might, and would, in time, be communicated. The art of printing would enable us to disseminate our writings in a way the Persians never could have done, though their compositions had been as numerous as ours. Hence the Hindoos would see the great use we

make of reason on all subjects, and in all affairs ; they also would learn to reason, they would become acquainted with the history of their own species, the past and present state of the world ; their affections would gradually become interested by various engaging works, composed to recommend virtue, and to deter from vice ; the general mass of their opinions would be rectified ; and above all, they would see a better system of principles and morals. New views of duty, as rational creatures, would open upon them ; and that mental bondage in which they have long been holden would gradually dissolve.¹

Regarding the subjects of instruction, some suggestions of Grant can be noted in the passage quoted above. In addition to these, Grant suggested that special emphasis should be laid on the teaching of natural sciences in order to break down the superstitious beliefs prevalent among the people and on the teaching of the use of mechanical inventions in order to bring about agricultural and industrial development of the country. However, the most precious subject of instruction according to Grant, was the Christian religion. He said :—

But, undoubtedly, the most important communication which the Hindoos could receive, through the medium of our language, would be the knowledge of our religion, the principles of which are explained in a clear, easy way, in various tracts circulating among us, and are completely contained in the inestimable volume of Scripture. Thence they would be instructed in the nature and perfections of the One True God, and in the real history of man : his creation, lapsed state, and the means of his recovery, on all which points they hold false and extravagant opinions ; they would see a pure, complete, and perfect system of morals and of duty, enforced by the most awful sanctions, and recommended by the most interesting motives ; they would learn the accountableness of man, the final judgment he is to undergo, and the Eternal state which is to follow. Wherever this knowledge should be received, Idolatry, with all the rabble of its impure deities, its monsters of wood and stone, its false principles and corrupt practices, its delusive hopes and vain fears, its ridiculous ceremonies and degrading superstitions, its lying legends and fraudulent impositions, would fall. The reasonable service of the only, and the infinitely perfect God, would be established: love to Him, peace and goodwill towards men, would be felt as obligatory principles.²

Grant admitted that his scheme would not yield quick results ; and that several years would have to pass before education could be sufficiently diffused in society to show any general improvement in the moral or material sphere. But he argued that the slowness of the results should not be accepted as a defect in his proposals. He said :—

It is not asserted, that such effects would be immediate or universal ; but admitting them to be progressive, and partial only, yet how great would the change be, and how happy at length for the outward prosperity, and internal peace of society among the Hindoos ! Men would be restored to the use of their reason ; all the advantages of happy soil, climate, and situation, would be observed and improved ; the comforts and conveniences of life would be increased ; the

✓¹ Syed Mahmood : op. cit., pp. 11-13.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

cultivation of the mind, and rational intercourse, valued ; the people would rise in the scale of human beings ; and as they found their character, their state, and their comforts improved, they would prize more highly the security and the happiness of a well-ordered Society. Such a change would correct those sad disorders which have been described, and for which no other remedy has been proposed, nor is, in the nature of things, to be found.¹

After putting forward this scheme for the education of the Indian people, Grant proceeded to answer some of the probable objections that would be raised against it. The first and the foremost objection was that English education was politically dangerous and that if the Indian people were taught the English language and ideas, they would rise up in a revolt, cast off their subjection and assert their independence. Grant was not frightened of such a contingency and would not agree to keep the Indian people in ignorance with a view merely to perpetuating their slavery. He said :—

This subject has not hitherto received a formal consideration ; but the objection which would resist all improvement, lest future inconvenience should arise from it, necessarily brings on this decisive question, whether we shall, in all time to come, passively leave our subjects in the darkness, error, and moral turpitude in which they now grovel or shall communicate to them the light of Truth, and the means of amelioration, and of happiness, personal and social ? The question may more properly be,—Whether we should keep our subjects in their present state ? For if improvement ought not to be communicated to them, we should not be merely passive, but be careful to exclude it ; as, on the other hand, if it ought to be communicated ; or if it is possible that any rays of light may fortuitously break in upon them, we should not leave the task to others, or to chance, but be ourselves the dispensers of the new principles they receive, and regulate the administration of them. This question then is to determine the grand moral and political principle, by which we shall henceforth, and in all future generations, govern and deal with our Asiatic subjects. Whether we shall make it our study to impart to them knowledge, light, and happiness ; or, under the notion of holding them more quietly in subjection, shall seek to keep them ignorant, corrupt, and mutually injurious, as they are now ? The question is not, whether we shall resort to any persecution, to any compulsion, to any sinister means. No ; the idea has been frequently disclaimed ; it is an odious idea, abhorrent from the spirit of true religion ; but whether, knowing as we do the falsehood and impiety of idolatrous polytheistic superstitions ; knowing the cruelties, the immoralities, the degrading extravagancies and impositions of the Hindoo system, we shall silently and calmly leave them in all the fulness of their operation, without telling our subjects, who ought to be our children, that they are wrong, that they are deluded, and hence plunged into many miseries ? Whether, instead of rationally, mildly explaining to them the divine principles of moral and religious truth, which have raised us in the scale of being, and are the foundation of all real goodness and happiness, we shall wink at the stupidity which we deem profitable to us ; and as governors, be in effect, the conservators of that system which deceives the people ? Whether, in a word, we shall do all this merely from fear, lest in emerging from ignorance and error, they should be less amenable to rule, and our dominion over them be exposed to any risk.

The wisdom, as well as the fairness of such proceeding, must also be determined ; whether, on the whole, it would be the best policy for our own interest, even if we look only to the natural operation of things : and here, at least, we should be careful and clear ; for if we mistake our interest, we lose our all, the very thing to which we sacrifice other considerations : especially, it should be pondered, whether, believing the moral government of the world, we can expect the approbation and continued support of the Supreme Ruler of it, by willingly acquiescing in so much error, so much moral and political evil, when so many just means for the alleviation of them are in our power.¹

✓ Apart from these considerations of duty which required the English to undertake the education of the Indian people, Grant argued that it was really in the best interests of England herself to educate the Hindus and Muslims. Such education would bring about better understanding between the rulers and the ruled, would secure the gratitude of the Indian people, and would ultimately lead to greater extension of British commerce in India. He was, therefore, of the opinion that no misgivings should be allowed to come in the way and that, on grounds of duty as well as of self-interest, the English people should organise the education of the Indians on as large a scale as possible.

10. **Criticism of Grant's Proposals.** On the whole, Grant's book is not pleasant to read. A large part of it is taken up by the delineation of the Indian Society of the period and the exaggerations and the one-sided approach of this description rob it alike of historical and educational value. In the same way, no Indian would agree to Grant's view that mass conversions to Christianity alone could regenerate Indian Society. Similarly, Grant's view that the spread of English education would slowly but necessarily make the Indian people accept Christianity has also been disproved by the history of the last one hundred and fifty years. Finally, no importance can now be attached to the long and elaborate discussions where Grant advances ridiculous arguments to show that no political dangers can follow from English education or proselytisation. Some of these arguments, for instance, are : " Christian teaching favours submission and good order among the people " ; " Christianity cannot overcome the debilitating effects of an Eastern climate " ; " Vegetable diet and absence of maritime taste among the Hindus will check ardent designs of independence " ; " Political liberty cannot flourish among the timid submissive people of India " , etc.²

But the suggestions of Grant regarding the organisation of the education of the Indian people are of great historical interest. It is very significant that, even as early as in 1792, Grant foresaw the future developments in Indian education so clearly. He suggested the adoption of English as the language of Government—a decision which was ultimately taken by Bentinck about forty years later. He also suggested the adoption of English as a medium of instruction—an educationally unsound but curiously prophetic proposal that was accepted later on through the able advocacy of Macaulay. He correctly diagnosed the eagerness of the Indian people to learn the English language and rightly foretold that multitudes of the young would flock to the English schools and that Indians themselves would, in course of time, be teachers of English. It is because of these practical and prophetic suggestions that Grant's book still retains its interest and it is because of them that Grant is sometimes described as the father of modern education in India.

In educating contemporary English opinion on the subject and in making Parliament realise the urgent necessity of organising the education of the Indian people, the *Observations* played a very important role. The book was published in 1797 and its copies were broadcast. Friends of the missionaries made it the basis of their agitation and argued that the Company was following a wrong and an un-Christian policy in refusing to allow missionaries to work in its territories. The prestige of Grant as one who had known India at first hand, as an influential Director of the Company, and a Member of Parliament lent weight to the book and ultimately paved the way for the educational clauses of the Charter Act of 1813.

11. Contemporary Educational Developments in England.

The ideas of Grant summarised above also indicate the lines on which the missionaries organised their agitation in England. They drew lurid pictures of the conditions of Indian Society; they argued that only the missionaries could improve it through English education and proselytisation; they decried the anti-missionary and un-Christian policy of the East India Company; and finally they demanded that Parliament should secure full freedom to missionaries to go to India and spread the Gospel.

This agitation of the missionaries found valuable support in the contemporary educational developments in England. The period of 1790-1820 was one of extraordinary philanthropic and educational activity in England. The Industrial Revolution had begun; the towns were rapidly growing; and the miserable lot of workers in the factories evoked great sympathy in religious or philanthropic people. The principles of socialism, however, were not yet fully developed and it was not realised that the root cause of the sufferings of the workers lay in the capitalistic system of society. It was believed rather that the sufferings of the poor were due to the lack of education and character. Hence the chief ameliorative measures proposed were the following:—

- (a) to open up new avenues of employment,
- (b) to encourage thrift, and
- (c) to spread widely the elements of a religious education.

Numerous associations were formed to improve the conditions of the poor people of which it is sufficient to mention four—the Society for bettering the Condition and increasing the Comforts of the Poor (1796); the Sunday School Union (1803); the Royal Lancastrian Institution (1808); and the National Society for promoting the education of the Poor in the Principles of the established Church throughout England and Wales (1811).

Attempts were made to induce Parliament to take up the duty of educating the poor. Thus in 1807, Whitbread proposed a Bill for the establishment of schools supported by local taxation. His proposal was to give a two years' free schooling to all children between 7 and 14 years of age in reading, writing and arithmetic. The Bill passed the House of Commons but was negatived by the House of Lords and remained inoperative.

In 1816, at the instance of Brougham who had become the main supporter of popular education in Parliament after Whitbread's death in 1815, the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee to enquire into the education of poor children in the country. The Committee sat for two years and on receipt of its report, Brougham introduced, in 1820, a Bill "for better education of the poor in England and Wales". But there was a good deal of opposition to the measure and it had to be eventually withdrawn.

It will be seen from the foregoing account that an interest in the education of the poor was keenly awakened in England at

with the Indian people and many leaders of the British people felt that they must do something for the education of the Indian people just as they were doing something for the education of the poor at Home. If nothing else, it was felt that the missionaries should be allowed to educate the Indian people just as the Churches managed the education of the poor in England. This sentiment obviously stood the missionaries in very good stead in fighting their cause.

✓ 12. **Agitation by Company's Officials.** *Minto's Minute:* While the missionaries were thus agitating in England for a change in the Company's educational policy, the officials of the Company in India were also agitating for a bolder move in expanding Oriental education. They felt that the maintenance of the Calcutta Madrassah and the Benares Sanskrit College was like a drop in the ocean; they grieved at the decay into which Hindu and Muslim learning had fallen and asked for larger funds and a more vigorous drive to revive and improve the classical learning of this ancient country. As a typical statement on the subject, a reference may be made to the Minute of Lord Minto who was the Governor-General of India from 1806 to 1813. Minto was personally an admirer of Oriental Literature and felt that its study would be useful to the Western nations themselves. He was, therefore, very anxious that Englishmen should give all possible encouragement to the study and preservation of Indian Culture." In a Minute, dated 6th March 1811, he wrote:—

It is a common remark that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. From every inquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject, that remark appears to me but too well founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is the disuse, and even actual loss, of many valuable books; and it is to be apprehended that, unless Government interfere with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a want of books, or of persons capable of explaining them.

The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals under the native governments. Such encouragement must always operate as a strong incentive to study and literary exertions, but especially in India, where the learned professions have little, if any other, support.

have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindoos, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature.

The officials of the Company, therefore, tried to pull exactly in the opposite direction and a violent controversy ensued between the friends and supporters of the Missions on the one hand and the Orientalists or Company's officials on the other.

13. **The Charter Act of 1813.** It was against such a background that the Charter of the Company came up for renewal in 1813. Among others, the most important educational issues discussed on this occasion were the following :—

- (a) Should missionaries be allowed to go to India and work in the territories of the Company for the education and proselytisation of the Indian people ?
- (b) Should the Company accept responsibility for the education of the Indian people ? If it should, what should be the nature and scope of its educational activities ?

On the first of these issues, the missionaries and their friends scored a clean victory. This is how Richter narrates the struggle and its successful close :—

In the meantime the Christian conscience of England had awakened. The nineteen years' fight for the abolition of slavery in the English Colonies, and which had been brought to a successful issue in 1807, had powerfully contributed to the revival of essentially Christian views of life. Wilberforce placed himself at the head of the new campaign for the freedom of missions in India. It was a skilful move just at this time to publish and circulate widely the already-mentioned work of the widely respected Charles Grant, *Concerning the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain*. A former Governor-General of India, Lord Teignmouth, likewise lent his pen to the missionary cause. The recently founded Missionary Societies and their representatives, especially Fuller among the Baptists and C. Buchanan and Pratt amongst the Anglicans, assisted Wilberforce by all means in their power. No less than 850 petitions were laid down on the table of the House of Commons on behalf of the missionaries.

Nor were the opponents idle, especially former Indian officials, the influential "Anglo-Indians". The Sepoy rebellion in the Vellore district of South India in August 1806, which without the slightest justification was attributed to the missionaries, gave them an opportunity of violently declaiming against the mission of the "consecrated cobblers", which was "so dangerous to the State". The small and unimportant mutiny at Vellore had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the missionaries. Neither in Vellore nor in the neighbourhood did there exist one single mission station. Some alterations had been ordered in the soldiers' uniforms, especially in the arrangements of the turban. And the rebels had the firmly rooted idea that the Company desired to make them break caste and by guile or by force to make Christians of them. This insignificant circumstance sufficed to extinguish the last spark of sympathy with missions on

the part of those in authority. Every kind of jest and satire was employed to make missions and their supporters an object of ridicule or to make them appear the enemies of the people. It was indeed a hot "mission fray", as some one has called it. The opponents of the clauses made use of language which was provocative to a degree. Mr. Bensley, one of the Directors of the Company, summed up his position in the following words: 'So far from approving the proposed clause or listening to it with patience, from the first moment I heard of it I considered it the most wild, extravagant, expensive, and unjustifiable project that ever was suggested by the most visionary speculator'. On June 23rd, 1813, however, the victory was won, and on July 21st the law received the royal assent. . .

The 13th Resolution, the one in which the whole missionary question was really involved, ran as follows: 'Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that it is the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and moral improvement. That in furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, or remaining in, India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs'. That meant that the missionaries were to be allowed to enter India and to reside there; they might preach, found churches, and discharge all spiritual duties; in a word, they might fulfil their missionary calling in its completest and widest sense. . .¹

On the second issue, the principal opposition to acceptance of responsibility came from the Directors. [In those days, education was not regarded as a responsibility of the State even in England; and very naturally, the East India Company was not prepared to accept it in India. Secondly, the Company was influenced more by financial than by philanthropic motives and resisted all attempts to increase obligations having a tendency to cut down the dividends. Thirdly, the people of India themselves were most apathetic in the matter. Oppressed by the anarchy that followed the decay of the Moghal Empire, their one great need was the establishment of law and order and they hardly had the time or energy to ask for anything else from their rulers. The task of making the Company accept responsibility for the education of the Indian people was, therefore, far from easy. But the opponents of the *mission clauses* felt an urgent need of creating a powerful and rival agency in Indian education to counteract the results of missionary enterprise. They, therefore, moved and successfully carried through a resolution which subsequently became the 43rd Section in the Charter. It is quoted below in full:

It shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil and commercial establishments and paying the interest of the debt, in manner hereinafter provided, a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart

and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India; and that any schools, public lectures, or other institutions, for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded at the presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or in any other part of the British territories in India, in virtue of this Act shall be governed by such regulations as may from time to time be made by the said Governor-General in Council; subject nevertheless to such powers as are herein vested in the said board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, respecting colleges and seminaries: provided always, that all appointments to offices in such schools, lectureships and other institutions, shall be made by an or under the authority of the Governments within which the same shall be situated.¹

The sponsors of this Section were obviously influenced by the Oriental School of thought because they spoke of the *revival and improvement of literature* (which referred to the Classical literatures in Sanskrit or Arabic) and of *encouragement of the learned natives of India*. But they were also anxious to teach western science because the Indian people of this period were most ignorant in them and desired that attempts should be made to promote *a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India*. The principal implication of this clause was that the Company would create its own agency to spend this amount of a lakh of rupees and try to educate the people of India in a *secular and conservative* fashion as opposed to the proselytising and revolutionary proposals of the missionaries. The supporters of this resolution believed that "by fostering both Oriental and Occidental science . . . a reliable counterpoise, a protecting breakwater against the threatened deluge of missionary enterprise"² would be created. They little dreamed that this Section of the Act was laying the foundation of a state educational system in India which would fuse both the Government and missionary schools into a common structure in due course.

The Charter Act of 1813, therefore, forms a turning point in the history of Indian education. With it, the agitation which Grant and Wilberforce carried on for nearly twenty years came to a successful conclusion; the education of the Indian people was definitely included within the duties of the Company; a comparatively large amount was annually secured for educational activities; and missionaries began to land in India in large numbers and establish English schools, thereby laying the foundation of the modern educational system.

¹ W. H. Sharp: op. cit., p. 22.

² Richter: op. cit., p. 152.

CHAPTER THREE

OFFICIAL EXPERIMENTS IN EDUCATION

(1813-53)

1. General Features of the Period. The forty years between the Charter Act of 1813 which merely compelled the East India Company to accept responsibility for the education of the Indian people and the Despatch of 1854 which prescribed an educational policy for India in detail, form the second important period in the history of education in India during the British Rule. The main events of this period will be narrated in this and the following chapter ; but in order to understand them in their proper perspective, it is necessary to study some important general features of this period.

(a) This period was mainly one of conquest and consolidation of the British power in India. The attention of the Court of Directors or of Parliament was, therefore, focussed, throughout this period, on political issues such as the relations with Indian Princes, waging of wars and signing of treaties, and the setting up of a police and military administration in the newly conquered areas with a view to maintaining law and order. Education was, therefore, a back-bench subject which came up for discussion at infrequent intervals and which was allotted only a meagre portion of the total administrative expenditure. This general neglect of Indian education by the Court of Directors and Parliament is the principal cause of its slow progress.

(b) Another feature of this period which deserves notice is the absence of *educationists* to deal with the problems of Indian education. The Education Departments did not exist at the time—they were created only in 1854. The problems of Indian education were, therefore, dealt with, as they arose, by the Governors-General or Governors or by the members of the Education Boards, Councils, and Committees which came to be set up. These were mostly military or civil officers who had no professional training and, very often, not even an aptitude for education. Some of them, it is true, were men of wide sympathies and a humane culture and, with their robust common

sense, laid down such broad-based and unerring educational policies as might do credit to any professional educationist. But these exceptions only prove the rule and it cannot be gainsaid that, throughout this period, the educational problems of India were mostly handled by amateurs—the civil and military officers of the Company—working in an honorary capacity. The benefits of a professionally trained and wholetime bureaucracy were denied to education during this period and this is one of the principal reasons why the educational controversies of this period were so bitter, so protracted and so often wrongly decided.

(c) The third feature is the extremely minor role played by Indians in building up the new system of education in this period. At the policy-drafting level, the voice of Indians hardly mattered. It is true that men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishvarachandra Vidyasagar or Jagannath Shankarset did participate in policy-drafting and, in some matters, even succeeded in winning a point or two. But in spite of such instances, it would still be correct to say that, prior to 1854, educational policies in India were discussed or decided almost exclusively by officials of the Company or the missionaries. This could hardly be helped because the number of educated Indians (*i.e.* educated in accordance with the modern system) was very small and an enlightened Indian opinion had not yet come into existence.

(d) (The fourth feature of this period is the existence of a large number of controversies.) In fact, it may even be described as a period of controversies rather than of achievements. This unhappy result was partly due to the three features already described and partly to the vagueness of the Charter Act of 1813 itself. The framers of this Act had no precedent to follow because, at this time, even England did not have either an Education Department or a State policy in education. They, therefore, contented themselves by stating the *objects* of the educational policy in India, *viz.*, “the revival and improvement of literature”, “the encouragement of the learned natives of India”, and “the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of British territories in India”; but they gave no directions regarding the *methods* to be employed to secure these objects. It was but natural, therefore, that controversies should arise on the subject, and the events of the forty years following the Charter Act of 1813 showed that controversies

arose round four main issues, viz., the *objects* of educational policy, the *medium* of instruction, the *agencies* for organising educational institutions, and the *methods* to be adopted to spread education among the people.

Regarding the *objects* of educational policy, the controversies were not serious and referred mainly to the emphasis to be laid on the different objectives of educational effort. One school of thought talked of the *duty* of England to educate its Indian subjects ; another school emphasized the introduction and spread of western literature and science among the Indian people as of paramount importance ; and a third school spoke mainly of the utilitarian objective of training Indians to hold subordinate positions in the Company's service.

Regarding the *agencies* to be utilised for organising educational institutions, opinions differed considerably. Some favoured encouragement of missionary enterprise on the analogy of Parliamentary grants to the voluntary schools in England. Others objected to this proposal on political grounds and on the principle of religious neutrality—because the missionaries aimed at conversions, first and foremost—and recommended the encouragement of indigenous schools conducted by the Indian people themselves. A third point of view condemned the indigenous schools as inefficient and incapable of improvement and recommended the establishment of new schools which should have properly trained teachers and which should work under the direct control of the Company.

On the subject of the *methods* to be adopted to spread education among the people, opinion was divided between two schools of thought. One school believed that education always filters down to the masses from the upper classes. It, therefore, felt that the Company need only educate the upper classes of society and leave it to them to spread education among the masses. This was the famous *downward filtration theory*. The other school felt that the downward filtration theory would not work in India and recommended that the Company should make direct attempts to educate the masses.

The most violent controversies, however, broke out on the subject of the *medium of instruction*. Here the opinion was divided among three schools :

(i) The first school consisted of the older officials of the

Company in Bengal who generally believed that the policy of Warren Hastings and Minto was the last word on educational statesmanship. They advocated the encouragement of Sanskrit and Arabic studies and suggested that Western science and knowledge should be spread in India through the medium of these languages.

(ii) The second school consisted of men like Munro and Elphinstone who believed in encouraging education through the medium of the modern Indian languages. They argued that this was the only way in which western knowledge could reach the *mass* of the people.

(iii) The third school consisted of persons who believed in the wisdom of Grant's advice and advocated the spread of Western knowledge through the medium of English. This school included the missionaries and the younger civilians in the employment of the Company. Their voice, though insignificant during the earlier period, became of paramount importance at a later date, when Macaulay came to India and assumed their leadership.

It must be noted that all these controversies and schools of thought were found mostly among the European officials of the Company. Indian opinion was, at this time, almost non-existent. In the first place, the number of Indians who could take part in discussions regarding educational policies was extremely small; secondly, the few Indians who had the authority and influence to speak on this subject generally followed one or other of the groups among the European officers and were not as yet able to chalk out any policy of their own; and lastly, Indian opinion wielded no influence with the Company and educational policies were made and unmade according to the rise or fall of the parties among the European servants of the Company alone.

As may be anticipated, the only authority which could silence these controversies was that of the Court of Directors. Had they given a definite ruling on the subject, all the servants of the Company would have been compelled to accept it and the development of education in India would have been more rapid and harmonious. But prior to 1853, the Directors seemed unwilling to come to a definite decision. In effect, they agreed with each school and differed from all. This policy,

attribute it to a desire on the Directors' part to give a trial to every method. The Despatch of 1854, however, gave a definite ruling on all these controversies and settled them almost finally.

(e) One more general feature of this period may be noted here. This was, first and foremost, a period of experiments. The East India Company was new to problems of Indian education and, therefore, was trying to arrive at a workable formula through the usual method of *trial and error*. The Court of Directors kept an open mind on the subject and, in the initial stages, sanctioned every proposal that came up. We, therefore, find different educational experiments going on simultaneously in India—Thomason trying to build up a system of mass education in the North-Western Province on the foundation of the indigenous schools, while the Bombay Board of Education condemned the indigenous schools and tried to build up a network of official schools instead; Bengal was neglecting the Indian languages and adopting English as a medium of instruction when Bombay was making an attempt to give even the highest education through the mother-tongue of the students; and so on. On a superficial view, these appear as contradictory policies; but such experimentation was definitely essential. It helped materially in coming to final decisions on controversial issues.

It is against this background of general apathy, amateurish handling of problems, the utter neglect (or rather, absence) of an Indian viewpoint and complete domination by certain controversies that the first experiments of the Company to create an educational system for India are to be interpreted and understood.

2. Official Efforts in India (1813-23). With these introductory remarks, we will turn to the narration of the events of the period under review. We shall first describe the official efforts of the Company and then turn to the non-official efforts—both missionary and non-missionary.

As was pointed out in the last chapter, the Court of Directors had fought strenuously against the reforms proposed by Wilberforce and lost. They were, therefore, none too enthusiastic to spend the sum of one lakh of rupees on education as required by the Charter Act of 1813. On 3rd June 1814, they recorded their *First Educational Despatch*, setting forth the manner in which

they proposed to encourage the learned natives of India and promote a knowledge of sciences among the Indian people. They wrote :—

We are inclined to think that the mode by which the learned Hindoos might be disposed to concur with us in prosecuting those objects would be by our leaving them to the practice of an usage, long established among them, of giving instruction at their own houses, and by encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents, by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances, by grants of pecuniary assistance.

We are informed that there are in Sanskrit Language. . . . treatises on Astronomy and Mathematics, including Geometry and Algebra which, though they may not add new lights to European science, might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service, who are attached to the Observatory and to the department of engineers, and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in those and other sciences.

With a view to these several objects, we have determined that due encouragement should be given to such of our servants in any of those departments as may be disposed to apply themselves to the study of the Sanskrit language, and we desire that the teachers who may be employed for this purpose may be selected from those amongst the natives who may have made some proficiency in the science in question, and that their recompense should be liberal.¹

As will be easily seen, the Court of Directors did not intend to do anything more than bestow "honorary marks of distinction" on learned natives of India, to give some financial assistance to a few deserving persons from their midst, and to encourage their own servants to study the Sanskrit language. A more disappointing document than this could hardly be imagined, and it is a sad fact of history that Section 43 of the Charter Act of 1813 remained inoperative till 1823.)

✓ Luckily, however, the responsible officers of the Company in those days would not accept these views of the Directors. They pressed for a vigorous educational policy, and urged that it was the *duty* of England to spread education among the Indian people. For instance, Lord Moira, the Governor-General of India (1813-23), wrote a Minute on Education on 2nd October 1815 in the course of which he proposed that the sum of one lakh of rupees should be spent in improving schools and in making the means of education available to persons and places then out of its reach. Adverting to the extreme importance and urgency of this measure, he said :—

In the infancy of the British administration in this country, it was perhaps a matter of necessity to confine our legislation to the primary principle of justice.

coarse, though useful, virtue, the guardian of contracts and promises whose guide is the square and the rule, and whose support is the gallows.

The lapse of half a century and the operation of that principle have produced a new state of society which calls for a more enlarged and liberal policy. The moral duties require encouragement and experiment. The arts which adorn and embellish life will follow in ordinary course. It is for the credit of the British name that this beneficial revolution should rise under British sway. To be the source of blessings to the immense population of India is an ambition worthy of our country. In proportion as we have found intellect neglected and sterile here, the obligation is the stronger on us to cultivate it. The field is noble ; may we till it worthily.¹

Noble as were the sentiments expressed by Lord Moira, even more noble was the plea in favour of education made by Sir Charles Metcalfe. Replying to the objection that Indians may demand freedom if they were educated in Western knowledge, he wrote as under in his despatch dated 4th September 1815 :—

✓ Similar objections have been urged against our attempting to promote education of our native subjects, but how unworthy it would be of a liberal Government to give weight to such objections ! The world is governed by an irresistible power which giveth and taketh away dominion, and vain would be the impotent prudence of man against the operations of its Almighty influence. All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the happiness of those under them. If we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India, and the admiration of the world, will accompany our name through all ages, whatever may be the revolutions of futurity ; but if we withhold blessings from our subjects, from a selfish apprehension of possible danger at a remote period, we shall not deserve to keep our dominion, we shall merit that reverse which time has possibly in store for us, and shall fall with the mingled hatred and contempt, hisses and execrations of mankind. These remarks are offered in reply to objections which may be and have been, urged against our conferring on our Indian subjects the blessings of independence and education. My own opinion is that the more blessings we confer on them, the better hold we shall have on their affections and in consequence the greater strength and duration to our empire. It is for the wisdom of Government to decide whether this expectation is visionary or founded on reason.²

These and other protests from the Company's servants had considerable effect. But even more important was the influence of the spirit of reform and liberalism that ruled English life in the decade 1823-33. The barbarous criminal laws of England, which inflicted the punishment of death on slight offences, were modified in 1823 and a hundred felonies were exempted from capital punishment. " The equally barbarous laws which had kept the working classes bound as serfs to the British soil, and in convenient subordination to their employers, were repealed in 1824, and combinations of workmen to obtain better wages were no longer

forbidden."¹ The disabilities of Catholics who could not sit in Parliament or hold important offices under the Crown were removed in 1830. After an intense and prolonged agitation, Lord Grey and Lord John Russel piloted the First Reform Act successfully through Parliament in 1832. The reformed Parliament first assembled in 1833 and abolished slavery at a cost of £20,000,000 to the national Exchequer (paid to slave-owners by way of compensation), and in the same year, the first Parliamentary grant for education was sanctioned, and the employment of children in factories was restricted.

It was inevitable that this spirit of liberalism should have its effect on Indian administrators also. As Romesh Chandra Dutt points out

The same spirit of reform, and the same desire to promote the happiness of the people marked the policy of England and of India during this progressive age; and the noble and liberal-minded statesmen who guided the destinies of England during this age, worked side by side with statesmen equally great and large-hearted, who ruled the destinies of India. To try to read Indian history apart from English history would be an endeavour to understand a result without knowing the cause. The same moving force determined events in both countries; the extension of privileges to the people of India during this period is the counterpart of the Reform Act in England; and Munro, Elphinstone, and Bentinck were inspired by the same reforming spirit and the same desire to benefit humanity as Canning, Grey, and Lord John Russell.²

It is hardly a matter for surprise, therefore, if the cause of education in India got a great fillip in the years between 1823 and 1833. The unwillingness of the Directors to incur expenditure on education now gave place to a desire to spend liberally and, in 1824, they wrote as under to the Governor-General of India :—

We wish you to be fully apprised of our zeal for the progress and improvement of education among the natives of India, and of our willingness to make considerable sacrifices to that important end, if proper means for the attainment of it could be pointed out to us.³

It was quite natural, therefore, that the work of organising a state system of education was begun almost simultaneously in all the three presidencies by about 1823 and continued to expand till 1833 when, following the English example of the first Parliamentary grant for education, the educational grant of India was also increased from one lakh to ten lakhs of rupees per annum.

¹ R. C. Dutt : *England and India*, p. 32.

² *Ibid.* p. 39.

Statistics of the total annual expenditure on education incurred by the Company between 1813 and 1823 are available and have been given in the following table. They show that (a) the total annual educational expenditure of the Company was very small and well below the amount of a lakh of rupees which the Charter Act of 1813 had prescribed as the *minimum*; and (b) that the bulk of the expenditure was incurred in Bengal.

TABLE NO. I

Year	Bengal	Madras	Bombay	Total
	£	£	£	£
1813	4,207	480	442	5,129
1814	11,606	480	499	12,585
1815	4,405	480	537	5,422
1816	5,146	480	578	6,204
1817	5,177	480	795	6,452
1818	5,211	480	630	6,321
1819	7,191	480	1,270	8,941
1820	5,807	480	1,401	7,688
1821	6,882	480	594	7,956
1822	9,081	480	594	10,155
1823	6,134	480	594	7,208

N.B.—At this time a pound was equal to ten rupees.

3. Official Educational Enterprise in India between 1823 and 1853. In 1853, the British territories in India were divided into five Provinces—the *Presidencies* of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the *Provinces* of U.P. (then called the North-Western Provinces) and the Punjab. The principal landmarks in official educational enterprise in India between 1823 and 1853 can, therefore, be conveniently stated according to Provinces.

(a) *The Presidency of Bengal* was the first Province to take up the work of educational reorganisation which was made possible by the liberal attitude which the Court of Directors adopted by about 1823. In a Resolution dated 17th July 1823, the Governor-General-in-Council appointed a *General Committee of Public Instruction* for the Bengal Presidency. The Committee consisted of ten members and included H. T. Prinsep, who became famous later on by his opposition to Macaulay, and H. H. Wilson who was a great Oriental scholar. The grant of one lakh of rupees provided by the Charter Act of 1813 was also

The Committee consisted mostly of persons who were great admirers of Sanskrit and Arabic literature and hence the decision of the Committee to follow the view of Lord Minto and encourage Oriental Learning can hardly be regarded with surprise. Between 1823 and 1833, the Committee

- (i) reorganised the Calcutta Madrassah and the Benares Sanskrit College ;
- (ii) established a Sanskrit College at Calcutta in 1824 ;
- (iii) established two more Oriental Colleges at Agra and Delhi ;
- (iv) undertook the printing and publication of Sanskrit and Arabic books on a large scale ; and
- (v) employed Oriental scholars to translate English books containing useful knowledge into the Oriental classical languages.

But very soon after its establishment the Committee found that its work had roused considerable opposition. The first attack came from a few enlightened Indians led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The Raja submitted a memorial to the Governor-General on 11th December 1823 and urged that the proposals for establishing a Sanskrit College at Calcutta should be abandoned and Government should "promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction ; embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences ; which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments, and other apparatus".¹ This memorial is a good indication of the direction in which the wind was beginning to blow and shows how the desire for English education was spreading among Indians. But no heed was paid to this memorial and the plan for establishing the Sanskrit College at Calcutta was carried out. Referring to this incident, Howell remarks :—

It is one of the most unintelligible facts in the history of English education in India that at the very time when the natives themselves were crying out for instruction in European literature and science and were protesting against a continuance of the prevailing orientalism, a body of English gentlemen appointed to initiate a system of education for the country was found to insist upon the retention of oriental learning to the practical exclusion of European learning.²

¹Selections from Educational Records, Vol. I, p. 101.

²A. P. Howell : Education in British India, p. 15.

But Howell is hardly fair to the Committee. As Sharp points out, "there was truth on both sides. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, and his enlightened followers, were doubtless opposed not only by the prudence or timidity of the Committee, but by a good deal of feeling among the more conservative ranks of the Bengalis".¹

A still more formidable attack on the Committee's work came from the Court of Directors themselves. In a despatch, dated 18th February 1824, they wrote:—

The ends proposed in the institution of the Hindoo College, and the same may be affirmed of the Mahomedan, were two; the first to make a favourable impression by our encouragement of their literature upon the minds of the natives; and the second to promote useful learning. You acknowledge that if the plan has had any effect of the former kind it has had none of the latter;

With respect to the sciences it is worse than a waste of time to employ persons either to teach or to learn them in the state in which they are found in the Oriental books. As far as any historical documents may be found in the Oriental languages what is desirable is that they should be translated and this, it is evident, will best be accomplished by Europeans who have acquired the requisite knowledge. Beyond these branches what remains in Oriental literature is poetry; but it has never been thought necessary to establish colleges for the cultivation of poetry, nor is it certain that this would be the most effectual expedient for the attainment of the end.

We apprehend that the plan of the institutions to the improvement of which our attention is now directed was originally and fundamentally erroneous. The great end should not have been to teach Hindoo learning, but useful learning. No doubt in teaching useful learning to the Hindoos or Mahomedans, Hindoo *media* or Mahomedan *media*, so far as they were found the most effectual, would have been proper to be employed and Hindoo and Mahomedan prejudices would have needed to be consulted while every thing which was useful in Hindoo or Mahomedan literature it would have been proper to retain; nor would there have been any insuperable difficulty in introducing under these reservations a system of instruction from which great advantage might have been derived. In professing on the other hand to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous and a small remainder, indeed in which utility was in any way concerned.²

This despatch set the Committee thinking. "The Directors urged a bold advance and were backed up, not very zealously, by the Governor-General. The Committee, in close touch with the majority of public opinion and the view of the *pandits*, hesitated to embark on so large a measure of innovation."³ It urged that the Hindus and Mahomedans still had "vigorous prejudices" against European learning, that Oriental literature

was not to be summarily condemned and that it had a utility of its own, that the use of a classical language as a medium of instruction was unavoidable, that there were neither books nor teachers available just then to impart instruction in European sciences through such a medium, that the Committee was concentrating on the preparation of such books and the training of such teachers, and that, ere long, the Directors' instructions would be fully complied with. The plea was accepted by the Directors and the Committee continued its work of encouraging classical education.

But public opinion was rapidly growing in favour of English education. Several factors contributed to this end. The work of the missionaries had greatly popularised English education. Secondly, Indian leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy were also urging their countrymen to study the language and literature of England and through it, to acquire a knowledge of the Western sciences. Thirdly, English was growing in political importance as the language of the rulers and persons desirous of obtaining lucrative posts under Government found that a capacity to speak and write English materially helped them in their object. In fact, the study of English was rapidly becoming the royal road to a black-coated profession with a decent income and an important status in society. It is not to be wondered, therefore, if many Indians of that generation looked forward to English education as a panacea for all their ills.

This growing demand for English could not, therefore, be long neglected by the General Committee of Public Instruction and steps had to be taken to meet it to some extent at least. Thus by 1833, the Committee attached English classes to the College at Agra and the Calcutta Madrasah. At Delhi and Benares, district English schools were established. But these half measures could hardly be expected to satisfy the public need. In 1823, the Committee was perhaps justified in holding on to classical education for fear of offending Indian people. But its persistence in this policy in the face of a public demand to the contrary led to a split in the Committee itself. Some members continued to be in favour of giving encouragement to Hindu and Muslim learning while others pleaded for a spread of Western knowledge through the medium of English. A conflict of ideologies thus ensued and led to the celebrated controversy regarding

The details of this controversy, known popularly as the *Anglicist-Classical* controversy, will be narrated in a later paragraph; it will, however, be sufficient here to state that it dominated the whole educational scene in Bengal between 1833 and 1840. (The Classicist party was led by men like H. T. Prinsep while the Anglicist party had the good fortune to secure the support of Lord Macaulay who was the Law-member of the Council of the Governor-General and President of the General Committee of Public Instruction. It was mainly on account of a very powerful Minute written by Macaulay in 1833 that the controversy was decided in favour of the Anglicists by the then Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck. He directed that, while the classical institutions established earlier should be continued for the time being, all further acts of Government should be directed to the spread of education through the medium of the English language. He also directed, a little later, that English should be adopted as the language of the Courts and of Government. These decisions practically closed the controversy in favour of the use of English as a medium of instruction, but a few issues still continued to linger and they were decided later by Lord Auckland, the next Governor-General, in 1839. With the orders of Auckland, the controversy regarding the medium of instruction may be said to have been finally closed in so far as the Presidency of Bengal was concerned, and between 1839 and 1853, all official efforts in Bengal came to be concentrated on the imparting of education through the medium of English.

There is little to narrate regarding the development of education in Bengal after Lord Auckland's Minute. (The General Committee of Public Instruction was replaced, in 1842, by a Council of Education. In 1844, Government announced its policy of giving every encouragement to educated Indians by employing them in Government service. The following quotation from the resolution of Lord Hardinge on the subject will be found interesting :—

The Governor-General having taken into his consideration the existing state of education in Bengal, and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded to them, a fair prospect of employment in the public service, and thereby not only to reward individual

well by the Government as by private individuals and societies, has resolved that in every possible case a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment.

With a view still further to promote and encourage the diffusion of knowledge among the humbler classes of the people, the Governor-General is also pleased to direct that even in the selection of persons to fill the lowest offices under the Government, respect be had to the relative acquirements of the candidates, and that in every instance a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot.¹

In 1845, the Council of Education made a proposal for the establishment of a University at Calcutta but the Court of Directors rejected it on the ground that it was premature. By 1854, the Council of Education conducted 151 educational institutions with 13,163 scholars and incurred a total expenditure of Rs. 5,94,428 a year. But the following extract from Wood's *Education Despatch* regarding education in Bengal in 1853 will clearly show the effects of the policy based on an exaggerated emphasis on English education :—

In Bengal, education through the medium of the English language has arrived at a higher point than in any other part of India. We are glad to receive constant evidence of an increasing demand for such an education, and of the readiness of the natives of different districts to exert themselves for the sake of obtaining it. There are now five Government anglo-vernacular colleges; and zillah schools have been established in nearly every district. We confidently expect that the introduction of the system of grant-in-aid will very largely increase the number of schools of superior order. . . .

Very little has, however, been hitherto done in Bengal for the education of the mass of the people, especially for their instruction through the medium of the vernacular languages. A few vernacular schools were founded by Government in 1844, of which only 33 now remain, with 1,400 pupils, and upon their transfer, in April, 1852, from the charge of the Board of Revenue to that of the Council of Education, it appeared that 'they were in a languishing state and had not fulfilled the expectations formed on their establishment'.²

(b) We shall now turn to the official attempts for the spread of education in the *Presidency of Bombay*. The rule of the Peshwa came to an end in 1818 and the Province of Bombay, as it stands today (except for a small area which was annexed later on), was formed in the same year. The Peshwa used to spend about Rs. 5,00,000 a year in giving Dakshina to the Brahmins. It was now decided that this expenditure should be stopped and that a part of it should be used for the encouragement of Brahmanic learning. The Poona Sanskrit College was, therefore, established in 1821. The objects of Government in establishing

the College are seen in the following paragraph from the pen of Mountstuart Elphinstone :—

One of the principal objects of the Peshwa's Government was the maintenance of Brahmins. It is known to the Honourable Court that he annually distributed five lacs of rupees among that order under the name of Dakshina ; but it must be observed that the Dakshina formed but a small portion of his largesses to Brahmins, and the number of persons devoted to Hindu learning and religion, who were supported by him, exceeded what would readily be supposed. With all the favour that we have shown this class of his dependents, great numbers of them are reduced to distress, and are subsisting on the sale of shawls and other articles, which they received in better times, while others have already reached the extremity of want which follows the consumption of all their former accumulation. Considering the numbers and the influence of this description of people, it surely cannot be reckoned unimportant towards influencing public opinion that such a sum as could be spared should be set aside for their maintenance ; and as it is the object of our enemies to inculcate the opinion that we wish to change the religion and manners of the Hindus, it seems equally popular and reasonable to apply part of that sum to the encouragement of their learning.¹

The conduct of the Poona Sanskrit College, therefore, was the main educational activity of the Government till 1823 when a more vigorous educational policy was adopted for India as a whole. At this time, the Governor of the Presidency was Mountstuart Elphinstone whose enquiry into indigenous education has been referred to already. It was mainly due to his encouragement that a Society called "The Bombay Native Education Society" was established in Bombay with the object of spreading modern education among the Indian people. The detailed history of this Society will be given in the next chapter ; and it will be sufficient to state here that, on the recommendation of Elphinstone, the Court of Directors sanctioned a grant-in-aid to the Society and accepted it as the principal agency for the spread of education among the people. This official encouragement gave a great fillip to the Society and enabled it to render very useful service to the cause of education between 1823 and 1840. The following short account of the institutions conducted by the Society in 1840 will give an idea of the main features of its educational policy.

(i) *District English Schools*: The Society conducted four English Schools at Bombay, Thana, Panvel and Poona. All these Schools were under the management of European headmasters.

(ii) *District Primary Schools*: The Society attached much greater importance to the conduct of primary schools in the

mofussil. It may be noted here that in those days, the expression *primary education* meant *the spread of Western Science and knowledge through the mother-tongue* and hence the *primary* schools of the Society were far different from the primary schools of today. For instance, the syllabus of a primary school included the study of Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, History of England and India, Geography, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Algebra, Euclidean Geometry and Trigonometry. The number of classes varied from six to ten. These schools, therefore, may more appropriately be described as secondary schools teaching through the medium of the mother-tongue rather than as primary schools in the modern sense of the term.

It was on the development of such schools that the Bombay Native Education Society concentrated its attention between 1822 and 1840. The progress was slow because the funds at the disposal of the Society were limited and the teachers for the schools had to be specially trained. But it persisted in its efforts and in 1840 as many as 115 primary schools of this type were conducted by the Society.

With regard to the question of the medium of instruction, the Society's view was that the study of English was "of secondary importance in effecting the mental and moral improvement" of the Indian people. Although it conducted a few English Schools in order to "render those few scholars, who evince an inclination and have leisure to continue their studies in English language, capable of understanding all kinds of works on literature and science," it was of opinion that Western knowledge could never be spread to the people through the medium of the English language alone. In its report for 1825-26, it stated its policy in the following words :—

These ideas (*i.e.*, the new ideas in Western literature and science) will be most easily rendered comprehensible to them by means of the mother-tongue of each scholar. It will, therefore, no doubt be admitted that the time and labour both of the master and the scholar would be materially saved, were these indispensable explanations previously embodied in works written in the native languages ; and thus it again appears that English can never become the most facile and successful medium of communicating to the natives, as a body, the literature, science and morality of Europe.

Besides the institutions mentioned above which were managed by the Bombay Native Education Society, Government itself conducted two colleges—at Poona and Bombay—and 63

The older of the two colleges was the Poona Sanskrit College, an account of whose establishment will be given in Chapter IV. This college was remodelled in 1837 by addition of a Marathi section and by throwing it open to the students of all classes instead of restricting the admissions to Brahmins only as had been the custom in the past. The other college was the Elphinstone Institution at Bombay. When Elphinstone retired in 1827, the people of Bombay subscribed a fund of two lakhs in order to commemorate his services to the Province. The Court of Directors contributed an equal amount and the Elphinstone Institution was organized in Bombay in 1834. Through it, the Directors hoped to raise "a class of persons qualified by their intelligence and morality for high employment in the Civil administration of India"; and the Indian community who had subscribed for it hoped that it would lead to a study and enrichment of the languages of the people. The college used as feeder the Central English School conducted by the Bombay Native Education Society.

The history of the Purandar schools is rather interesting. They were established in 1837 in the Purandar Taluka of the Poona District on the suggestion of Captain Shortrede who was then the Assistant Collector of that part. Captain Shortrede's idea was to provide elementary instruction to the masses in reading, writing and arithmetic and hence he modelled the syllabus of these schools on the lines of that of the indigenous schools. The teachers were recruited locally and were not required to undergo any such intensive training as was prescribed for the teachers of the primary schools conducted by the Native Education Society. The salaries of teachers varied from Rs. 3-8 to Rs. 15 p.m. and averaged Rs. 4-8 only. On the whole, these schools were just like the indigenous schools with this difference that their teachers were Government servants. The schools were under the control of the Revenue Department until 1840.

The above account of the institutions in Bombay will show that Government gave simultaneous encouragement to the study of Sanskrit, English and Modern Indian Languages. The following passage from a report of Captain Candy explains the principles underlying this policy :—

It seems to me that too much encouragement cannot be given to the study of English, nor too much value put upon it in its proper place and connection.

conceive to be that of supplying *ideas* and *the matter of instruction*, not that of being the medium of instruction. The medium through which the mass of the population must be instructed, I humbly conceive, must be their Vernacular Tongues, and neither English nor Sanskrit. Sanskrit I conceive to be the grand storehouse from which strength and beauty may be drawn for the Vernacular languages, and it is, therefore, highly deserving of cultivation, but it cannot furnish from its stores the matter of instruction, nor can it ever be the medium of instruction to more than a few. In a word, knowledge must be drawn from the stores of the English language, the Vernaculars must be employed as the media of communicating it, and Sanskrit must be largely used to improve the Vernaculars and make them suitable for the purpose. I look on every Native who possesses a good knowledge of his own mother-tongue, of Sanskrit, and of English, to possess the power of rendering incalculable benefit to his countrymen.¹

In April 1840, the Government of Bombay decided to constitute one agency for the management of all the institutions for the education of Indians and established a Board of Education consisting of seven members of whom three were to be nominated by the Society. The Bombay Native Education Society was wound up and the last act of its existence was to nominate three Indians as members of the Board of Education. This Board continued to function till 1855 when the first Director of Public Instruction took over charge.

The Board inherited, not only all the institutions conducted by the Native Education Society, but also the Poona Sanskrit College, the Elphinstone Institution, and the Purandar schools organised by Captain Shortrede. In 1842, it divided the province into three educational Divisions and placed a European Inspector with an Indian Assistant in charge of each. It prepared regulations for the management of its English and primary schools. It undertook to establish a primary school in a village of not less than 2,000 population provided the people gave a school-house, free of rent, and agreed to pay a monthly fee of one anna per pupil. It will be seen, therefore, that the Board continued the policy of the Bombay Native Education Society and the following statistics taken from its report for 1845 show the contrast between the developments in Bengal and Bombay :—

	Bengal.	Bombay.
1. Population	3,70,00,000	1,05,00,000
2. Expenditure on education ..	Rs. 4,77,593	Rs. 1,68,226
3. Number of pupils reading in Government schools	5,570	10,616
4. Number of pupils reading in English schools	3,953	761

As in Bengal, a controversy regarding the medium of instruction arose in Bombay also between 1845 and 1848. But the character of the two controversies was radically different. In Bengal, the conflict arose between the classical languages on the one hand and English on the other, and it is surprising that the champions of neither party said anything in favour of the *mother-tongue* of the people. But in Bombay, the conflict between classical and modern Indian languages was settled years ago by the mediæval saints who wrote in the language spoken and understood by the masses. Hence Bombay opinion was not prepared to accept the view later championed by Macaulay that "the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them". On the other hand, the view popularly held in Bombay was that Government should concentrate on the spread of education through the mother-tongue, and no one even suggested the adoption of a classical language as the medium of instruction. Consequently, when the conflict regarding the medium of instruction arose in Bombay, it arose between the mother-tongue and English and *not* between a classical language and English as in Bengal.

The details of this controversy will be given in a later paragraph. It would be enough to state here that the importance of the controversy was hardly realised by the authorities in Bengal. They failed to see how fundamentally different the controversy in Bombay was from that in Bengal. On a superficial view, they felt that what was good for Bengal must also be good for Bombay and directed that English should be adopted as a medium of instruction in Bombay also. This pressure from Bengal as well as the indirect pressure created by the adoption of English as the language of courts and administration decided the fate of the controversy, and even in Bombay, English came to be adopted as a medium of instruction in all but the lowest schools.

The activities of the Board between 1848 and 1853 can be briefly narrated. In 1851, the Poona Sanskrit College was combined with the Poona English School and was designated the

The Board continued its policy of establishing an English school in each District and of establishing primary schools in as many bigger villages as possible. The Board also conducted a Normal class for primary teachers in the Elphinstone Institution. The Despatch of 1854 describes the educational activities in Bombay Province in the following words :—

In the Presidency of Bombay the character of the education conveyed in the Anglo-vernacular colleges is almost, if not quite, equal to that in Bengal ; and the Elphinstone Institution is an instance of a college conducted in the main upon the principles of grant-in-aid, which we desire to see more extensively carried out. Considerable attention has also been paid in Bombay to education through the medium of the vernacular languages. It appears that 216 vernacular schools are under the management of the Board of Education, and that the number of pupils attending them is more than 12,000. There are three inspectors of the district schools, one of whom (Mahadeo Govind Shastri) is a native of India. The schools are reported to be improving, and masters trained in the Government Colleges have been recently appointed to some of them with the happiest effect. These results are very creditable to the presidency of Bombay ; and we trust that each Government school will now be made a centre from which the indigenous schools of the adjacent districts may be inspected and encouraged.¹

✖ (c) The *Presidency of Madras* was the last of the Presidencies to come into the field. Reference has already been made to the enquiry made by Munro in 1822 regarding indigenous education. As a result of this enquiry, Munro found that the condition of education in that Province was at a low ebb on account of the absence of encouragement from Government and the poverty of the people. In his Minute, dated 10th March 1826, Munro proposed that an attempt should be made to educate the masses by improving the indigenous schools. For this purpose, he said, the first essential requirement was to have a better type of teachers. In order to create these, he proposed the establishment of two schools (one for Hindus and one for Muslims) in each Collectorate and of one school in each Tahsil (Taluka) of the Province. The total cost of his proposals was estimated at Rs. 50,000 per annum.

Munro's proposals were sanctioned by the Court of Directors in 1828. But unfortunately Munro himself had departed this world in 1827, and those who followed him had neither the sympathy nor the vision of Munro so that the experiment was tried in a very half-hearted manner. By 1830, only about 70 Tahsil-daree schools had been established and even before the scheme had begun to work, the Directors wrote on 29th September 1830

that the Government of Madras would do well to concentrate on the spread of English education rather than on an attempt to spread education among the masses. Although this letter did not immediately kill the schools established by Munro—these continued to have an indifferent existence till 1836—it effectually stopped their expansion and the problem of mass education in Madras received a great set-back and continued to be neglected till 1868.

After the death of Munro, the history of official attempts in education in Madras makes painful reading. It mostly consists, as Richey points out,

of minutes by successive Governors, Lord Elphinstone, Lord Tweeddale and Sir Henry Pottinger, outlining policies which were never fully adopted, of reports from the educational board submitting schemes which were never brought into effect, of orders of the local Government constituting new educational authorities each of which was short lived, together with despatches from the Court of Directors criticising the policies framed by the Governors, rejecting the schemes submitted by the educational board and dissolving the new educational authorities constituted by the local Government. We find, for example, that the Board of Public Instruction was reconstituted in 1836 as a Committee of Native Education, which in turn gave place in 1841 to a University Board; this Board was superseded by a Council of Education in 1845, which was dissolved at the instance of the Court of Directors in 1847, its duties being again undertaken by the University Board; Sir Henry Pottinger revived the Council of Education in 1848 only to replace it by a Board of Governors in 1851, which handed over its functions to the Department of Public Instruction which was formed in 1854. In view of the constant changes both in the policy of the local Government and in the personnel of the authority whose duty it was to carry out that policy, it is not a matter for surprise that the educational activities of the Madras Government were not fruitful in results or that we find in 1852 but one single institution in the Presidency founded or under the immediate control of Government.¹

It is, therefore, unnecessary here to go into the details of the voluminous correspondence that is available on the subject. The following brief statement of events will be quite sufficient for our purpose :—

- (i) The indigenous schools were never encouraged in Madras.
- (ii) The District and Tahsildaree schools established by Munro were discontinued in 1836 as a result of the orders of the Government of Bengal which recommended the withdrawal of aid from the Collectorate and Tahsildaree schools, the establishment of an English College at Madras, and of provincial English schools at some important places in the interior, if funds permitted.

(iii) A High School then called "the University" was established in Madras in 1841.

(iv) In 1853, a collegiate Department was organised in the Madras "University".

(v) Although the sanctioned allotment for education in Madras was only Rs. 50,000 a year, expenditure to the full amount was never incurred and a balance of over Rs. 3,00,000 had accumulated by 1853.

The following extract from the first report of the Director of Public Instruction in Madras for 1854-55 will give an idea of the extent of the educational activities of the Government of Madras till the end of 1853 :—

At the commencement, therefore, of the period comprised in this report with the exception of the sums expended in the Districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, Nellore and Tanjore and in the maintenance of those elementary schools in the hill tracts of Ganjam, to which I have already alluded, and which were not brought under the superintendence of the Board of Education, the operations of the Government in the Education Department were confined to the Collegiate institution under the designation of an University at Madras, and to the two provincial schools at Rajamundry and Cuddalore. During the past years these operations have been extended by the establishment of three additional provincial schools at the stations of Combaconum, Calicut and Bellary, and of two elementary vernacular schools at, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Cuddalore.¹

The only relieving factor of the situation was that Missionary activities were conducted on a very large scale in Madras and consequently English education was more extensively imparted there than even in Bombay where Government conducted an English School in almost every district in the Province.

The Indian Education Commission, 1882, states that, in 1854, "about 30,000 boys were being educated in schools conducted by Missionary Societies, and about 3,000 were obtaining at least the elements of a liberal education in English".²

✓ (d) *Official Efforts in Education in the North-Western Provinces* : The control of the educational institutions in the North-Western Provinces of Agra and Oudh was transferred from the Government of Bengal to the Provincial Government in 1843. At that time, the Province had three colleges at Agra, Benares and Delhi, and nine Anglo-Vernacular Schools maintained by Government.

¹ *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, p. 182.

One of the earliest decisions of the Provincial Government was to educate the people through the medium of their mother-tongue and *not* through English. The reasons for this policy are thus stated in the first annual report on the progress of education in the province :—

In estimating the progress which has been made in the Educational Department in these Provinces, as well as in forming schemes for its future management, it must never be forgotten how much less encouragement there exists here for the study of English than is the case in the Lower Provinces and in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. There are here very few European Residents, except the functionaries of Government. There is no wealthy body of European Merchants transacting their business in the English language, and according to the English method. There is no Supreme Court, where justice is administered in English, no English Bar or Attorneys, no European Sea-borne Commerce, with its shipping and English sailors, and constant influx of foreign articles and commodities, even in the Public Service, the posts are very few in which a knowledge of the English language is necessary for a discharge of their functions.¹

The Provincial Government accordingly prepared a scheme for the improvement and extension of education through the mother-tongue. This scheme was devised by Mr. Thomason who was then the Lieutenant Governor of the Province. His work will be described in detail in a later section; but it is necessary to state here that [Mr. Thomason was a great champion of mass education and indigenous schools and we owe three great ideas to him, *viz.*, (i) the necessity of incorporating the indigenous schools in a national system of education; (ii) the creation of an Education Department; and (iii) the levy of a local rate for educational purposes. The history of educational developments in the North-Western Province between 1843 and 1853 is, therefore, of great interest to students of mass education in India.

(e) *Official Efforts in Education in the Punjab*: The Province of the Punjab was constituted in 1849. In the first administration report of the Province, an interesting account is given of the indigenous schools from which the following extracts are taken :—

The schools are of three descriptions, namely, those resorted to by Hindoos, Mussulmans and Sikhs, respectively. At the Hindoo schools, writing and the rudiments of arithmetic are generally taught, in the Hindee character; at the Mussulman schools are read the Koran, in Arabic, and the didactic and poetical works of Sadi, in Persian (the *Gulistan* and *Bostan*); at the Sikh school, the Grunth in Goormukhi, or the repository of the faith, taught by Nanuck and Guroo

majority, the studies being chiefly confined to sacred books written in a classical phraseology, unintelligible to both teacher and pupil, do not tend to develop the intellectual faculties of either.

It is remarkable that female education is to be met with in all parts of the Punjab. The girls and the teachers (also females) belong to all of the three great tribes, namely, Hindoo, Mussulman and Sikh. The number is not of course large, but the existence of such an education, almost unknown in other parts of India, is an encouraging circumstance.

The school house is here, as elsewhere, primitive, such as a private dwelling, the village town hall, the shade of a tree, a temporary shed, or the courtyard of a temple. The Mussulman schools are nearly all connected with the village mosque. In such a case, the same endowment would support both institutions. It is superfluous to observe that, wherever any land has been granted in rent-free tenure for such a purpose, either by the State and its representatives, or by the proprietary community, such foundations have been gladly maintained by the Board. The remuneration of the teachers is variable and precarious. It frequently consists of presents, grain and sweetmeats, given by the scholars and their parents. But, occasionally, the whole community subscribes for the support of the school, each member contributing so much per plough, which is considered to represent his means; not unfrequently also, cash payments are made, and sometimes regular salaries are allowed. Cash allowances are perhaps more usual in the Punjab than in Hindoostan.

In parts of Hindoostan, it is discouraging to observe how such education is circumscribed within certain castes, such as Brahmins, Bunyas and Kayeths, who are exclusively devoted to learning commerce or penmanship; while the great landholding and agricultural tribes are wholly illiterate. A similar disproportion exists also in many parts of the Punjab. But, in other parts, education, such as it may be, is imparted chiefly to the agricultural population. In most districts, testimony is given that all classes, both agricultural and non-agricultural, manifest a desire for instruction.¹

Government established a school at Amritsar in 1849 of which the following account is given in the above administration report:—

A few words of special notice are due to the Umritsur school. The first annual report of this institution has been received. During the past year, the average daily attendance has increased from 107 to 153, that is, 50 per cent. Of these, about one-fourth study English. The progress in this department is considerable as might have been expected from the strong desire of learning English evinced by many parties in Umritsur, previous to the establishment of the school. Reading, spelling and writing; arithmetic, elementary geometry, and geography constitute the course of study. In Lahore, as well as Umritsur, the anxiety to acquire English is remarkable. Many Punjabee noblemen and gentlemen have their sons taught English privately, and many natives of Bengal who possess a smattering of English, find employment as teachers of that language.

In the Umritsur school, there are Hindee, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Goormukhee departments. The Sikh students of Goormukhee are about one-fifth of the whole number. Among the Hindee scholars, the prevailing castes are Khutrees and Brahmins; among the Sikh scholars, Jats. The great majority are residents of the city.²

No other educational institutions were established in the province up to the end of 1853.

4. **Official Educational Policies in India (1833-53).** The foregoing review of the principal landmarks in official educational enterprise in India between 1833 and 1853 prepares the ground for a discussion of the official policies in education as they evolved in this period. These can be conveniently discussed under the following heads :—

- (a) The Objectives of Educational Policy ;
- (b) The Downward Filtration Theory ;
- (c) Attitude towards Indigenous Institutions ;
- (d) The Medium of Instruction ;
- (e) The Education of Women ;
- (f) Professional and Vocational Education ; and
- (g) Educational Expenditure.

5. **The Objectives of Educational Policy.** One of the first problems to be discussed in building up the modern system of education was to define the objectives of educational policy. The subject can be approached from two points of view : cultural and political-cum-administrative.

From the cultural point of view, the educational thought of this period can be broadly divided into three definite view-points : the first is the view represented by men like Duncan and Hastings, or more preferably, by Minto, Prinsep, H. H. Wilson, and such other Orientalists. This view emphasized (a) the worthwhileness of the ancient literatures of the Hindus and Muslims, (b) the necessity, and importance of its proper study by Hindus and Muslims, (c) the utility of the careful study of these literatures by Western scholars as well, and (d) the desirability of *preserving the ancient culture of Hindus and Muslims* from the state of rapid decay into which it had fallen on account of the loss of royal patronage. It is not our intention to suggest that these persons opposed the spread of Western knowledge ; but they obviously attached far greater importance to the preservation and development of Oriental culture.

The second view which represents the other extreme was generally held by missionaries and by men like Charles Grant and Macaulay who believed in the substitution of Oriental culture

culture. Grant's *Observations* prove this and Macaulay roundly declared that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia". Grant believed that Western *light and knowledge* should take the place of Eastern culture and religion, and Macaulay talked of creating a class of persons who would be "Indians in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect".

The third view sought the golden mean between these two extremes. It premised that Indians would lose greatly by being restricted merely to the study of Oriental literature; that the substitution of one culture by another would be a psychological impossibility; and that the only practical and realistic approach to the problem would be to bring about a synthesis of the two cultures, preserving all that is good in the Oriental system and superimposing upon it all that is good in the Western system. This view finds good exponents among enlightened Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and liberal-minded Englishmen like Colonel Jervis who said, "If the people are to have a literature, it must be their own. The stuff may be, in a great degree, European, but it must be freely interwoven with homespun materials and the fashion must be Asiatic."¹ These very remarks can be extended to the general pattern of culture that men like him tried to create.

It was rather unfortunate that, during the period under review, this golden mean was not adequately realised by our educational administrators. Prior to 1833, the Orientalist view held sway and then the pendulum swung to the other side and the ideas of the substitution of Eastern culture by Western became more dominant. These extremes were probably unavoidable because it was through these *trial and error* methods only that the ultimate truth was realised at a later date. They were, however, unfortunate and had a considerable unsettling cultural effect upon the young men who entered the modern educational institutions of this period.

Coming to the political-cum-administrative aspects of the problem, we find that the spread of education among the Indian people was advocated, in this period, on two other grounds as well: to win over the confidence of the upper classes of society who had lost their political influence through the British conquest

of India, and to secure less costly employees for the subordinate ranks of Government service. The first of these objectives will be discussed in detail in the next section under the *Downward Filtration Theory*. The second objective became more and more pronounced as the Company's territories began to grow. So long as it was a purely commercial concern, the Company employed Englishmen almost exclusively. As soon as it became a political power, it had to employ large numbers of Indian servants partly because the exclusion of Indians from all posts under Government would have led to great discontent and partly because the exclusive employment of Englishmen was neither practicable nor financially feasible. This naturally created a demand for educated Indians, and the Court of Directors were very eager to develop education in India in such a manner that the subordinate services under Government could be speedily Indianised, thereby reducing the cost of administration very materially. Of course, this idea of Indianisation was never pushed too far. There was never any talk of giving any key-post to an Indian (except probably in the theoretical Parliamentary discussion on the Charter Act of 1833) and all key services were to continue to be exclusively a British preserve. But even with this limitation, there was a very large scope for the employment of Indians under Government and an argument that was often put forward was that the new system of education should train Indians for these jobs that awaited them.

A third view, semi-political and ethical in character, was occasionally put forward on this subject, *viz.*, that it was the *duty* of the Company, as a ruler, to provide education for the people of India. This view was partly supported by the tradition of Hindu and Muslim rulers, partly by the influence from England where, since 1833, Parliament had accepted the responsibility for education, and partly from the concept of several liberal-minded Englishmen that the only moral justification for the British conquest of India would be to make it a means of the cultural improvement of the people as a whole. This view is found expressed in the writings of men like Grant, Munro, Macaulay and Metcalfe.

A study of the documents of this period, therefore, shows that the most commonly discussed objects of British educa-

knowledge, (b) to secure properly trained servants for the public administration of the country, and (c) to do the Sovereign's duty by the Indian subjects. All these viewpoints existed at all times and were emphasized in varying degrees by different classes of officials and educational workers; and even the view of the same group of officials or workers changed in accordance with the changes in the social and political life of England herself. For instance, we find that the first view was generally held by missionaries and such officials of the Company as were inspired by a missionary zeal; the second is most frequently found in the Despatches of the Court of Directors who, as financiers and traders, emphasized the importance of recruiting cheap and efficient servants for the public administration of the country; and the third is found in the writings of men like Macaulay, Munro and Metcalfe. If we go by periods, we find that the second view dominated the discussions in the period of 1823-33 and the first dominated those in the period 1833-53. The explanation of the phenomena obviously lies in the fact that in the earlier period, the finances of the Company were in a bad condition and strenuous attempts had to be made to reduce the cost of administration, while in the second period, a wave of liberal ideas dominated English life.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that it would be historically incorrect to talk, as is sometimes done, of any of the above objectives as the *sole* aim of British educational policy in India. (The British administration had not one, but a *group of aims*, and the only statement that can be justified is to say that at times a particular objective was emphasized more than the others. If this fundamental concept is accepted, it may be further argued that the system of *liberal education* in India was organised with an emphasis on the spread of Western knowledge while the system of *professional and vocational education* was organised with the principal object of training Indians for Government service. In support of the former of these statements, the two irrefutable arguments are the establishment of the Universities and the efforts made to educate women. Neither of these measures was essential for securing Government servants and their incorporation in official policy shows convincingly that the emphasis was placed on the spread of Western knowledge. The second statement will be fully justified by the

history of professional and vocational education that will be narrated in later sections.

A very common remark heard in educational and political discussions is that the modern system of education in India was *solely* motivated by the object of securing servants for Government. This is hardly a correct interpretation of historical events. A careful study of the Minutes of Munro and Elphinstone, the speeches of Macaulay on the Charter Act of 1833 and Lord Hardinge's Resolution of 1844, will show that these pioneers, at any rate, did not think that the people should be educated because Government required servants. On the other hand, they believed that employment under Government was to be used as a means of overcoming the suspicion which a conservative people would naturally feel towards the *new-fangled* institutions of an alien Government, as a bait to divert the young men of the upper classes from the study of Oriental to Occidental literature, and as a just fulfilment of the ambition that would be naturally aroused in the young hearts that had drunk at the fountain of Western culture. It would be an unfair estimate of the work of these pioneers of the Indian educational system to say that securing servants for public administration was either the sole or even the main aim of *their* endeavours.

✓ 6. **The Downward Filtration Theory.** The second problem which the creators of the modern system of education had to face was to decide, at the very outset, whether they would educate a class or the masses as a whole.

A view that came to be put forward very early on this subject was that Government should educate only those classes of society that had lost most by the change of Government. It was claimed that such education, followed by employment in subordinate services of Government, would win the loyalty of these classes and help the consolidation of British Rule in India. It was this motive that led to the education of the Muslims in Bengal, the Hindus in North-Western Province, and the Brahmins in Bombay. This standpoint, however, was soon abandoned because the political situation that gave rise to it disappeared generally within a few years of the British conquest of the area concerned.

This view was, therefore, replaced by another which is

policy is found stated in three different forms which differ significantly from each other. According to the first form, the Company desired, on the analogy of the aristocratic classes in England, to educate only the *upper classes* of society with a view to creating a *governing class* in India, consisting of Sardars, Nawabs, Rajas and such other aristocratic classes. This is hardly a correct interpretation of the early official attempts to spread education. It is true that some of the early administrators wanted to pacify those classes of society which had been adversely affected by a change of government, by educating them in the first instance and then employing them in certain offices under the Company. Even assuming that such an attempt would have succeeded, it would not be correct to describe it as an attempt to create a *governing class*; it would be more correct to describe it as an attempt to secure loyalty by the grant of petty favours. But admittedly, the attempt did not succeed and instead of educating the aristocrats, the Company had to educate all those classes of society which were quick to perceive the worldly advantages that could be obtained through the new educational system. For instance, when Warren Hastings started the Calcutta Madrassah, he intended to educate the sons of Mahomedan *gentlemen*; but it was the *Bhadralok* of Bengal who availed themselves most of the educational opportunities that were offered under the new regime.

The second form of the Downward Filtration Theory is that in which the upper or influential classes of society were proposed to be educated first because, it was argued, their culture would later on naturally descend to the lower classes. For instance, the Court of Directors wrote as under to the Government of Madras on 29th September 1830 :—

The improvements in education, however, which most effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people are those which concern the education of the higher classes of the persons possessing leisure and natural influence over the minds of their countrymen. By raising the standard of instruction among these classes you would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class.¹

✓ This view may have some validity in a society which permits plenty of mobility for its different strata. The Indian society, however, was divided into watertight sections owing to the

prevalence of a number of religions and castes with the result that the assumption of a Downward Filtration Theory of this type had hardly any validity. Its adoption by the officials of this period, therefore, did give a set-back to educational progress.

There is a third form of the Downward Filtration Theory which is of far greater importance to the students of the history of education in India. According to this form, the Company was expected to give a *good* education (which then necessarily meant education through English) to only a *few* persons (these may or may not be from the upper classes) and leave it to these persons to educate the masses (through the modern Indian languages). It was on this view, rather than on the idea of creating a *governing class* in India or of exclusively educating the upper classes that most of the early official attempts in education were based. To put it briefly, the Company did not accept, until 1854, any *direct* responsibility for the education of the masses which would necessarily have meant, education through the Indian languages; on the contrary, *it decided to educate a class of persons in English as a means of ultimately educating the masses through the Indian languages.*

The earliest exposition of this view is found in the writings of Warden, a member of the Governor's Council in Bombay. [The same view was later expressed by Macaulay when he wrote :

In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose views I am opposed. I feel with them that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

It is in this sense of giving good education in English to a few as a means of ultimately educating the masses through the Indian languages that the Downward Filtration Theory was really evolved in this period.

It must be noted that the adoption of the Downward Filtration Theory in this form was made inevitable by the small amounts sanctioned for educational expenditure, and the educational administrators of the early nineteenth century could hardly be

blamed for adopting the good education of a few as the goal of their activities. They were called upon to face the colossal task of educating millions of individuals in a multitude of languages with which they were but little familiar ; they had few suitable men and the poorest of means ; and the adoption of such an ideal was, therefore, the only solution of their difficulties.) The one miscalculation of which they were guilty, however, was to assume that every educated Indian, like the great Archimedes of old, would immediately rush out of the English colleges and schools shouting " Eureka " at the top of his voice. This did not happen, at any rate, for about fifty years after Macaulay's Minute was written, and once again, as so often before, the best laid schemes of Indian educators went agley. The failure was due to two causes : Firstly, almost every person educated in English schools got employment under Government ; and hence there was hardly any occasion for him to go and teach his own countrymen. Secondly, every person who was taught in English schools was cut off from his own people in sympathy and ideology. The English-knowing person became a class by himself and refused to acknowledge kinship with, or feel sympathy for, the masses who did not know English. This unhappy result was due partly to the attempt to substitute Western culture for Eastern and partly to the use of English as a medium of instruction. The Downward Filtration Theory, therefore, did not work out satisfactorily according to the ideas of its promoters for a very long time.

Ultimately, however, the Theory *did* work out in the desired way. The educational institutions conducted by Government (or by the missionaries) remained a minority and they gave higher education in English to a very small percentage of the total population. But it is from the ranks of these educated persons that the bulk of workers for the education of the nation sprang up in later years. In the vanguard of this band were the many noble spirits who decided to turn their back on Government service, although this was available for the mere asking, and devoted their lives to spreading education among their brethren. It is to these patriotic and sacrificing workers that we owe the origin and development of private Indian enterprise in education and, eventually, most of the collegiate and secondary

was soon reached when the output of the educational institutions began to exceed the capacity of Government services to take in new recruits and consequently, several educated men took up the work of spreading education among the people as a means of their livelihood. The ranks of the early pioneers, therefore, were further swelled and private Indian enterprise soon became the principal agency for spreading secondary and collegiate education among the people. Thirdly, it was by the labour of these few persons educated in English that the modern literatures in Indian languages were built up, and the modern Indian press was brought into existence. Ultimately, therefore, the task of mass education through the press and literature in Indian languages has been principally carried out, as originally anticipated, by the few persons who were given a sound education in Western science and literature. But these results were slow in coming and did not become very conspicuous till the early years of the twentieth century.

7. **Attitude of the Company to Indigenous Educational Institutions.** In so far as immediate results were concerned, however, the Downward Filtration Theory did not achieve any good ; on the other hand, it did a lot of harm by sabotaging the cause of mass education and by leading to the neglect of indigenous institutions. This becomes quite evident on a study of what happened to the attempts of Munro, Elphinstone and Adam.

(a) *Proposals of Mass Education made by Elphinstone :* Mountstuart Elphinstone who was the Governor of Bombay from 1819 to 1827 was the first Provincial Governor to propose that the Company should try to spread education among the masses by encouraging indigenous institutions. He was born in 1779 and after an undistinguished career at school, came to India at the early age of 16. By cultivating extensive and careful reading, however, he made up for all the deficiencies of his education and became an acknowledged scholar with a variety of interests and obtained command over Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Persian, Hindustani and Marathi languages. In his early career, he held several important posts such as Assistant to the Resident at the Court of the Peshwa, Political Officer in the

gave him a thorough insight into the Maratha power-politics of the period and an intimate knowledge of the people and their life. These unique qualifications secured his appointment as Governor of Bombay (1819) on the deposition of the Peshwa—a post which he held with distinction for eight years. His winning manners and genial personality, his keen sense of devotion to duty and earnest desire to improve the lot of the people made him very popular with the public and when he retired in 1827, a fund to perpetuate his memory was enthusiastically subscribed. The Elphinstone High School and the Elphinstone College, the two premier educational institutions in the Province of Bombay, were established out of this fund. On his retirement, Elphinstone returned to England and spent a quiet life in the countryside refusing to take any part in public or semi-public duties and retired more and more into the seclusion of his own library. While in India, he had already published *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary and India* in 1815. He now published his most scholarly work, *History of India—Hindu and Mahometan Periods* in 1841 and wrote, though he did not or would not publish, his account of *The Rise of the British Power in the East*. He died at the ripe old age of 80 in 1859—a year after the Indian Empire was transferred to the Crown.

Elphinstone's contribution to the cause of education in India was greater in promise than in achievement. His proposals of educational reform are contained in his great Minute of 1824 and there is no doubt that, if they had been accepted in toto, the progress of mass education in Bombay would have been very rapid. But unfortunately, they were side-tracked and today, our interest in his work is more a question of what might have been than what actually was. His proposals, however, have a great historical value because they show that a shrewd and competent administrator like Elphinstone was fully convinced of the worthwhileness of developing the indigenous institutions, and deserve a careful study.

Elphinstone had written frequently on the subject of the education of the Indian people, which was always dear to his heart ; but never had he treated the problem in a detailed and comprehensive manner. When, therefore, the Bombay Native

the opportunity to explain his view on education at length in a Minute and suggested the following seven measures for adoption :—

1st, to *improve* the mode of teaching at the native schools, and to *increase* the number of schools ; 2nd, to supply them with school-books ; 3rd, to hold out some encouragement to the lower orders of natives to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them ; 4th, to establish schools for teaching the European sciences and improvements in the higher branches of education ; 5th, to provide for the preparation and publication of books of moral and physical science in native languages ; 6th, to establish schools for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to pursue it as a classical language, and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of the European discoveries ; 7th, to hold forth encouragement to the natives in the pursuit of those last branches of knowledge.¹

Elphinstone knew that the above proposals would involve Government in considerable expenditure. [But he held the view that the education of the poor must largely be a charge on public revenues and argued that the greatness of the expense of his proposals was compensated for by the magnitude of their object. " It is difficult to imagine , " he said,

an undertaking in which our duty, our interest, and our honour are more immediately concerned. It is well understood that in all countries the happiness of the poor depends in a great measure on their education. It is by means of it alone that they can acquire those habits of prudence and self-respect from which all other good qualities spring ; and if ever there was a country where such habits are required, it is this.²

Certain features of Elphinstone's proposals deserve special notice. It will be seen that he stood for mass education through the medium of the mother-tongue. He gave the first place in his programme to the improvement of indigenous schools and to their extension. Secondly, he suggested the teaching of English *classically* and did not insist on its use as the sole medium of instruction. He was not opposed to the idea of using English as a medium of instruction but felt that the people would not respond properly if English were used for the purpose. He wrote :—

If English could be at all diffused among persons who had the least time for reflection, the progress of knowledge, by means of it, would be accelerated in a tenfold ratio, since every man who made himself acquainted with a science through English would be able to communicate it in his own language to his countrymen. At present, however, there is but little desire to learn English with any such view. The first step towards creating such a desire would be to establish a school at Bombay where English might be taught classically, and where instruction might also be given in that language on history, geography, and the popular branches of science.³

¹ Elphinstone's *Minute on Education*, para.

When this Minute was placed before the Governor's Council, Warden, who was a member of the Council at that time, violently opposed the proposals of Elphinstone. He did not agree with the idea that Government should accept any responsibility for education of the masses. He was one of the earliest officials to enunciate the Downward Filtration Theory. He also attached paramount importance to English education and did not like the way in which Elphinstone made it follow upon primary education at a respectable distance. He wrote :

It is better and safer to commence by giving a good deal of knowledge to a few than a little to many, to be satisfied with laying the foundation of good edifice and not desire to accomplish in a day what must be the work of a century. But the object of giving a good deal of knowledge to a few can only be promoted by a better system of education ; and the surest mode of diffusing a better system is by making the study of the English language the primary, and not merely the secondary object of attention in the education of the natives.¹

Owing to this difference of opinion between Elphinstone and Warden, the Court of Directors did not accord sanction to all the proposals of Elphinstone. They accepted the Bombay Native Education Society as their agent for organization of education in the Province and hence no Committee of Public Instruction was appointed in Bombay. They also sanctioned a grant of Rs. 600 per mensem to the Society and undertook to bear the cost of compiling and printing its school books. The proposals of Elphinstone were thus side-tracked, and when he left Bombay in 1827, he was deeply grieved that differences in his Council should have prevented him from achieving substantial results in expanding education. The Downward Filtration Theory, with its inseparable concomitant of education through English, was thus mainly responsible for stifling this earliest attempt to develop mass education through the indigenous institutions.

(b) *Munro's Proposals for Mass Education*: Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras was another champion of indigenous institutions. He was born in 1761 in the family of a Glasgow merchant. He was an intelligent, hardworking and robust youth with a cultivated taste for reading, although his academic career was not particularly distinguished. He came to India in 1780—at the early age of 19—and worked in the Army for 12 years from 1780 to 1792 and then as District Officer at Baramahal, Kanara and Ceded Districts from 1792 to 1807.

It was here that he learnt the languages of the people and by his intimate knowledge of their life, came both to love and understand them. He, however, resigned his appointment in 1807, mainly on grounds of overwork, and returned to England where he was called to give evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons when the Charter of 1813 was under discussion.

"If a good system of agriculture," he said, "unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever might contribute to convenience of luxury, schools established in every village, the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other, and, above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, were among the signs which denoted a civilized people—then the Hindoos were not inferior to the native of Europe; and if civilization were to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that England would greatly benefit from the import of cargo".¹ This is the considered opinion of an official whose views are entitled to the greatest respect and they show that the views of Grant cannot be relied upon to any great extent and that the so-called *myth* of *a school in every village* was believed in by Munro also.

Munro returned to India again in 1814 and worked as the President of a special Commission to inquire into the judicial system (1814-17) and as Commissioner of the Southern Maratha Country (1817-18). He then went back to England but had to return again in 1820 as Governor of Madras—a post which he held till his death which occurred in the Ceded Districts in 1827. His death was greatly mourned by the people whom he had governed and who had shown their love for him by calling him "Thomas Munro Bahadur . . . the friend of the ryot . . . the father of the people".

Munro's views on education were almost identical with those of Elphinstone. Both were convinced of the *duty* of England to educate Indians; both loved, understood and respected the people; and both were convinced supporters of indigenous institutions. Unfortunately, the ideas of both were never worked out properly and, as in the case of Elphinstone, Munro's work also is far greater in promise than in fulfilment.

Munro's ideas on education are found in three documents, his Minutes on Education dated 2-7-1822 and 10-3-1826 (quoted

¹ J. R. Marshman : *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, Vol. II, p. 20.

already on pages 2-4 and his Minute on Internal Administration dated 31st December 1824. These may be briefly stated as follows:—

(i) Like Elphinstone, Munro felt that it was the *duty* of England to educate the Indian people and argued that no considerations of finance should be allowed to stand in its way. He said “Whatever expense Government may incur in the education of the people, will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country: for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of life and by the growing prosperity of the country.”¹

(ii) Like Elphinstone, he believed that Indians should be recruited to service under the Company as an encouragement to education and *not* that education should be organised as a means to train Government servants. He said, “How can we expect that the Hindoos will be eager in the pursuit of science, unless they have the same inducements as in other countries? If superior acquirements do not open the road to distinction, it is idle to suppose that the Hindoo would lose his time in seeking them; and even if he did so, his proficiency, under the doctrine of exclusion from office, would serve no other purpose than to show him more clearly the fallen state of himself and his countrymen.....The great number of offices in which the natives are employed, is one of the strongest causes of their attachment to our Government. In proportion as we exclude them from these, we lose our hold upon them; and were the exclusion entire we should have their hatred in place of their attachment.....We should look upon India not as a temporary possession, but as one which is to be maintained permanently, until the natives shall in some future age have abandoned most of their superstitions and prejudices, and become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it. Whenever such a time shall arrive, it will probably be best for both countries that the British control over India shall be gradually withdrawn.”²

(iii) Lastly, he was convinced that the plans of educating the people would have to be worked out through the indigenous

institutions, that is to say, by improving and extending them. For this purpose, he made the following proposals :—

These difficulties may be gradually surmounted. The hindrance which is given to education by the poverty of the people may in a great degree be removed by the endowment of schools throughout the country by Government, and the want of encouragement will be remedied by good education being rendered more easy and general, and by the preference which will naturally be given to well-educated men in all public offices. No progress, however, can be made without a body of better instructed teachers than we have at present ; but such a body cannot be had without an income sufficient to afford a comfortable livelihood to each individual belonging to it. A moderate allowance should, therefore, be secured to them by Government, sufficient to place them above want. The rest should be derived from their own industry. If they are superior both in knowledge and diligence to the common village schoolmaster, scholars will flock to them and augment their income.

What is first wanted, therefore, is a school for educating teachers, as proposed by the Committee of Madras School Book Society, in the letter of the 25th October, 1824, which accompanied their second report. I think that they should be authorised to draw 700 rupees monthly from the Treasury for the purposes which they have stated ; namely, for the payment of the interest of money employed in building and the salaries of teachers, 500 ; and for the expenses of the press, 200. I would next propose that Government should establish in each Collectorate, two principal schools, one for Hindus and the other for Mahomedans ; and that hereafter, as teachers can be found, the Hindu schools might be augmented so as to give one to each Tahsildaree, or about 15 to each Collectorate. We ought to extend to Mahomedan the same advantages of education as to our Hindu subjects, and perhaps even in a greater degree, because a greater proportion of them belong to the middle and higher classes. But as their number is not more than one-twentieth of that of the Hindus, it will not be necessary to give more than one Mahomedan school to each Collectorate, except in Arcot and a few other Collectorates, where the Mahomedan population is considerably above the usual standard.

The total expense of the schools will be as follows :—

	Rs.
Madras School Book Society, per month	700
Collectorate schools, Mahomedans, 20 at Rs. 15	300
Collectorate schools, Hindus, 20 at Rs. 15	300
Tahsildary schools, 300 at Rs. 9	2,700
Total per month	4,000
Total per annum	48,000

This expense will be incurred only by degrees, because it will be long before a sufficient number of qualified teachers can be obtained. The charges for the Madras School Book Society and the Collectorate schools, are all that will probably be wanted before the sanction of the Honourable Court can be received. The sum for which we ought to request their sanction ought not to be less than half a lac of rupees. None of the endowments in the Collector's reports are applicable to the present object. They do not exceed 20,000 rupees in all and only a small portion of them are public grants, and this small portion belongs chiefly to the teachers of Theology, Law and Astronomy.

We must not be too sanguine in expecting any sudden benefit from the labours of the School Book Society. Their disposition to promote the instruction

now attend the schools ; it can be extended only by means of an increased demand for it, and this must arise chiefly from its being found to facilitate the acquisition of wealth or rank, and from the improvement in the condition of the people rendering a larger portion of them more able to pay for it. But though they cannot educate those who do not seek, or cannot pay for education, they can, by an improved system, give a better education to those who do receive it ; and by creating and encouraging a taste for knowledge, they will indirectly contribute to extend it. If we resolve to educate the people, if we persevere in our design, and if we do not limit the schools to Tahsildaries, but increase their number so as to allow them for smaller districts, I am confident that success will ultimately attend our endeavours.

Munro's proposals were sanctioned by the Court of Directors in 1828, *i.e.* a year after his death. The experiment was tried in a very half-hearted manner by Munro's successors and, as early as on 29th September 1830 the Directors wrote that the Government of Madras would do well to concentrate on the spread of English education rather than on an attempt to spread education among the masses ! Their letter on this subject deserves a careful perusal :—

By the measures originally contemplated by your Government no provision was made for the instruction of any portion of the natives in the higher branches of knowledge. A further extension of the elementary education which already existed, and an improvement of its quality by the multiplication and diffusion of useful books in the Native languages, was all that was aimed at. It was indeed proposed to establish at the Presidency a central school for the education of teachers, but the teachers were to be instructed only in those elementary acquirements which they were afterwards to teach in the Tahsildaree and Collectorate schools. The improvements in education, however, which most effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people are those which concern the education of the higher classes of the persons possessing leisure and natural influence over the minds of their countrymen. *By raising the standard of instruction among these classes you would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class.* You are moreover acquainted with our anxious desire to have at our disposal a body of Natives qualified by their habits and acquirements to take a larger share and occupy higher situations in the civil administration of their country than has hitherto been the practice under our Indian Governments. The measures for Native education which have yet been adopted or planned at your Presidency have had no tendency to produce such persons. Measures have been adopted by the Supreme Government for placing within the reach of higher classes of Natives under the Presidency of Bengal instruction in the English language and in European Literature and Science. These measures have been attended with a degree of success which, considering the short time during which they have been in operation, is in the highest degree satisfactory and justifies the most sanguine hopes with respect to the practicability of spreading useful knowledge among the Natives of India and diffusing among them the ideas and sentiments prevalent in civilized Europe. We are desirous that similar measures should be adopted at your Presidency.²

The Downward Filtration Theory and the emphasis on English education thus took their second toll, and Munro's scheme of developing mass education through the indigenous institutions fell to the ground.

(c) *Adam's Proposals for the Development of Indigenous Education in Bengal*: Reference has already been made, in Chap. I, Section 18, to the proposals made by Adam regarding the manner in which the indigenous institutions could be developed. He knew that the Downward Filtration Theory would prevent the acceptance of his plans. He, therefore, tried to show its harmfulness and recommended that it should be abandoned. He wrote :—

Instead of beginning with schools for the lower grades of native society, a system of Government institutions may be advocated that shall provide, in the first place, for the higher classes on the principle that the tendency of knowledge is to descend, not to ascend ; and that, with this view, we should at present seek to establish a school at the head-station of every zilla, afterwards pergunnah schools, and last of all village schools, gradually acquiring in the process more numerous and better qualified instruments for the diffusion of education. The primary objection to this plan is that it overlooks entire systems of native educational institutions, Hindu and Mohammanan, which existed long before our rule, and which continue to exist under our rule, independent of us and of our projects, forming and moulding the native character in successive generations. In the face of this palpable fact, the plan assumes that the country is to be indebted to us for schools, teachers, books—everything necessary to its moral and intellectual improvement, and that in the prosecution of our views we are to reject all the aids which the ancient institutions of the country and the actual attainments of the people afford towards their advancement. We have to deal in this country principally with Hindus and Mohammanans, the former one of the earliest civilized nations of the earth, the latter in some of the brightest periods of their history distinguished promoters of science ; and both, even in their present retrograde stages of civilization, still preserving a profound love and veneration for learning nourished by those very institutions of which I have spoken, and which it would be equally improvident on our part and offensive to them to neglect.

Again, if the maxim that the tendency of knowledge is to descend, not to ascend, requires us to have first zilla, next pergunnah, and then village schools, it follows that we ought not to have even zilla schools till we have provincial colleges, nor the latter till we have national universities ; nor these till we have a cosmopolitan one. But this is an application of the maxim foreign to its spirit. Improvement begins with the individual and extends to the mass, and the individuals who give the stimulus to the mass are doubtless generally found in the upper that is, the thinking class of society which, especially in this country, is not composed exclusively nor even principally, of those who are highest in rank, or who possess the greatest wealth. The truth of the maxim does not require that the measures adopted should have reference first to large and then to small localities in progressive descent. On the contrary the efficiency of every successive higher grade of institution cannot be secured except by drawing instructed

case, demands prior attention. Children should not go to colleges to learn the alphabet. To make the superstructure lofty and firm, the foundations should be broad and deep ; and thus building from the foundation, all classes of institutions and every grade of instruction may be combined with harmonious and salutary effect.¹

But even this eloquent defence was of no avail. When Adam's proposals came before Lord Auckland as Governor-General, Macaulay had to comment on them as a member of the Council. As a pioneer in the evolution of the Downward Filtration Theory and as a champion of English education, one could not expect Macaulay to sympathise with Adam's plans and in his Minute, he openly showed his hostility. He wrote :—

I have read with much interest Mr. Shakespeare's Minute on Mr. Adam's valuable Report. I am a little inclined to doubt, however, whether we are at present ripe for any extensive practical measures which he recommends.

I do not see how we can either make the present teachers of elementary knowledge more competent, or supply their place as yet with fitter men. The evil is one which time only can remedy. Our work is to educate the schoolmasters for the next generation.

If we can raise up a class of educated Bengalees, they will naturally, and without any violent change, displace by degrees the present incompetent teachers. As to educating the schoolmasters who are already established, I quite agree with Mr. Shakespeare in thinking that plan chimerical. As to sending others, at present we cannot do it if we would. I doubt whether we have the men, and I am sure that we have not the money.²

With such adverse comments the papers came up before Lord Auckland. A reference to his views on educational policy given earlier will show that Adam's ideas could never have appealed to him. His actual observations on the subject are given below :—

The other reference made to me is with regard to Mr. Adam's plan for the improvement of indigenous schools and teachers. I would observe upon it that it is impossible to read his valuable and intelligent report, without being painfully impressed with the low state of instruction as it exists amongst the immense masses of the Indian population. Attempts to correct so lamentable an evil may well be eagerly embraced by benevolent minds. Yet I cannot but feel with the President in Council that the period has not yet arrived when the Government can join in these attempts with reasonable hope of practical good. When Mr. Adam enforces his views ' for the instruction of the poor and ignorant ' those who are too ignorant to understand the evils of ignorance and too poor, even if they did, to be able to remove them, the inference irresistibly presents itself that among these is not the field in which our efforts can at present be most successfully employed. The small stock of knowledge which can now be given in elementary schools will of itself do little for the advancement of a people. The first step must be to diffuse wider information and better sentiments amongst the upper and middle classes, for it seems, as may be gathered from the best authorities on the subject, that a scheme of general instruction can only be perfect, as it

comprehends a regularly progressive provision for higher tuition. In the European States where such systems have been recently extensively matured, this principle is, I believe, universally observed. There is a complete series of Universities in great towns, of Academies in Provincial divisions and of small local schools, all connected in a combined plan of instruction. The extension of the plan to the Parish village school has been the last stage, as must naturally have been the case, in the national progress. Mr. Adam's plan contemplated such a rise of able pupils from the village to the zilla schools, but the suggestion could not immediately have effect. Here we are yet engaged on the formation and efficient direction of our upper institutions. and I would conclude upon this subject by recording my opinion that when such a scheme as that proposed by Mr. Adam comes to be tried, the arrangements for introducing it should be on a liberal and effective scale, and that it ought not to be undertaken at all, until the Government is satisfied that it has at command a thoroughly zealous and qualified superintendence.¹

Adam's proposals therefore, went the same way as those of Elphinstone and Munro and almost for the same reasons. In all three Presidencies, therefore, the indigenous institutions did not receive any encouragement from the Company, and its officers concentrated their efforts on giving a good education to a few rather than undertaking any direct responsibility for the education of the masses.

(d) *Thomason's Plan for the Development of Mass Education in the North-Western Provinces*: The only experiment for the development of mass education which escaped this general fate was the scheme prepared by Lieutenant-Governor Thomason of the North-Western Provinces. This is generally known as *Thomason's Plan* and deserves a careful study. f.d.

James Thomason (1804-53) was the son of the Rev. Thomas Thomason, the chaplain of the old church, Calcutta, who took a leading part in several activities designed to improve the lot of the Indian people. He is known to have drawn up a detailed scheme for the education of the country and submitted it to Lord Moira for approval. The scheme proposed to teach through modern Indian languages. It was to include a study of Oriental culture blended, where necessary, with Western knowledge and ideas from European civilisation. It proposed to establish a school in each District for teaching English. Under it, there were to be several village schools teaching through modern Indian languages. "It was to utilize all existing and indigenous resources of an elementary character, and to engraft on them such organizations as European experience might suggest."² The

scheme was turned down, primarily because it was far too advanced for the age. But it shows the type of atmosphere in which James Thomason was brought up. It is, therefore, hardly to be wondered that young Thomason grew up as a staunch supporter of mass education through indigenous institutions.

Thomason was educated in England and had Macaulay as his school fellow. He began his official career in India in 1823 as Registrar of the Sadar Adalat, Calcutta. He then worked in several important capacities and earned great approbation everywhere; but the appointment which he valued most was as District Officer at Azamgarh (1832-37). It was here that he obtained his real insight into the condition and life of the people—a knowledge that stood him in such good stead later on. (In 1843, at the early age of 39, he was appointed Lt.-Governor of the North-Western Province—a post that he held with rare distinction till his death in 1853.

Sir G. R. Clerk, who was the Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. Province before Thomason was convinced that a widespread network of indigenous schools already existed in the Province. "Every town in the Provinces has its little schools", he wrote in 1843, "in every Pergunnah are two or more schools, even in many villages is the rude school master to be found". He was also certain that the love of education was equally widespread among the people. He was convinced from long personal intercourse with all classes of Indians "that the people do desire to learn, and that there is no backwardness in any class or in any sect to acquire learning, or to have their children taught". And yet, it was the experience of the British officials in the North-Western Province that "the Colleges or schools established by Government have neither their (*i.e.* the people's) countenance nor support; to these institutions they neither send their sons for education, nor do they themselves take the slightest interest in their existence, yet do they seek, through other means, to give to their children the best education they can afford". Sir G. R. Clerk felt that this sad result was due to the fact that the modern educational institutions created by British officials were not in keeping with the needs and sentiments of the people. "The habits and customs of the influential classes in the North-Western Provinces, cannot be judged of by those of the people in Cal-

unpractical "system of education on the Natives of the Provinces is, ... visionary, and productive only of an useless expenditure of the resources of Government".¹ Thomason who, with the influence of his father and his own personal observations, had already become a champion of indigenous institutions, readily accepted this policy in its entirety. In a circular to District Officials issued in 1845, Thomason wrote that the means for educating the people were "at hand in the indigenous schools which are scattered over the face of the country. Their number may not at present be large, and the instruction conveyed in them is known to be rude and elementary. But these numbers may be increased and the instruction conveyed in them may be improved".² These sentiments are obviously the same as those of Adam, Munro and Elphinstone. But fortunately, he found a good support from the Governor-General and the Court of Directors. His proposals were not only *not* turned down, but were highly commended and he was allowed a free hand to develop education in the North-Western Province along his own lines. This is a pleasantly surprising development and is probably due to the fact that the Downward Filtration Theory was now being abandoned and that there was a liberal-minded Governor-General like Dalhousie to support him. To Thomason, therefore, belongs the credit of having made the Central Government and the Court of Directors accept the principle that the indigenous schools should be developed and improved as a means of spreading education among the people.

The second great achievement of Thomason was to levy a rate for the support of primary schools. The idea of taxation for school purposes was then new to India, and even in England no rate for education was levied until 1870. But as early as 1851, Thomason began to levy a rate for the support of primary schools. He avoided the necessity for legislation by making the landholders agree voluntarily to pay a tax of one-half per cent on land-revenue for the maintenance of schools and, later on, obtained the sanction of the Court of Directors to pay an equal amount from Government. Thomason, therefore, was the first officer in India to levy a local rate for schools and to pay it a grant-in-aid from Government treasury. The funds thus

obtained were devoted to the maintenance of schools known popularly as *Halkabandi schools*. A Halka is a circle or group of village and the organisation of these schools is well explained in the following passage :—

The system of Halkabandi or Circle schools had been devised, previously to 1854, for the special purpose of meeting the wants of the agricultural population. Under this system, several villages conveniently situated for the purpose are grouped together, and in a central situation a school is established, which is not to be more than two miles distant from any of the villages forming the circle. For the support of these schools, the consent of the landowners was to be obtained to the appropriation of a small percentage on the amount of the Government revenue, one per cent being the amount paid, of which half was to be contributed by the landowners and half by the Government. The voluntary consent of the landowners was prescribed as an indispensable condition of the establishment of the system in any locality ; and at the time of the outbreak in the North-Western Provinces in 1857, the requisite assent had been given to the scheme in many of the districts, and the sanction of the Home Authorities had been accorded (in 1856) to the proposal of the local Government that in the resettlement of the land revenue, the new plan should be universally introduced, and one per cent on the Government demand should be set apart in all the districts for the support of this hulkabundee system.¹

The third idea that we owe to Mr. Thomason is the organisation of a regular Education Department. His plan for the inspection and improvement of indigenous schools, which was first introduced as an experimental measure in eight districts in 1850, is thus explained :—

There will be a Government village school at the headquarters of every Tahseeldar. In every two or more Tahseeldarees, there will be a Pergunnah visitor. Over these a Zillah visitor in each district, and over all a Visitor-General for the whole of the Province.

The Government village school at each Tahseeldaree will be conducted by a schoolmaster, who will receive from Government a salary of from 10 to 20 rupees per mensem, besides such fees as he may collect from his scholars. The course of instruction in this school will consist of reading and writing the vernacular languages, both Oordoo and Hindee, Accounts and the Mensuration of land according to the native system. To these will be added such instruction in Geography, History, Geometry, or other general subjects conveyed through the medium of the vernacular language, as the people may be willing to receive. Care will be taken to prevent these schools from becoming rivals of the indigenous schools maintained by the natives themselves. This will be effected by making the terms of admission higher than are usually demanded in village schools, and by allowing free admission only on recommendations given by village schoolmasters, who may be on the visitors' lists.

The Pergunnah visitors will receive salaries varying from 20 to 40 rupees a month. It will be their duty to visit all the towns and principal villages in their jurisdictions, and to ascertain what means of instruction are available to the people. Where there is no village school, they will explain to the people the advantages that would result from the institution of a school ; they will offer their

assistance in finding a qualified teacher and in providing books, etc. Where schools are found in existence, they will ascertain the nature of the instruction and the number of scholars and they will offer their assistance to the person conducting the school. If this offer is accepted, the school will be entered on their lists, the boys will be examined and the more advanced scholars noted, improvements in the course or mode of instruction will be recommended, and such books as may be required will be procured. Prizes will be proposed for the most deserving of the teachers or scholars, and the power of granting free admissions to the tahseeldaree school be accorded.

The Zillah visitor will draw a salary between 100 and 200 rupees a month. He will superintend the Pergunnah visitors and the tahseeldaree schools. He will see that the former perform their duty, he will test the accuracy of their reports, and decide on the bestowal of the prizes, which they may recommend. The sum of 500 rupees per annum will be at the disposal of the Zillah visitor to give as reward within the district. He will pay particular attention to the tahseeldaree schools holding periodical examinations, and reporting on the conduct of the masters, and the progress and qualifications of the pupils. It will be his duty also to furnish an annual report on the state of education in the district, and in the compilation of this, he will carefully test the statistical data, which may be afforded him by the Pergunnah visitors. This report will include all schools, both those on his lists and those which are not, and he will describe the course of education followed in each class of schools. He will also ascertain as far as he may be able the extent and nature of the private instruction given to those of the upper classes, who do not attend schools. He will be the agent for the distribution and sale of school books, and will receive a commission of 10 per cent on all such sales, which he may effect.

It will be the duty of the Visitor-General to supply the subordinate Agency, and to superintend the working of the whole. He will correspond direct with the Government, and will furnish an Annual Report on the state of Education in the several districts under his charge, as soon as may be practicable after the 1st of May of each year.¹

It can easily be seen that the above arrangements were the precursor of the Education Department as it was organised after 1854.

These three great contributions make the work of Thomason extremely valuable and interesting to a student of educational history. [Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India, was greatly pleased with it and recommended its extension, not only to all the remaining districts of the N.-W. Province but to Bengal and Bihar as well. He wrote :—

Five years ago I had the honour of recommending to the Hon'ble Court of Directors a scheme prepared by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces for the Promotion of Vernacular Education, by the institution of schools in each Tehseel on the part of the Government. The scheme, which was designed ultimately for the whole of the 31 districts within the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor, was limited by His Honor for the time to eight of these districts. . . . Three years have since elapsed, and I now submit to my Hon'ble colleagues with feelings of genuine satisfaction a despatch in which the

late Lieutenant-Governor announced to the Supreme Government the eminent success of this experiment and asked that the scheme of vernacular education should now be extended in its full integrity to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the Government of the North-Western Provinces. Alluding to the districts, in which the Government schools have not yet been established, Mr. Thomason has said 'In all these parts there is a population no less teeming and a people as capable of learning'. The same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon the Government to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance. The means are shown by which a great effect can be produced; the cost at which they can be brought into operation is calculated; the agency is available. It needs but the sanction of the highest authority to call into exercise throughout the length and breadth of the land the same spirit of enquiry and the same mental activity, which is now beginning to characterise the inhabitants of the four districts in which a commencement has been made. . . . I beg leave to recommend in the strongest terms to the Hon'ble Court of Directors that full sanction should be given to the extension of the scheme of vernacular education to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the North-Western Provinces, with every adjunct which may be necessary for its complete efficiency. I feel that I should very imperfectly discharge the obligation that rests upon me as the head of the Government of India, if, with such a record before me as that which has been this day submitted to the Council, I were to stop short at the recommendations already proposed. These will provide for the wants of the North-Western Provinces; but other vast Governments remain, with "a people as capable of learning" as those in Hindustan, and "a population" still more "teeming". There too the same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon the Government to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance. Those wants ought to be provided for, those obligations ought to be met. . . . I hold it the plain duty of the Government of India at once to place within the reach of the people of Bengal and Behar those means of education which notwithstanding our anxiety to do so, we have hitherto failed in presenting to them in an acceptable form, but which we are told upon the experienced authority of Dr. Mouat are to be found in the successful scheme of the Lieutenant-Governor before us.¹

The Despatch of 1854 also commended the work of Thomason very greatly. It said :—

91. In the North-Western Provinces the demand for education is so limited by circumstances fully detailed by the Lieutenant-Governor in one of his early reports, that it will probably be long before private effort will become energetic enough to supply the place of the establishment, support and management by Government, of places of instruction of the highest grade where there may be a sufficient reason for their institution.

92. At the same time, the system for the promotion or general education throughout the country, by means of the inspection and encouragement of indigenous schools, has laid the foundation of a great advancement in the education of the lower classes. Mr. Thomason ascertained, from statistical information, the lamentable state of ignorance in which the people were sunk, while the registration of land, which is necessary under the revenue settlement of North-Western Provinces, appeared to him to offer the stimulus of a direct interest for the acquisition of so much knowledge, at least of reading and writing, of the simple rules of arithmetic, and of land measurement, as would enable each man to look after his own rights.

¹ Selections from Educational Records, Vol. II, pp. 222-3.

93. He therefore organised a system of encouragement of indigenous schools by means of a constant inspection by zillah and purgannath visitors, under the superintendence of a visitor-general; while, at the headquarters of each tahsildar, a school was established for the purpose of teaching "reading and writing the vernacular language, both Urdu and Hindi accounts, and the mensuration of land." A school house is provided by Government, and the masters of the tahsili schools receive a small salary, and are further entitled to the tuition fees paid by the pupils, of whom none are educated gratuitously, except 'on recommendation given by village school-masters who may be on the visitor's list.' A certain sum is annually allotted to each zillah for the reward of deserving teachers and scholars; and the attention of the visitor-general was expressly directed to the preparation of elementary school books in the vernacular language, which are sold through the agency of the zillah and the purgannath visitors. We shall be prepared to sanction the gradual extension of some such system as this to the other districts of the Agra presidency, and we have already referred to it as the model by which the efforts of other presidencies for the same object should be guided.

8. The Controversy regarding the Medium of Instruction.
 (The most important controversy of this period referred to the medium of instruction to be adopted in the modern system of education in India. As stated already, it arose first in Bengal between the supporters of the classical languages on the one hand and those of English on the other (1835-9). Later, another controversy occurred in Bombay between the supporters of modern Indian languages on the one hand and those of English on the other (1845-8). We shall now proceed to study these controversies in some detail.

(a) *The Anglicist-Classicist Controversy in Bengal:* As stated in Chap. III, section 2, the General Committee of Public Instruction was divided on the question of its educational policy particularly in regard to the medium of instruction. These differences, which were present almost from the inception of the Committee in 1823, came to a head by about 1834. Out of the ten members of the Committee, five supported the policy of giving encouragement to Oriental literature and were known as the Oriental party and the rest were in favour of the adoption of English as a medium of instruction and were known as the English party. The Oriental party was led by H. T. Prinsep who was then the Secretary to Government of Bengal in the Education Department, and consisted of the older members of the Company's service. The English party had no definite leader. It consisted mostly of the younger servants of the Company who looked forward to the support of Macaulay who

Instruction and the Law Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. } In this connection the following excerpt from Prinsep's diary is very interesting :—

There was, however, a class of Anglo-Indians, and the younger civil servants mostly joined it, who were opposed to Government's assisting to give instruction in any kind of Eastern literature or science, the whole of which they declared to be immoral, profane or nonsensical. They especially attacked the Sanskrit Mythology and in this they were aided of course by the missionaries but the use of Persian in our courts and in the correspondence of the Governor-General was also an object of their antipathy. It had been yielded to this party during Lord Bentinck's administration to require the law courts proceedings to be recorded in the vernacular language of the several districts instead of uniformly in Persian in all districts. Several of this party were now in the Council of Education when I retook my place therein after my return from Tasmania, and I found there a contest to be raging whether in the Calcutta Madrasa and other institutions maintained by Government, English should be preferentially taught and the study of that language made obligatory on all or as hitherto be left optional under the inducement of the benefit in after life which the knowledge of it would confer. I took part of course against the innovations which this party wanted to introduce and I carried with me the vote of the majority of the Council of Education. But when T. B. Macaulay arrived to be the new legislative member of the Council of India, his high literary reputation induced the Government to appoint him President of the Council of Education, and the English Party, as it was called, entertained high hope that his influence and authority would turn the scale against me and my supporters.¹

The equal division of parties in the General Committee of Public Instruction made it impossible to carry on the work of the Committee. There were "recurring and inconvenient" discussions at meetings, and almost every topic that came up for discussion got mixed up with these fundamental differences. Sometimes no decision could be reached. Very often a decision in favour of one party would be reached if any members of the opposite side accidentally happened to be absent; and more often than not, the decision would be reversed at another meeting when the former party would happen to be in a minority. Evidently, such a state of affairs could not go on for long and early in 1835, both the parties in the Committee decided to submit their dispute to the Governor-General-in-Council for orders.

At this distance of time, it is quite unnecessary to enter into all the details of the controversy which spread over several years. It would suffice for the purpose of this narrative to state the view of the Oriental party which was led by H. T. Prinsep and then to present the other side by an analysis of Macaulay's Minute on the subject.

(b) *The Orientalist View*: The most important argument of the Oriental party centered round the interpretation of the forty-third section of the Charter Act of 1813. As has been already mentioned, this section directed that a sum of not less than a lakh of rupees shall be expended every year for "the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." With regard to the first two objects mentioned in this section, the Oriental party argued as under :—

The literature meant to be so revived and encouraged was the literature of the two great classes of population, the Moosulmans and the Hindus. . . . The revival of literature has been promoted by the assistance given to seminaries of education previously existing, and by the establishment of fresh, and likewise through the printing and publishing of classical works hitherto only to be procured in manuscript. To these objects a certain proportion of the funds assigned has been made applicable. The encouragement of learned men, the next thing indicated, has been effected as well through the support afforded them in institutions of education and in the superintendence and preparation of works for publication as by other advantages incident to the system pursued, amongst which not the least effectual is the provision for securing prolonged study by stipends to promising students. All this has been done for the natives and their literature.¹

As regards the third object, *i.e.*, the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences, it was argued that Indians had a prejudice against European knowledge and science and that they would not accept it at all unless it was presented to them through a classical language which they respected and along with the culture of their ancestors to which they were passionately attached. As H. T. Prinsep wrote :—

It is declared by those who take the opposite view to Mr. Macaulay that it (*i.e.*, the prejudice against European knowledge) does exist and that the prejudice is so general especially amongst the Moosulmans that there is no hope of our being able by the mere offer of instruction in English and English science to secure that it shall be received for its own sake. These persons say that the best chance of procuring that true knowledge shall ultimately prevail, is to *engraft* it upon the course of education now most esteemed and to take every means of leading the youth to the improved condition in which it is desired to place them by giving them first all they respect and admire in their fathers and then besides the further instruction we have to impart.²

It was, therefore, suggested that the action of the Committee in translating useful books from English into Arabic and Sanskrit was perfectly justified. The Oriental party, therefore;

maintained that their actions were entirely within the Charter Act of 1813, and that their policy could not be changed unless the Charter Act was amended by Parliament itself.

Secondly, the Oriental party were extremely keen on preserving the existing institutions of Oriental learning which the English party proposed to abolish. This was the real question at issue. The Oriental party knew the weakness of their case and were prepared to accept a compromise by suggesting that Government should leave it to the option of the student to choose whichever education he liked, whether classical or English. But they would not agree to the idea of closing Oriental institutions. In their view, such a step was entirely opposed to the Government policy of conciliating the people and would even border on intolerance. Prinsep was particularly keen about the Calcutta Madrassah. He argued that the Madrassah was

an endowment made by Warren Hastings more than 50 years ago and for the support of which certain funds, *viz.* the *land revenue* of the Maddrus Muhal part of which is included in the Barrackpore park were specifically assigned. At first, the Institution was left to the uncontrolled management of the Moola placed by Mr. Hastings at its head. The *Muhal*, however, was under the Khas management of the Board of Revenue and the varying amount realised from it was placed at the Moolavee's disposal. Subsequently the Muhal was made over at a fixed Jama to the Raja of Nuddea when he was restored to his estates of which this formed a part. Except, therefore, that the direct management of the lands was not in the hands of the Principal and Professors and Fellows of the college this was assuredly as complete an Endowment as any of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge or as the Blue Coat School in London can boast of.¹

He, therefore, argued that even if it was decided to close the existing Oriental institutions, there were

many considerations which should protect the Madrusa at least from any present demolition. It is the only link through which the Government has at present any connection whatsoever with the instruction of the Mooslim youth of Bengal. It is not one of the passing institutions of recent establishment for the support of which funds are assigned from the Parliamentary lac of rupees but is an old established college endowed separately, and efficiently performing the purposes of the endowment.²

The other arguments advanced by the Oriental party do not amount to much. It was argued, for instance, that Indians could never master the English language, that an imposition of the English language upon the people would provoke their resentment, and so on. These arguments were not likely to convince the Government of that time. Indians were giving increasing evidence of their ability to master the English language, and a

¹ *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, p. 119.

Governor-General like Bentinck, who abolished the cruel custom of *Sati*, would not have been daunted by fear of public resentment from carrying out what he thought to be in the interest of the people.

(c) *Macaulay's Minute*: Let us now turn to the other side of the shield and see how the case of the English party was argued by Macaulay. He took no part in the controversy at the meetings of the General Committee of Public Instruction because he knew that the matter would again come before him as a member of the Executive Council. So, when the papers dealing with the dispute were placed before the Council, he wrote his famous Minute regarding the new educational policy. It is dated 2nd February 1835 and is a document of great historical importance.

The first question that Macaulay took up for discussion in his Minute referred to the interpretation of Section 43 of the Charter Act of 1813. Macaulay argued that the word "literature" occurring in this section could be interpreted to mean English literature, that the epithet of a "learned native of India" could also be applied to a person versed in the philosophy of Locke or the poetry of Milton, and that the object of promoting a knowledge of sciences could only be accomplished by the adoption of English as the medium of instruction. If this interpretation were not accepted, Macaulay was willing to propose an Act rescinding Section 43 of the Charter. Obviously, Macaulay is treading on slippery ground here. His interpretation is certainly far-fetched, if not actually inaccurate.

Macaulay also differed from the Oriental party regarding the continuance of the institutions of Oriental learning. He held the view that these should be closed as they did not serve any useful purpose. He said:—

The admirers of the Oriental system of education have used another argument which, if we admit it to be valid, is decisive against all change. They conceive that the public faith is pledged to the present system and that to alter the appropriation of any of the funds which have hitherto been spent in encouraging the study of Arabic and Sanskrit would be downright spoliation. It is not easy to understand by what process of reasoning they can have arrived at this conclusion. The grants which are made from the public purse for the encouragement of literature differ in no respect from the grants which are made from the same purse for other objects of real or supposed utility. We found a sanitarium on a spot which we suppose to be healthy. Do we thereby pledge ourselves to keep a sanitarium there if the result should not answer our expectations? We commence the erection of a pier. Is it a violation of the public faith to stop the works if we afterwards see reason to believe that the building will be useless?

Macaulay then proceeds to examine the problem of the medium of instruction on grounds of expediency or desirability. Obviously, Government could have selected any one of three languages: the mother-tongue of the people, an oriental classical language, or English. It is extremely unfortunate, however, that the claims of the mother-tongue were brushed aside by both the parties. For instance, Macaulay observed:—

All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.

This condemnation of the spoken languages of the people naturally left the choice of a medium of instruction between Sanskrit and Arabic on the one hand and English on the other. Macaulay admittedly did not know either Arabic or Sanskrit but he gave it as the considered opinion of *Orientalists* that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia". And regarding the utility and importance of English, he wrote:—

The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West.' It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us,—with models of every species of eloquence,—with historical compositions which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled,—with just and lively representations of human life and human nature,—with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, trade,—with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. 'It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. . . . In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East.'

The peroration that follows this eulogy of English is characteristic of Macaulay. With an assuredness that is only equalled by his ignorance and in a style that is remarkable for its force, he asks:—

The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power

there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own, whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe differ for the worse, and whether, when we can patronise sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

Referring to the question of the alleged prejudices of the Indian people against English education, Macaulay argued that it was the duty of England to teach Indians what was good for their *health*, and not what was palatable to their *taste*. Even assuming that the taste of the people should be consulted, Macaulay argued that Indians had given sufficient evidence of their love for English. He said :—

This is proved by the fact that we are forced to pay our Arabic and Sanskrit students while those who learn English are willing to pay us. All the declamations in the world about the love and reverence of the natives for their sacred dialects will never, in the mind of any impartial person, outweigh this undisputed fact, that we cannot find in all our vast empire a single student who will let us teach him those dialects, unless we will pay him . . .

The Committee have thought fit to lay out above a lac of rupees in printing Arabic and Sanskrit books. Those books find no purchasers. It is very rarely that a single copy is disposed of. Twenty-three thousand volumes, most of them folios and quartos, fill the libraries or rather the lumber-rooms of this body. The Committee contrive to get rid of some portion of their vast stock of oriental literature by giving books away. But they cannot give so fast as they print. About twenty thousand rupees a year are spent in adding fresh masses of waste paper to a hoard which, one should think, is already sufficiently ample. During the last three years about sixty thousand rupees have been expended in this manner. The sale of Arabic and Sanskrit books during those three years has not yielded quite one thousand rupees. In the meantime, the School Book Society is selling seven or eight thousand English volumes every year and not only pays the expenses of printing but realizes a profit of twenty per cent on its outlay.

Regarding the argument that the Sanskrit and Arabic languages should be studied as the languages of the law and religion of the people, Macaulay pointed out that the best course for Government would be to codify Hindu and Muslim laws in English and observed :—

It is said that the Sanskrit and the Arabic are the languages in which the sacred books of a hundred millions of people are written, and that they are on that account entitled to peculiar encouragement. Assuredly it is the duty of the British Government in India to be not only tolerant but neutral on all religious questions. But to encourage the study of a literature, admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcilable with reason,

to be sacredly preserved. . . . We are to teach false history, false astronomy, false medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion. We abstain, and I trust shall always abstain, from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting the natives to Christianity. And while we act thus, can we reasonably or decently bribe men, out of the revenues of the State, to waste their youth in learning how they are to purify themselves after touching an ass or what texts of the Vedas they are to repeat to expiate the crime of killing a goat?

(d) *Lord William Bentinck Accepts the Minute*: Such were the main arguments that Macaulay advanced in support of his view. The subsequent history of this Minute is rather interesting and may best be told by a quotation from Prinsep's diary:—

This Minute, T. B. Macaulay gave to Lord W. Bentinck at Barrackpore, the Governor-General's country house. Lord William sent it down to me (the Educational being one of my Secretariat Departments) with a short note written at the foot adopting it and desiring it to be put up in train to be brought before Council. I accordingly circulated it in a box in the usual form. The box was returned to me without a note or memorandum of any kind from any of the members. I accordingly considered it my duty to prepare and circulate a memorandum explaining the nature of the institutions proposed to be abolished, and giving reasons why they should hesitate to adopt the extreme views propounded by Mr. Macaulay. This memorandum I sent up to the Governor-General and it was afterwards circulated to the Members of the Council from whom it elicited separate short minutes of their opinions. These discussions of course were confidential, and were by me communicated to nobody. But somehow the report got wind that the Government was about to abolish the Madrasa and Sanskrit Colleges. The mind of the public of Calcutta was immediately in a ferment. In three days a petition was got up signed by no less than 30,000 people in behalf of the Madrasa and another by the Hindus for the Sanskrit College. T. B. Macaulay took it into his head that this agitation was excited and even got up by me. He sent for the Head of the Madrasa who of course was the recognized promoter of the Muhammedan petition, and questioned him upon the subject, using for interpreter John Colvin, a junior civil servant, who was in the Council of Education and of the party opposed to me. He particularly asked him whether he had obtained from me or from my office the knowledge of its being the intention of Government to do anything with the Madrasa. The Hafiz (as the head teacher of the Madrasa was called) answered decidedly in the negative. After this examination he came to me to tell me what had passed: upon hearing it I asked from whom he had got the information, when he told me that it was from John Colvin himself who had acted as interpreter, for he had been at Barrackpore when T. B. Macaulay presented his Minute to Lord W. Bentinck, and there learning that it was adopted by the Governor-General had come back elate at the triumph of his party, and could not help boasting of it to the people of the College.

When the subject came under consideration in Council, there was a very hot argument between myself and Mr. Macaulay. The issue was the resolution that was published not abolishing existing colleges, but requiring them to teach English as well as native literature and making the former obligatory, also giving some encouragement to vernacular studies, but declaring that all Government pecuniary aid in future should be given exclusively to promote the study of European science through the medium of the English language. Lord W. Bentinck would not even allow my memorandum to be placed on record. He

said it was quite an abuse that Secretaries should take upon themselves to write memorandums ; that it was quite enough for the Court of Directors to see what the Members of the Council chose to place on record ; that what the Secretaries wrote was nothing unless adopted by the Government.¹

✓ (e) *Resolution of 7th March, 1835*: Thus was the celebrated controversy set at rest for the time being and Government published the following resolution on the subject on 7th March 1835 :—

The Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, dated the 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them.

✓ *First.* His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India ; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.

Second. But it is not the intention of His Lordship in Council to abolish any College or school of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords, and His Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies ; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student that may hereafter enter at any of these institutions ; and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

✓ *Third.* It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee on the printing of Oriental works ; His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

✓ *Fourth.* His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language ; and His Lordship in Council requests the Committee to submit to Government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.²

(f) *The importance of this controversy* is very often exaggerated. We feel that the question under dispute was not one of great importance at all and that, as a matter of fact, both the parties were in the wrong. The correct solution of the problem would have been to adopt the *Indian languages* as the media of instruction. It was a mistake to brush them aside summarily as being “rude and poor” and incapable of expressing scientific

¹ *Selections from Educational Records, Vol. I, pp. 133-4.*

or literary ideas. If the classical party was wrong in fighting for the retention of Sanskrit or Arabic as media of instruction, Macaulay was equally wrong in suggesting the adoption of a foreign language like English as the medium of instruction. In our opinion, a controversy of far greater importance is the one that took place in Bombay where the conflict lay between Indian languages on the one hand and English on the other.

(g) *Macaulay's Contribution to Indian Education*: The role of Macaulay himself is variously described. Some regard him as a "torch-bearer in the path of progress"; another section, which attributes the later discontent and political unrest in India to the spread of English education, blames Macaulay as the cause of all trouble. Some dislike him for his ignorant and violent condemnation of Indian languages, culture and religion; while others blame him for being responsible for the neglect of Indian languages that inevitably followed upon the use of English as the medium of instruction.

A closer examination will, however, show that these opinions are both incorrect and unfair. To call Macaulay a "torch-bearer in the path of progress" gives an exaggerated account of the role that he actually played. It must be remembered that Macaulay did not *create* the desire for English education—that desire was already there and it had its origin in the material advantages which were then inseparably connected with a knowledge of English. He was not even the organiser of the English party, because it was already in existence when he arrived in India. In fact, when Macaulay came to India in 1834, the battle between the old and the new was already in full swing. The people desired English education and being unable to get it from the Company, quenched their thirst in the missionary schools. The younger generation of civilians, led by its zeal for reform, was eager to introduce English education. But the rising tide of both these forces was held in check by the older politicians in service who believed that the policy of Hastings and Minto was good for all time and who, no doubt, were supported by the conservative and reactionary forces among the Indians themselves. It was at this time that Macaulay came upon the scene to burst open the locks of conservatism with the power of his rhetoric, and let in the flood of new ideas. He was only

otherwise have dragged on for years but which, nevertheless, could never have been decided in favour of classical languages.

One need not, however, object to the generosity of Macaulay's admirers which makes them place him much higher in public estimation than he really deserves. But it is certainly to be regretted that he is condemned unfairly for things for which he was really not responsible. Perhaps the only aspect of Macaulay's Minute which can be justly blamed is its condemnation of Oriental literature and religion. But now that a hundred years have elapsed since those words were written, we cannot do better than ignore this part of his writings. After all, his *motives* were not dishonourable and it is always good to forget and forgive. The other criticisms on Macaulay are, however, unjustifiable. For instance, to blame Macaulay for the neglect of Indian languages is not altogether fair. Macaulay was aware of the importance of the adoption of Indian languages as media of instruction. But he was apparently advised by local persons on both sides of the controversy that this was impossible, and he can hardly be blamed for taking them at their word. In this connection, it is worthy of note that the report for 1836 of the General Committee of Public Instruction, of which Macaulay was the President, emphasizes the importance of the study of modern Indian languages. It says :—

We are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages. We do not conceive that the order of the 7th March precludes us from doing this, and we have constantly acted on this construction. . . . We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed.¹

It was no fault of Macaulay if subsequent administrators lost sight of this view to which he was a party. The study of Indian languages was also emphasized in several important State documents following Macaulay's Minute, and yet, the educational administrators continued to neglect it. It would, therefore, be quite unfair to hold Macaulay alone responsible for all the sins of commission and omission of nearly a hundred years of educational administration.

But perhaps the least charitable are those who condemn him as the cause of all the subsequent political discontent. In the first place, it is a doubtful issue whether this political agitation could not have originated in the absence of English education.

But even if it was the result of such education, this is a matter of which England might well be proud. It is interesting to note that Macaulay himself had visualized some such result. Speaking in the House of Commons on the Charter Act of 1833, he had already observed :—

I have no fears. The path of duty is before us : and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour. The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a state which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown that system, that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government ; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English History. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism ; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws.¹

(h) *The End of the Anglicist-Classicist Controversy in Bengal* (1839): It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the controversy came to an end with the resolution of Bentinck's Government quoted above. It lingered on for about five years and was finally closed in a *Minute*, dated 24th November 1839, by Lord Auckland who was then the Governor-General of India. This Minute is an important document of the history of Indian education. It deals with several topics but particularly with the Anglicist-Classicist controversy, the recommendations of Adam regarding the improvement of indigenous education, and the problem of the medium of instruction in secondary schools.

By 1839, much of the heat of the conflict had cooled down. Macaulay had left India. The Oriental party had come to realise the futility of resisting the spread of English and had accordingly moderated their demands. They now pleaded only for the continuance of the existing institutions of Oriental learning and for some funds for publication of valuable Oriental books. The ground was, therefore, quite ready for a compromise. When

Lord Auckland succeeded Lord William Bentinck, the controversy seems to have been reopened in some form or other, perhaps with considerable bitterness on both sides. But Lord Auckland shrewdly guessed the real cause of the conflict and put an end to the controversy. One cannot do better than to allow Lord Auckland himself to explain his diagnosis of the trouble :—

I may observe that it may in my opinion be clearly admitted, and I am glad from the papers before me to see that this opinion is supported by the authority of Mr. Prinsep, that the insufficiency of the funds assigned by the state for the purposes of public instruction has been amongst the main causes of the violent disputes which have taken place upon the education question; and that if the funds previously appropriated to the cultivation of Oriental literature had been spared, and other means placed at the disposal of the promoters of English education, they might have pursued their object aided by the good wishes of all.] In the Bengal Presidency, with its immense territory and a revenue of about 13 millions, the yearly expenditure of the Government on this account is little in excess of £24,000 or 2,40,000 rupees, and I need not say how in a country like India, it is to the Government that the population must mainly look for facilities in the acquisition of improved learning. . . . [The sum immediately at command was limited. Parties wishing to promote the diffusion of knowledge in different forms contended eagerly, the one to retain, the other to gain, that sum for the schemes to which they were respectively favourable, and had fresh sums been at once procurable, no one might have objected to their employment for a full and fair experiment on the new ideas which began to prevail. The inference to which I would point from these facts and observations is that a principle of wise liberality, not stinting any object which can reasonably be recommended, but granting a measured and discriminating encouragement to all, is likely to command general acquiescence, and to obliterate, it may be hoped, the recollection of the acrimony which has been so prejudicial to the public weal in the course of past proceedings.¹

The obvious remedy was to assign additional funds so as to satisfy both the parties and that was precisely the step taken by Lord Auckland. He passed orders which

- (i) guaranteed the continuation of the existing institutions of Oriental learning and the payment of adequate grants for entertainment of "the most eminent professors" and adequate scholarships to students;
- (ii) encouraged the preparation and publication of useful books of instruction in Oriental languages provided that the expenditure was kept within limits of the funds sanctioned for Oriental education; and

- (iii) also directed that the first duty of the Oriental Colleges was to impart instruction in Oriental learning and that they *may* conduct English classes, if necessary, *after* that duty had been properly discharged.

As may be easily imagined, these orders fully satisfied the Oriental party. The entire additional cost of the above proposals was about Rs. 31,000 per year and Lord Auckland could proudly report that the Court of Directors would "approve of our having closed these controversies at this limited amount of increased expense".

On the other hand, Lord Auckland was also able to satisfy the demands of the Anglicist party. In the first place, he assigned a sum of more than a lakh of rupees for the spread of English education. Secondly, he reviewed the whole question of Indian education in his Minute and gave the following decisions which, it will be noticed, are entirely in support of the Anglicist view :

- (i) Only partial and imperfect results could be expected from the attempts to teach European science through the medium of Sanskrit or Arabic.
- (ii) The principal aim of educational policy should be to communicate, through the English language, a complete education in European Literature, Philosophy, and Science to the greatest number of students who may be found ready to accept it.
- (iii) Attempts of Government should be restricted to the extension of higher education to the upper classes of society who have leisure for study and whose culture would filter down to the masses. This was the old, famous Downward Filtration Theory and its approval by Lord Auckland marked its official acceptance by Government. Henceforward this theory became the official policy in education and continued to dominate Government effort in education till about 1870.

On the whole, it may be said that although Lord Auckland saved the Classicists from complete annihilation—'twas all they wanted—he gave a far greater impetus to the spread of English education.

It also appears from Auckland's Minute that even in these early days when hardly five years had elapsed since Macaulay wrote of the poverty of modern Indian languages, a suggestion

languages should be used as the media of instruction, at least in the secondary schools. It was pointed out that their limited syllabus could easily be taught through the Indian languages especially if good class books were prepared and arrangements made to train the teachers properly. It was also argued that such a measure would give encouragement to literature in Indian languages, and it was pointed out that Bombay was actually using the Indian languages as media of instruction in most of its schools of this type. But perhaps the most interesting is the argument given below :—

It is an argument for the use of the vernacular medium in such schools that after the first expense of preparing school books has been incurred, instruction in that manner would, it may be expected, be more economical than through English, which requires the employment of an English master on a salary at least two or three times as high as would be adequate for a native teacher who had received an English education and was at the same time perfectly conversant with his own tongue. Employment as a schoolmaster would also be a natural and proper provision for studious young men who had gone through a complete course at the English Colleges. Such a master would, of course, be able to instruct a class attached to a vernacular school in the first elements of English learning, so as to lay a foundation for those who wished further to prosecute that study.¹

In spite of these weighty considerations to the contrary, it is to be regretted that Lord Auckland did not accept this wholesome suggestion. English was already used as the medium of instruction in such Zilla schools as were then in existence, and he did not think that there were sufficient reasons to warrant a change in the existing system. He also pleaded for time to watch the Bombay experiment of teaching through the mother-tongue. To quote his own words on this issue :—

I have thus stated what has seemed most important on the subject of introducing the vernacular medium in our common District schools; I mean, as to the general principle of such a change, for the measure could not be named as one for very early adoption, with no class books prepared or teachers versed in those books yet trained for their duties. And as the contrary system has been actually established, it is right that, unless urgent reasons for abandoning that system demanded attention, it should be fully tried, with the improvements of which it may fairly be susceptible. We may, indeed, be said to have two great experiments in progress, one in Bengal, the other in the Bombay Provinces, the Provincial education being in the former conducted chiefly through the English, in the latter almost, if not quite exclusively, through the vernacular languages. It will be most interesting that both experiments should be closely watched and thoroughly developed. It is possible that in Bengal, in aiming at too much, we may have withheld some facilities for acquiring knowledge which might otherwise have advantageously been left open. And in Bombay the standard of proficiency in the Mofussil schools may have been fixed and allowed to

remain too low, with no principle in the scheme by which they are regulated which would constantly animate exertion, and maintain a spirit of progressive improvement.

The immediate practical question in respect to Bengal seems to be that which I have before mentioned—namely, whether it may be reasonably supposed that vernacular would be more readily and largely accepted in our District schools than an English education, and on this subject I am not able, after much careful reflection, to discover any reasons which could lead me to answer the proposition in the affirmative. Native youths will not come to our schools to be instructed in vernacular composition. This qualification is more quickly and easily to be attained from other sources. We can in those schools draw little, if any, aid from existing native literature. The desire for the new ideas and information which will be imparted to them must, therefore, be among the great inducements to attendance, and those who are candidates for such instruction will not, I think, in any important degree be deterred by having to undergo also the labour of learning the English character and language. The fact indeed is, as it is to be presumed from the evidence which has been recorded on the subject, that a knowledge of the English language itself with a view to the business, however humble, of life, is one main object of most of the scholars. It is fortunate that in the pursuit of such an object, they can be led on to higher studies and ends. For mere instruction of a general nature (such as our masters now give) through the *vernacular* medium, it may, it seems to me, well be doubted whether even the number of pupils would seek our schools, who now resort to them.¹

It is interesting to compare the views of Macaulay with those of Lord Auckland given above. Macaulay proceeded on the assumption that the modern Indian languages could not be used as media of instruction, and that he had to weigh the relative claims of English and the classical languages. His premises were wrong, but his conclusions were right. We can hardly say that of Lord Auckland. He had to choose between the mother-tongue and a foreign language; he had some proof before him that good higher education could be imparted through a modern Indian language. And yet he shirked facing the issue, and allowed English to continue as the medium of instruction at the secondary stage on the flimsy excuse that the *status quo* should not be disturbed unless there were weighty reasons to the contrary. The more logical course would have been to argue that English could not, except for very strong reasons, be adopted as the medium of instruction in preference to the mother-tongue of the pupils. But Lord Auckland took a hesitant or conservative attitude which gave a wrong lead to secondary education. The decision is all the more to be regretted because, owing to the administrative centralization introduced by the Charter Act of 1833, the views of a Governor-General could now influence greatly the other

Presidencies also. In fact, as we shall see in the next section, they *did* have considerable influence on the course of education in Bombay.

(i) *Controversy regarding the Medium of Instruction in Bombay*: The echoes of the Bengal controversy regarding the medium of instruction began to be heard in Bombay a few years later. In 1843, Sir Erskine Perry, a Judge of the High Court, became the President of the Board of Education. He was a staunch supporter of the use of English as a medium of instruction and he did not at all approve of the earlier policy of the Bombay Native Education Society (which had been continued by the Board of Education without a change) to give as much of higher education as possible through the modern Indian languages. He, therefore, proposed to the Board that Bombay should follow in the footsteps of Bengal and adopt English as the medium of instruction in all higher education. This proposal at once met with a stiff opposition. Col. Jervis and the three Indian members of the Board held that education must be imparted through the mother-tongue of the children. They were not at all prepared to abandon the earlier policy of the Society and refused to accept the ideas of Sir Erskine Perry. A controversy thus ensued, was fought bitterly in the Board for about two years and, as in Bengal, was finally submitted to Government for orders.

It is not necessary to go into the details of the case of the Anglicist party led by Sir E. Perry. Its inspiration evidently came from Bengal and it had hardly anything to add to the arguments given in the Minutes of Macaulay and Auckland. But owing to the different situation in Bombay, it emphasized the following three arguments :—

- (i) That Indians were themselves eager to study English ;
- (ii) That the work of translating books of European knowledge and science into the Indian languages would be extremely costly and difficult ; and
- (iii) That it was politically expedient to encourage the Indians to study English. As this is a new aspect of the problem, one cannot do better than to quote Sir Erskine Perry's own words :—

There can be no doubt whatever, and Government are perfectly alive to the fact, that the more intimate the communication is between the governors and the governed, the better for both parties. It is, indeed, a

Government for general improvement can be appreciated—that the corruption and extortions of intermediate agency can be checked. It is the clear perception of these views that causes Government to lay so much, and such just stress on their European employees making themselves masters of the native languages. But the same good results are produced, and in a much more effective manner, when the Natives on their part acquire the English language. The English are notoriously bad linguists, the Scotch are worse. They commence their studies of Eastern languages, moreover, at a period of life when the organs of speech are becoming somewhat rigid. But the natives have a wonderful aptitude for language—every one above the rank of a cultivator knows at least two; and, with respect to English, those who undertake the study of it commence at the most favourable period of life for the acquisition of a foreign tongue. At the present moment, although the knowledge of native languages is indispensable to Europeans in civil employment, and although no marked encouragement for the study of English by natives has been afforded by Government, for one civilian who can write a grammatical letter in idiomatic Maharatti or Gujrathi, I will undertake to produce fifty natives who can write off-hand a letter in pure English. Without in the least degree desiring to diminish the *onus* on the European services of acquiring the native languages, I do submit that all sound policy dictates a like encouragement to natives, for the purpose of drawing the relations closer between them and the Government.¹

The other side was very ably put forward by Colonel Jervis and Jagannath Shankarset. The following extract from a Minute dated 24th February 1847 from Colonel Jervis will show the noble stand that he took on this issue :—

Surely it must be admitted, that general instruction cannot be afforded, except through the medium of a language with which the mind is familiar; and, therefore, the consistent result of the views above-mentioned, which would constitute English the essential medium for the intellectual improvement of the Natives of India, startling though it must appear to the commonest sense, is to withhold all education from the Native population of this country, until the English language is so familiar to them, that each individual can think and reason in that tongue, to the supersession necessarily of his own dialect: and moreover, strange to say, the idea of making English the sole language of our Indian subjects, has been seriously entertained and propounded. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the chimerical nature, to say the least, of such extreme views; but the conclusion appears incontrovertible, that, in proportion as we confine Education to the channel of the English language, so will the fruits be restricted to a number of scribes and inferior Agents for Public and Private Offices, and a few enlightened individuals,—isolated by their very superiority, from their fellow countrymen.

In our endeavours to make the knowledge of English among the natives so prominent and essential a qualification, we are neglecting the benefit of three hundred years' experience in Europe, and we are retrograding to the days, in which Latin was the sole language of Literature; and when, in consequence, knowledge, both spiritual and temporal, was confined to a few Monks,—a few Divines—a few Men of Letters. Until such an exclusive agency was put an end to,—until the modern tongues of Europe were emancipated,—the people could never learn, or know for themselves. On the abrogation of the exclusive use of the Latin language on the inauguration of the language of the People, the acquirement

of knowledge was made accessible to all. From the Noble, to the Artizan,—all men could be taught,—all men could be teachers,—and how wonderful has been the advancement, in morality and literature, by such a change in Europe. Should we then, here, at this day, so far forget this lesson, and insist so much on imposing the burden of the foreign language of a handful of Rulers on the Millions of our Native population? On the contrary, I conceive it a paramount duty, on our part, to foster the Vernacular dialects, and to use every endeavour to free them from the swaddling bands in which they have been hitherto confined. Aided by their cognate classical dialects (Sanskrit, etc.) they would be capable of a copiousness of expression, now unknown to them, and of indicating the dependence,—the connection, the minute diversity and transition of ideas, and the various steps in the process of logical deductions; and they would attain to a vigorous maturity,—in which the highest powers of language to embody every operation of the mind, from the simplest to the most subtle would be developed.

The popular idioms, which have hitherto been employed only in a few meagre productions of the Chronicler and Minstrel, must be summoned under our auspices, to act a new part, and, consequently to receive a new development. In this way we should endeavour to raise up a new world of Morality and Literature around the whole mass of Native Society, and not contract their advancement solely within the bounds, which the tutelage of our English Government, and the medium of our English language, would impose. The learned Orientalist, Horace Wilson, observes:—'It is not by the English language that we can enlighten the people of India. It can be effected only through the forms of speech which they already understand and use. These must be applied to the purpose, either by direct translations, or which is preferable, by the representation of European facts, opinions, and sentiments, in an original native garb. In the early stages of improvement, the former mode is the only one that can be expected; hereafter, the latter would take its place, and would give to the people of India a literature of their own, the legitimate progeny of that of England, the living resemblance, though not the servile copy of its Parent.'

The project of importing English literature along with English Cottons into India, and bringing it into universal use, must at once be felt by every reasonable mind as chimerical and ridiculous. If the people are to have a literature, it must be their own. The stuff may be, in a great degree, European, but it must be freely interwoven with homespun materials, and the fashion must be Asiatic.¹

The following Minute dated 1st May 1847, was penned by Jagannath Shankarset and concurred in by the two other Indian members of the Board of Education, Framjee Cowasjee and Mahommad Ibrahim Mackba. It gives an insight into the real object of those who contributed to the Elphinstone Fund and forms an excellent retort to the argument that Indians themselves were eager to study English to the neglect of their mother-tongue.

I am persuaded that the Vernacular languages possess advantages superior to English, as the medium of communicating useful knowledge to the people of Western India. It cannot be denied that they must have less difficulty in understanding whatever is communicated to them in their own language, than in

a foreign tongue. When a native is inclined to prosecute the study of English, his progress is more rapid, and his usefulness doubled, provided he be first well grounded in his own language. I say his usefulness will be increased, because it is only by this preparation that any knowledge he may have acquired can be imparted by him to his countrymen through the medium of the Vernacular languages. It is, in my humble opinion, an impossibility to teach the great mass of the people a language, such as English, so widely different from their own. I must also observe that when the native chiefs and others gave large subscriptions for the establishment of the Elphinstone Professorships they contributed them with an understanding that the Vernacular languages were not to be neglected, but carefully fostered and improved, and brought into use as the medium of communicating useful knowledge to the great body of the people. The Vernacular languages have been much neglected by the people in Bombay, and this being the centre from which we expect the beams of knowledge to spread, these languages are pre-eminently entitled to our fostering care. It was to this that the early efforts of Native Education were directed. It was to this end that all Mr. Elphinstone's plans tended. For a time, these efforts were eminently successful, but they have remained in abeyance, and the state in which they now are, though somewhat improved, requires the most strenuous effort for improvement to render them efficient organs for imparting European knowledge to the natives. Our worthy President has observed, that the Board are equally alive with Colonel Jervis to the necessity of the Vernacular languages being the medium of instruction to the masses of the people, to the importance of promoting the growth of Vernacular literature, and to the urgency of providing schools. This is true, nor have I any hesitation in stating that the desire of acquiring a knowledge of the English language and literature, evinced by the natives is very great and very prevalent; and this is evident from the efforts which parents make to get their sons as quickly removed from the Vernacular into the English Schools as they can. Their motives for this acquirement are obvious, public employment, and a facility of intercourse with Europeans, but it seems to be hopeless that we can ever change the language of a whole country. In reality how insignificant a portion of the whole population are acquainted with the English, or have any prospect or means of becoming so. If our object is to diffuse knowledge and improve the minds of the natives of India as a people, it is my opinion that it must be done by imparting that knowledge to them in their own language. By what other channel can we ever hope to extend the advantages of Education generally to our females? I repeat, I am far from wishing to discourage the study of English, but I believe it to be beyond the reach of the masses of people. I cannot at the same time help remarking that the encouragement which we provide to Vernacular Education is far less than what the real interest of Native Education demands; the Master's pay is so small and we have never as yet conferred any Scholarships on Vernacular Students. These sentiments are not new; they were entered in a protest given in by Colonel Jervis, Mohammed Ibrahim Mackba, and myself on the Board's report for 1845.¹

The controversy grew bitter by 1848 and hence the whole question was submitted to Government for orders. These were passed on 5th April 1848, and the following extract from the Government letter on the subject speaks for itself :—

2. In these Minutes, two questions have been brought before Government for its consideration.

✓
Firstly. Whether the English or Native languages should be the medium through which to convey the instruction to the people of India. . . .

3. With respect to the first of these questions, I am directed to observe that the Hon'ble the Governor in Council is of opinion that any one, who observes and compares the proficiency attained by the pupils in the English and Vernacular schools, cannot fail to be convinced of the superiority which the latter manifest in sound and accurate understanding of the subject of their studies. He has no hesitation in declaring his acquiescence in the view of those who give the preference to the Native languages, in so far that he considers the main efforts for the general education of the people should be exerted in the language familiar to them from infancy; at the same time he would unquestionably afford them the means of acquiring the higher branches of education in the English language.

4. Hitherto, the greatest attention appears to have been devoted to the study of English, and the communication of knowledge in the vernacular seems to have been treated as of secondary moment; but before any lasting or effectual impression can be made by our teaching upon the native mind in general, or any advance towards producing better, more learned, or more moral men, the Governor in Council feels convinced that the process must be reversed, and that the Vernacular must become the medium for the diffusion of sound knowledge among the masses. He is consequently of opinion that the particular efforts ought to be directed towards increasing the efficiency of the District and Village schools in which that medium is employed, and in order to effect this object, it is very desirable that a more highly qualified class of schoolmasters should be trained up, and that their salaries should, where superior qualifications exist, be raised much above the small sum which is now assigned to them.

5. The dissemination of education through the native languages is, by some, deemed impracticable, because the Natives possess no literature of their own, such as is desirable for the purpose, and because it is impossible to supply its place by translation. With regard to providing translations of useful elementary works in the vernacular languages, the difficulty seems to His Honour in Council to be somewhat overrated, for what was effected by the zeal and ability of Colonel Jervis and Dr. McLennan, many years ago, may, he conceives, again be effected by men, imbued with the same earnest desire to promote the improvement of the Natives. The duty of supplying a sufficient number of works, of the kind required, devolves upon the Government, who are prepared to consider the best means of providing translations, either under the superintendence of their own officers, or by offering premiums for good ones as proposed by Colonel Jervis. . . .

6. In bringing the observations on this point to a conclusion, I am directed to intimate that the Governor in Council is of opinion that the present system should be maintained in as efficient a state as possible; admitting all who seek it, and who have capacity to acquire European learning, to the advantages of Education in the English language. The chief and greatest exertions should, however, be directed to the promotion generally of Education, by means of Vernacular classes and schools. Good elementary works in the Vernacular, on science, literature, and morals ought to be provided; while the efforts in English should be confined to a school in each Province, and the College at the Presidency, where moreover the higher branches of learning should be taught also in the Vernacular tongue, as the progress of translations may enable this to be effected.¹

These orders are decidedly in favour of education through the mother-tongue and yet they are capable of a different interpretation. As Sir Erskine Perry wrote :—

But whilst the Government thus enjoin the maintenance of the present system, which is in accordance with the views of myself, Mr. Escombe, and Dr. McLennan, they emit opinions so much more in accordance with the views of Colonel Jervis, that it is obvious that the different conflicting theories at the Board, which have already produced much inconvenience, will again be brought forward from time to time, and that each party will refer to this Government letter as an authority for their favourite views.¹

It was this indecisiveness of the orders coupled with the repeated pressure from Bengal that throttled the growth of education in Bombay through the mother-tongue. In those days of centralization, the sanction of the Government of Bengal was necessary for all new items of expenditure. Consequently, when the Government of Bombay put up proposals for the expansion of primary education, they were generally not sanctioned by the Government of Bengal on the ground of the heaviness of their cost and sometimes the Government of Bengal even advised the Government of Bombay to concentrate on English education because it was less costly to Government. The one definite result of the controversy was, therefore, the adoption of English as the exclusive medium of instruction at the collegiate stage. The attempts of Colonel Jervis and others succeeded in retaining the use of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction at the secondary stage only—a position which, as we shall see, was accepted even by the Despatch of 1854.

9. **The Education of Women.** Another important controversy of this period referred to the problem of the education of women. The almost complete absence of the education of women in the Indian society of the early nineteenth century has already been referred to earlier. Conditions appear to have been particularly bad in Bengal as Adam's Second Report testifies (*vide* Chap. I, section 12). Even in the literacy census that Adam conducted, he found only 4 women literate (as against 21,907 men) in a total population of 496,974. Things appear to have been no better in Bombay where no girl pupils attending the indigenous schools were reported either in the enquiry of 1823-5 or in that of 1829 (*vide* Chap. I, section 7). Jervis, it is true, reports of the existence of domestic instruction of girls among some Muslim

families and evidence has also been found to show that a similar custom existed among certain high caste Hindu families as well. But the actual numbers of women thus educated must have been infinitely small.] Conditions were apparently better in Madras where Munro found that the "women of the Rajabundah and some other tribes of Hindus" were generally taught and the returns of the indigenous schools showed as many as 5,480 girls in a total enrolment of 184,110 (*vide* Chap. I, section 3). Even better is the report from the Punjab where the existence of special girls' schools in charge of women teachers was reported (*vide* section 3 (e) above). For the rest of India, nothing is known. [On the whole, therefore, it may be concluded that barring an extremely small number of women who received some rudimentary education either at home or in schools, general or special, almost the whole of the female population of the country was deprived of formal education.]

The social position of women also was far from satisfactory. Among the Muslims, the evils of purdah and segregation were the chief obstacles to progress, although women had property rights and a liberal set of marriage and divorce laws. Among the Hindus, child-marriages were very common; women had very limited property rights and the marriage laws were far too unfavourable to women. The upper class women suffered from customs such as *Sati*, absence of divorce and an enforced asceticism for widows, while among the lower castes, customs like *Devadasis* and female infanticide prevailed to some extent. Over and above all these, there was, among all sections of the male population, a very strong social prejudice against the education of women. This was probably the greatest obstacle to be overcome before any headway could be made in spreading education among women.

Should the East India Company do anything to promote education among the women of India and to improve their social position—this was the problem that faced the British officials of this period. The conservative among them refused to have anything to do with the subject. They pointed out that the policy of the Company was one of strict social and religious neutrality; that the prejudices against the education of women which prevailed among the people were so strongly rooted in their

would create a very great commotion; and that the first attempts of the Company should be restricted to the education of men who would themselves, at a later date, undertake the education of their womenfolk. This conservative view can be clearly seen in the following Minute of Sir J. H. Littler who was a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Commenting upon a proposal that Government should take over the control of a girls' school established by J.E.D. Bethune, he wrote:—

I regret much that I cannot agree in opinion with my Honourable Colleague Mr. Bethune as to the interference of Government in the cause of Female Education.

A few days ago, Mr. Bethune proposed that I should issue instructions to the Magistrate of Baraset and other stations where female schools are established to afford them protection and encouragement as well as to facilitate the undertaking in which he was engaged. The proposition, though apparently not unreasonable, I declined on the grounds that it was not usual for Government to interfere in such matters either directly or indirectly.

Magistrates and other Judicial authorities are at all times prepared to do their duty, and protect those who may make known their grievances or demand their assistance.

To call their particular attention therefore to this point as a specified measure, would I consider, be not only superfluous, but in fact, would bear the appearance of a compulsory order, and be viewed in that light probably by the people in general.

The scheme of Female Education is doubtless unpopular, and looked upon by the mass, with fear and dread, whether Hindus or Mahomedans. Will it not involve a dereliction of the principle of neutrality to which the Government (I have always understood), is pledged in like cases?

It appears to me also that suspicious, ill-disposed natives, may consider it subservient in some degree to the views of Proselytism. I cordially agree with His Lordship that every praise is due to Mr. Bethune for his persevering, laudable exertion in such a noble cause and so great an undertaking.

Individually I wish him every success, but having always been of opinion that Government should not interfere in such cases, I have deemed it incumbent upon me to record my sentiments accordingly.¹

This Minute was penned in 1850. If such views could be entertained by an official of the status of Sir J. H. Littler as late as 1850, the views commonly held at earlier periods and among the District officers in general may be easily imagined.

The credit for having brought about a change in this official view goes to Lord William Bentinck and Lord Dalhousie. Bentinck courageously abolished the cruel custom of *Sati*; while Dalhousie decided that the open patronage of Government should be extended to the education of women. The following

extract from his orders dated 11th April 1850 gives an indication^d of his views on the subject:—

The attention of the Governor-General in Council has been lately directed toward the subject of Female Education in Bengal. Thirty-five years have elapsed since the establishment of the Hindu College gave the first great impulse to that desire for European Knowledge which is now so general throughout the country. Under the influence of the new ideas which have been widely disseminated among large and influential classes of the community through the Government schools and colleges it is reasonable to believe that further attempts for improving the moral and social condition of the people may now be successfully made which at an earlier period would have failed altogether to produce any satisfactory result.

2. It is the opinion of the Governor-General in Council that no single change in the habits of the people is likely to lead to more important and beneficial consequences than the introduction of education for their female children. The general practice is to allow them to grow up in absolute ignorance, but this custom is not required or even sanctioned by their religion, and in fact a certain degree of education is now given to the female relatives of those who can afford the expense of entertaining special instructors at their own houses. This method of imparting knowledge is impracticable as a general system but it appears to the Governor-General in Council that it is quite possible to establish female schools in which precautions may be adopted for as close seclusion of the girls as the customs of the country may require. An experiment of a school of this kind in Calcutta has been tried by the Honourable Mr. Bethune since May of last year, which in the face of considerable opposition such as every novelty is sure to encounter in Bengal, at present contains thirty-five pupils, the children of persons of good caste and respectable connexions.

The success which has been accomplished in so short a time, far exceeding any expectation its most sanguine supporters would have been justified in entertaining at the commencement, receives a double value from the consideration that it has been achieved by the exertions of a private individual and cannot be attributed to the influence of the power of Government.

3. The example given by Mr. Bethune in his school has, His Lordship in Council is informed, been imitated by educated natives in other parts of Bengal.

4. The Governor-General in Council considers that a great work has been done in the first successful introduction of Native female education in India on a sound and solid foundation and that the Government ought to give to it its frank and cordial support.

✓ The Governor-General in Council requests that the Council of Education may be informed that it is henceforward to consider its functions as comprising the superintendence of native female education, and that wherever any disposition is shown by the natives to establish female schools it will be its duty to give them all possible encouragement and further their plans in every way that is not inconsistent with the efficiency of the institutions already under their management. It is the wish also of the Governor-General in Council that intimation to the same effect should be given to the Chief Civil Officers of the Mofussil calling their attention to the growing disposition among the natives to establish female schools, and directing them to use all means at their disposal for encouraging those institutions and for making it generally known that the Government views them with very great approbation.¹

¹ *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, pp. 59-60.

This view, as we shall see, was later on confirmed by the Despatch of 1854.

Official wheels always move slowly, and in spite of the above orders of Dalhousie, official efforts at the education of women made but slow progress till 1853 as the following extracts from the Evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of 1853 will show:—

From the evidence of Rev. J. Tucker, B.D. (Madras):—

Q.—Will you state to the Committee what your view is as to the question of female education in India?

A.—As regards the Government, I believe it has been wholly disregarded hitherto, till Mr. Bethune went out. The Governor-General has taken up Mr. Bethune's school, but I am not aware that the Government has rendered any assistance as a Government.

Q.—What attempts have been made by the natives themselves in that direction?

A.—None whatever; they are as a body rather opposed to the education of their females.

From the evidence of J. C. Marshman, Esq.:—

Q.—Is there any provision made for the education of one-half the inhabitants of British India, namely, the female sex, by any plan of Government education?

A.—I can only speak with reference to the Bengal Presidency; and I think there is only one school under the auspices of the Government, appropriated to the education of females, namely, the school that was established by the late Mr. Drinkwater Bethune, to which, I believe, he devoted, of his own personal funds, the sum of £10,000. That is within the last three years.

Q.—With that solitary exception, which at present can be scarcely said to be a Government institution, is there any provision made by the State for the education of any one female in British India?

A.—There certainly is none in the Bengal Presidency.

Q.—Is there any home morality likely to be taught them in the absence of such instruction in morals as may be given in a school?

A.—The Hindus keep their females so secluded, that it is very difficult for us to ascertain what is the character of the impressions which are conveyed to them; but as they have no education whatever and are brought up in a state of entire ignorance, this must lead to a considerable degree of demoralisation.

From the evidence of Lieutenant-Colonel William Jacob (Bombay):—

Q.—Do the Government schools take any cognisance of one-half of the population of India, namely the female sex?

A.—None on the western side of India. Although a letter was published two years ago by one of the Secretaries to the Government of India to the effect that where any portion of the native desired female education, the Government institutions were to embrace females, I do not think as yet a single female has come under the Government system of education in Western India.¹

16. Professional and Vocational Education (prior to 1853).

Some attempts to organise vocational education appear to have been made even at this early period. Most of these attempts were inspired by the desire to obtain trained employees for the

subordinate ranks of Government service. Medical education was organised first because trained Indian doctors were required for the army ; engineering education began to be given because assistant engineers, surveyors, etc. were required for the projects of roads, canals, buildings, etc. that were being executed by the Public Works Department ; legal education was organised because practising pleaders and subordinate officers were required for the new judicial system that was gradually being introduced. In this emphasis on the utilitarian objective of securing servants for Government, therefore, the system of vocational education in India differed radically from that of liberal education where the cultural aspect of *spreading Western knowledge* was more specifically emphasized.

The more important of the early attempts to impart vocational education are noticed below.

MEDICAL EDUCATION

(a) *Bengal*.—A Native Medical Institution was established at Calcutta in 1822. Medical classes were also attached to the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Calcutta Madrassah in 1826. It would seem that these classes imparted instruction according to Hindu and Muslim systems of Medicine with some combination of European methods. In 1835, however, a controversy arose as to whether it would not be “ expedient to confine the medical instruction to English lectures and to adopt for class books solely English treatises, discarding Sanskrit medical books altogether.”¹ Dr. Tytler, who was the Superintendent of the Medical Classes, was strongly opposed to the proposal ; but the General Committee of Public Instruction was out for westernisation and proposed the starting of a new institution “ in which the various branches of medical science cultivated in Europe should be taught. . . . on the most approved European system.”² The Committee’s proposals were sanctioned by Government on 28th January, 1835. The Native Medical Institution and the medical classes in the Sanskrit College and Madrassah were abolished ; and the Calcutta Medical College was opened in the June of the same year. In 1844, four Indian students of the College were sent to Europe to complete their medical education.

(b) *Madras*.—A medical school for the training of medical “apprentices” (of European descent) and of “Native Medical Pupils” was opened in Madras in 1835. The course of instruction included materia medica, elementary pharmacy, anatomy and physiology, surgery and practice of medicine. Instruction was given through English. In 1851, the institution was raised to the status of a College.¹

(c) *Bombay*.—The idea of establishing a medical college at Bombay was first put forward by Sir Robert Grant, the then Governor of Bombay, in 1837. Unfortunately, Sir Robert died before the scheme materialised; but the public of Bombay collected a fund to commemorate Sir Robert’s memory and in 1845 a medical college called “The Grant Medical College” was established in Bombay. In 1854, the Royal College of Surgeons of England recognised the College as one of its “Affiliated Schools for Medical Instruction”.

Certain broad questions of policy arose in connection with the organisation of medical education in India. Reference has already been made above to the controversy between the Eastern and Western systems of medicine. As in liberal education, the Company began its medical education also with the object of conserving the Ayurvedic and the Unani systems of medicine. But the policy of westernisation adopted by Macaulay and Bentinck in 1835 had its repercussions in medical education also and, a little before its momentous decision on the issue of medium of instruction, the Government of Bengal decided to abandon the Eastern systems of medicine and to concentrate exclusively on the teaching of the Western system of medicine.

This decision created a further problem. The Western system of medicine necessitated the study of dissection. The students who came forward to study medicine (or, in fact, any branch of higher education) generally belonged to the upper castes among the Hindus who had a religious abhorrence for touching dead bodies or for dissection. Would these students take kindly to dissection and would the Western system of medicine be as popular with Indians as Western liberal education was—that was the problem which the promoters of the new scheme had to face. In some quarters, doubts were even

¹ In 1855 the Royal College of Surgeons of London gave recognition to the institution as “A Colo-

expressed whether Indians would at all be able to obtain proficiency in the Western system of medicine. These were the several misgivings on the subject; but when the first Indian student, Madhusudan Gupta, carried out the first dissection, the tide at once began to turn.] Psychologically, this first dissection by Madhusudan Gupta is a revolutionary event in the history of medical education. J. E. D. Bethune describes it in the following words :—

I have had the scene described to me. It had needed some time, some exercise of the persuasive art, before Madhusudan could bend up his mind to the attempt; but having once taken the resolution, he never flinched or swerved from it. At the appointed hour, scalpel in hand, he followed Dr. Goodeve into the godown where the body lay ready. The other students deeply interested in what was going forward but strangely agitated with mingled feelings of curiosity and alarm, crowded after them, but durst not enter the building where this fearful deed was to be perpetrated; they clustered round the door; they peeped through the jilmils, resolved at least to have ocular proof of its accomplishment. And when Madhusudan's knife, held with a strong and steady hand, made a long and deep incision in the breast, the lookers-on drew a long gasping breath like men relieved from the weight of some intolerable suspense.¹

Once this plunge was taken, further progress was easy. The prejudices against the Western system of medicine died out quickly and admissions to medical institutions began to increase year after year. This favourable response finally decided official policy also and we find, in 1839, the Governor-General-in-Council declaring that the success of Indian students at the Diploma examination in medicine has established, "the fitness of the Native intellect for the acquirement of any degree of attainment in every branch of Science and has proved that the most confirmed prejudices can be overcome by perseverance and tact in those who impart the instruction and by placing objects in a proper light before the Youths who present themselves for education."²

The problem of the medium of instruction also had its repercussions on medical education. In Bengal, Sanskrit and Arabic were presumably used as media of instruction when Ayurvedic and Unani systems were taught. After 1835, English was adopted as the medium of instruction in higher medical education. But in 1839 a Secondary School in connection with the Medical College was established for training Indian doctors for subordinate ranks in military and civil service. This School

of students at the time of admission was that they should be "able to read and write the Hindustanee language, in Devanagree or Persian character".¹ In Madras, English seems to have been used as a medium of instruction from the very start. In Bombay, English and the Indian languages were used simultaneously at different levels, more or less on the analogy of Bengal. But it is worthy of note that even the technical medical subjects were taught through the Indian languages and several books on them were produced. These were healthy developments which, however, did not survive long.

ENGINEERING EDUCATION

(a) *Bengal*.—In 1844, the Council of Education, Calcutta, created a Chair of Civil Engineering, but it remained vacant as no professor was available. In 1854, the Council again proposed the establishment of a School of Engineering as a department of the Presidency College of Calcutta. At the same time the Superintending Engineer of Bengal advocated the establishment of an Engineering College "for the general improvement of the Department of Public Works". After a review of these and other schemes, the Court of Directors sanctioned the establishment of an Engineering College which was opened in Calcutta in 1856.

(b) *Bombay*.—As early as 1824, an Engineering class was organized by the Bombay Native Education Society, instruction in the class being imparted through the mother-tongue. In 1844, another Engineering class was opened in the Elphinstone Institution. This class failed to attract students in large numbers mainly because the salaries which Government offered to the students trained in the class were not sufficiently attractive. In 1854, an Engineering class and a mechanical school were opened at Poona for training subordinate officers of the Public Works Department.

(c) *Madras*.—There was no institution for imparting instruction in Civil Engineering in Madras prior to 1857. There was, however, a Survey School, under the Board of Revenue, established as early as 1793.

(d) *North-Western Provinces*.—The only institution of Civil Engineering in the North-Western Provinces prior to 1853 was the Thomason Engineering College, Roorki, which is now raised

to the status of a University. The history of the establishment of this College is thus told by Richey :—

This institution was a direct product of irrigation and other engineering schemes undertaken by Government. In 1845, a small engineering class had been held at Saharanpur. In 1847, after the conclusion of the first Punjab War, the vigorous prosecution of the Ganges Canal was determined upon and at Roorkee large workshops, etc., were constructed. The Lieutenant-Governor (Mr. Thomason), perceiving the appropriateness of the time and place, proposed the establishment of a college to supply a staff of engineers. The scheme was sanctioned and in the same year (1847) Lieutenant Maclagan was appointed Principal of the College and a prospectus was formulated and published. In 1849 the institution was placed on a permanent footing and in 1853 a scheme for its enlargement and improvement was sanctioned. In 1853 Mr. Thomason died and in 1854 his name was permanently associated with the College.¹

LEGAL EDUCATION

Bengal.—Legal education in Bengal began very early. It may be recalled, for instance, that one of the objects of the Calcutta Madrassah was to encourage the study of Mahomedan Law. Similarly, the Benares Sanskrit College aimed at the “preservation and cultivation of the laws, literature and religion of the Hindus”. In 1842, the appointment of a Professor of Law at the Hindu Vidyalaya, Calcutta, was sanctioned. The first course of lectures was delivered by the Advocate-General, J. E. Lyall, on whose death the post remained vacant till 1846-47, when it was again re-established.²

OTHER INSTITUTIONS

Besides the institutions mentioned above, the following schools of vocational education were also in existence :—

(a) An industrial school for training ordnance artificiers was opened in Madras in 1840 by Major Maitland.

(b) Dr. Hunter, the Surgeon of Black Town,³ Madras, opened a School of Industrial Arts at Madras in 1850, and in the next year, he founded a School of Industry in order “to afford to the rising generation of the country the opportunity and means of acquiring useful handicrafts; to improve the manufacture of various articles of domestic and daily use, now largely made in the country, but rudely and uncouthly; and also by developing the latent resources of the country, to create a local supply of

¹ *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, pp. 356-7.

² In Madras, a Professorship of Law was sanctioned in 1855. In the same year, the Perry Professorship of Jurisprudence was created in Bombay.

³ Now called “George Town”.

several articles in general demand, which hitherto have been almost entirely imported ; to improve the taste of the native public and make them familiar with beauty of form and finish in the articles daily in their hands and before their eyes".¹ Both these institutions were amalgamated into one and taken over by Government in 1855.

(c) In 1853, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy gave a donation of Rs. 1,00,000 for the establishment of a school of Art and Industry in Bombay. The donation was accepted although the institution itself, the J. J. School of Art, Bombay, was started only in 1856.

11. Educational Expenditure. The following statistics of educational expenditure between 1834 and 1854 that are available, give some idea of the amount spent in these early years. See Table No. II on page 163.

12. Conclusion. It will be seen from the foregoing discussion that this was a period of controversies rather than of achievements. The East India Company was busy with commerce, conquest and consolidation, and it is hardly a matter for surprise if the Directors and Officials of the Company did not devote sufficient attention and money to the cause of education. Much of the time was taken up by discussions regarding the aims of education, the agencies to be employed, and the medium of instruction. The net achievements were insignificant as compared with the vastness of the population and the backwardness of its education. Even as late as 1855, the total number of educational institutions managed, aided or inspected by the Company was as small as 1,474 with only 67,569 pupils, and the total expenditure on education was not even one per cent of the total revenue. The only redeeming features of the situation were two : the large expansion of missionary educational enterprise and the small but valuable beginning of Indian private enterprise in the modern system of education. These topics, however, will be dealt with in the next chapter.

TABLE NO. II

Statement showing the total expenditure incurred on account of Education at the respective Presidencies of India, from the years 1834-35 to 1852-53, inclusive :—

Year	North Western Provinces	Bengal		Fort St. George	Bombay	Total
		Under the Council of Education	Not under the Council of Education			
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1834-35	7,937	2,16,126	64,895	47,609	79,851	4,16,418
1837-38	11,624	4,02,238	66,506	13,086	94,323	5,87,777
1840-41	17,995	3,93,055	61,972	29,457	1,01,836	6,04,315
1843-44	1,25,302	4,04,341	85,704	33,282	1,24,461	7,73,089
1846-47	1,46,757	5,00,393	57,650	43,884	1,28,184	8,76,869
1849-50	1,52,170	5,34,164	60,662	47,755	1,65,628	9,60,378
1852-53	2,00,150	5,21,924	63,065	45,557	1,71,439	10,02,134
Total (from 1834-35 to 1852-53—all years)	17,02,870	83,27,472	12,30,982	6,84,350	23,33,736	1,42,79,411]

CHAPTER FOUR

NON-OFFICIAL ENTERPRISE IN EDUCATION (1813-53) AND WOOD'S EDUCATION DESPATCH (1854)

The history of the official attempts to educate the people of India in the period between the Charter Act of 1813 and Wood's Education Despatch of 1854 was described in the preceding chapter. We shall now describe the non-official attempts in the field of education (1813-53) and close the study of this period by summarising and evaluating the principal directions of the Education Despatch of 1854 which is the most important educational document under the Company and is even referred to, by some historians, as the "Magna Charta of English Education in India".¹

The non-official attempts of this period can be grouped under four principal heads :—(a) the educational institutions conducted by the missionaries ; (b) the educational institutions conducted by officials of the Company in their individual capacity or by non-official Englishmen resident in India ; (c) the educational institutions of the modern type conducted by Indians themselves ; and (d) the indigenous educational institutions. The official attempts to expand and improve the last group of educational institutions have already been studied in the preceding chapter. We shall now deal, in some detail, with the three remaining groups of educational institutions.

2. Missionary Educational Enterprise (1813-33). It was pointed out in Chapter II that the Charter Act of 1813 opened India to Missionary Societies. Consequently, the period from 1813 to 1833 was one of great mission activity in all parts of the Company's Dominions. The missionary societies that were already working in India expanded their activities and new societies came into the field. Among these latter, special mention must be made of the General Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Mission and the Scotch Missionary Society.

The *General Baptist Missionary Society* took the field in

Missionary Society began its activities simultaneously at several important places. Thus one of its workers, the Rev. Robert May, established elementary schools at Chinsura which became very popular and obtained a grant of Rs. 800 p. m. from Lord Hastings, the then Governor-General of Bengal. Its other stations were at Bhowanipur and Berhampore in Bengal, at Nagercoil and Neyoor in Travancore where the missionary activities were carried on extensively, at Madras (1831), Kumbhakonam and Chittoor (1825), Salem (1827), Coimbatore (1830), Vizagapatam (1805), Cuddappah (1822) and Bellary (1812) in Madras Presidency, at Bangalore (1820) in the Mysore State, at Belgaum (1820) and Surat (1819) in the Bombay Presidency and at Benares (1820). The *Church Missionary Society* stepped into the field immediately after the renewal of the Charter. It established three chief centres at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. From the Calcutta Centre, missionary stations were established at Burdwan (1816), Agra (1813), Meerut (1815), Benares (1817), Azamgarh and Jaunpur (1831). The Bombay Branch made slow progress and had only one station at Nasik (1832). In the Madras Province, the Society's most important station was at Tinnevely where, by 1835, the Society was conducting 107 schools with 2,882 scholars. The *Wesleyan Mission* began at Trichinopoly (1818) and then extended their work mainly to the Mysore State establishing stations at Gubbi, Mysore, and Tumkur by about 1838. The *Scotch Missionary Society* began in 1822 but its work gathered strength only when the great missionaries John Wilson (1829), Alexander Duff (1830), and John Anderson (1837) began to work at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras respectively.

The foregoing account of the expansion of missionary stations between 1813 and 1833 will show how rapidly the work of the missionary societies expanded during this period. Unfortunately, no statistics of their educational activities are available. But it may be taken as a safe generalisation, that educational activities were almost invariably connected with every mission station.

Three features regarding the educational work of the missionaries deserve special notice. Firstly, it must be remembered that education was never the *main* object of the missionaries. They aimed at conversions and were obliged to take up educational work in order to meet the needs of the converted population

and, more especially, to train up Indian assistants for their proselytising activities. Secondly, the importance which the early missionaries attached to the study of modern Indian languages deserves special mention. They had to work among the lowest classes of society who could not understand any language except their own. Hence the missionaries assiduously studied the Indian languages, prepared dictionaries, wrote books on grammar, and translated the Bible into them. It is worthy of note that most of the earlier mission schools gave instruction through the mother-tongue of the pupils and it never occurred to the Indian missionaries to say that "the dialects commonly spoken among the natives . . . are so poor and rude that . . . it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them"—a statement regarding the truth of which the Company's officials were entirely convinced! Consequently, the honour of having compiled the first school text-books in Indian languages goes to the missionaries. Thirdly, the missionaries did extremely valuable pioneer work in the field of the education of women—a *dangerous* area in which the officials of this period refused to tread. The wives of the missionaries and some women mission workers took the lead in this matter and began to work for the spread of education among women. This was done through three types of activities, viz., (a) opening of day schools for Indian girls, (b) establishment of Orphan Homes, and (c) domestic instruction or *zenana* education in the families of the middle and higher classes.

The *day schools for girls* soon came to be established in all the three Presidencies. In Bengal, the work began in 1820 when the *Calcutta Juvenile Society* was organised for the establishment and support of Bengali girls' schools. In 1824, the *Ladies Society for Native Female Education in Calcutta and its Vicinity* was established under the patronage of Lady Amherst, the wife of the Governor-General. It built and conducted a Central Girls' school to which Rajah Boidonath Roy Bahadur gave a liberal donation of Rs. 20,000. The work received great impetus with the arrival in Calcutta of an enthusiastic missionary, Miss Cooke (later Mrs. Wilson) who toiled zealously all her life to spread education among the women of India. The following quotation from Adam's First Report throws some light on these day schools :—

The first attempt to instruct Native girls in Calcutta, in organized schools

assumed the name of the Calcutta Baptist Female Society for the establishment and support of Native female schools. The thirteenth report, dated 1834, is now before me, from which it appears that there is one school in Calcutta, containing from 60 to 70 scholars; another at Chitpore, containing 110 to 120; and a third at Sibpore, in which twenty children of Native converts are instructed. The schools are superintended by a Committee of Ladies, and the teachers are Native women, formerly in some instances scholars. The girls are taught reading, spelling and geography, and much attention is given to religious instruction. In the Chitpore school writing is also taught, and in the Sibpore school six of the Christian girls have begun to learn English. . . . Miss Cooke (now Mrs. Wilson) arrived in November 1821, and as the funds of the Calcutta School Society were inadequate to her support, her services were engaged by the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society, and in connection with that Committee she gradually extended her labours until she had, in 1824, twenty-four schools under her superintendence, attended on an average by 400 pupils. In that year the Corresponding Committee relinquished the entire management and direction of their female schools to a Committee of Ladies who formed themselves into a Society called the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education in Calcutta and its Vicinity. Subsequently the number of schools was increased to 30, and that of the pupils to 600, but instead of still further multiplying the number of schools, it was deemed advisable to concentrate them, and a Central School was built for that purpose and occupied in 1828, since which the efforts of the Ladies' Society have been chiefly confined to that sphere of labour. An allowance is made of a pice a head to women under the name of *hurkarees*, for collecting the children daily and bringing them to school, as no respectable Hindu will allow his daughters to go into the street except under proper protection. The school numbers 320 day-scholars, besides 70 Christian girls who live on the premises. . . . There are three schools connected with the London Missionary Society in Calcutta. In a school situated in the Thunthunnya Road there are 45 scholars; in the Creek Row school 25; and in the Mendee Bagan school 28; in all 108. In these schools the girls are taught reading, writing and arithmetic, besides plain needle-work and marking. In order to assist in supporting the schools, it is intended to receive plain work, to be charged at a very moderate rate.¹

✓ In Bombay Presidency also, similar developments took place. As Richey reports:

The first native girls' school in the Presidency was opened by the American missionaries in 1824, and two years later they reported an increase of nine girls' schools with an aggregate attendance of 340 pupils. In 1829 the number of pupils rose to 400, of whom 122 were able to read, write and cipher and to do plain needle-work. One of these institutions was a boarding-school which was successfully maintained for many years at Byculla in the island of Bombay. In 1831 two native girls' schools were established by the same mission at Ahmednagar and a boarding school for girls was soon afterwards opened in that town and has been maintained there ever since. . . . In 1829-30 Dr. and Mrs. Wilson established in Bombay six schools for native girls. The number of pupils in them soon rose to 200. The Church Missionary Society's first school for native girls was established in 1826. In the course of the next ten years the Society opened separate elementary schools for boys and girls at Thana, Bassein, and Nasik.²

¹ *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, pp. 38-41.

✓ The mission *Orphan Homes* for girls also came to be established in all the three Presidencies. The manner in which they came into existence and secured boarders can be seen from the following extract about the Orphan Home conducted by Mrs. Wilson in Bengal :—

* One widow, through the pressure of poverty, desired to be freed from the burden of maintaining her daughter ; another, having a child at the point of death with cholera, brought her to the school in order to get medicine, and on her recovery, made her over to those who had been instrumental in saving her life ; a third girl having embraced Christianity, and been cast out by her relatives, sought and found refuge in the Central School ; others having been left destitute by the death of their parents, had recourse to the same refuge. Thus, in various ways, a considerable number of destitute children were brought under the care of Mrs. Wilson. The inundation of 1832-33, and the famine produced by the destruction of crops, and the pestilence engendered by the malaria evolved on the subsidence of the waters, made many childless parents, and many orphan children. Of the latter, the orphan girls, it was Mrs. Wilson's privilege to rescue many, and the blessings of those that were ready to perish came on her. . . . As the inundation of the Lower Provinces in 1832 laid the foundation of Mrs. Wilson's orphan establishment, so the famine in the Upper Provinces in 1834 tended to rear it. . . . From various quarters the number of the orphans was increased, and we learn from Mrs. Chapman that in 1836 the number of children in the institution was 108.¹

✓ The system of *zenana education* was particularly prevalent in Bengal, although it was a common *modus operandi* with almost all missions. Under this plan, a mission teacher called at the house of the person who desired to educate his women-folk but who was not prepared, for reasons of Purdah or respectability, to send them out to a public school. The results were naturally slow to be attained and very often, the zenana instruction would suddenly come to an end on account of conservative social pressure. As Mrs. Wilson testified,

Seventeen years ago a native gentleman asked for a ' Lady teacher ' for his females ; one went regularly for a few months ; after which the gentleman called again to say he must give it up, as he could not bear the continual taunts he had to endure from Brahmans and other friends for allowing a Christian lady to enter his house. . . . Eleven years since another high family received instruction for above a year from a Christian female, when domestic affliction caused the family to withdraw from all Christian intercourse.²

But in spite of all such difficulties, the missionaries persisted in the attempt because here they could obtain a direct access to the women of the upper classes.

✓ Another important development of this period was that the relations between the Company and the missionaries began to

improve slowly and steadily. Reference has already been made to the extremely strained relations that existed between them in the period from 1793 to 1813. But the Charter Act of 1813 turned a new page. The officials now realised that missionaries must be tolerated and allowed to work ; on the other hand, the missionaries also appear to have shown better tact and discretion in their work of proselytisation. Consequently, the relations between these two groups of workers improved considerably. The Company not only recognised the utility of the educational work of the missionaries, but occasionally sanctioned grants-in-aid for it ; the officials of the Company often worked hand in hand with missionaries on Societies established for the spread of education among the Indian people ; and on the whole, it may be said that the distrust and hostility which were so significant a feature of the official attitude towards missionaries in the earlier period were now a thing of the past.

2 3. **Missionary Educational Enterprise (1833-53).** The freedom given by the Charter Act of 1813 had so far been taken advantage of principally by the missionary societies from the United Kingdom. But the Charter Act of 1833 brought missions from other countries also on the scene.¹ Prominent among them were the German and American missions.

The *Basel Mission Society* began work at Mangalore in 1834 and soon extended its activities very largely in the Kannada and Malayalam territory. Thus it established stations at Mulki, Udipi, Dharwar (1837), Hubli (1839), Guledgud (1851), Betigeri (1853), Tellicherry (1839), Cannanore (1841), Calicut (1842), Coorg (1853), the Blue Mountains (1847), etc. Other important German Societies were the *Protestant Lutheran Missionary Society* (founded at Dresden in 1836) and *Women's Association of Education of Females in the Orient* (founded in Berlin in 1842) both of whom did considerable missionary work in India.

Equally important was the appearance of the " well-manned and richly financed " American Societies amongst whom may be mentioned the American Baptist Union, the American Board, and the American Presbyterian Mission Board North. The *American Baptists* did some work in the Telugu area at Nellore

¹ At the same time, India was thrown open to the whole world and any and every honest man who liked might settle there. This provision opened up India likewise to the missionary activity of other nations. It was in this year that the missionary labours of the Non-English Missionary Societies began in India.—Richter : *A History of Missions in India*, p. 192.

(1840) and in Assam where they established stations at Sibsagar, Nowgong, and Gauhatti. The *American Board* had only one station in 1812 at Bombay. As soon as India was opened to missionaries of all nations by the Charter Act of 1833, they established stations at Madras, Madura (1834), Dindigul (1835), Tirumangalam (1838), Pasumalai (1845), Periacoppam (1848) and other places in the Tamil speaking area. The Marathi section of this mission established stations at Ahmednagar (1831), Sirur (1842), Satara (1849) and Sholapur (1861). The *Presbyterians* found a good field of activity in the North-Western Provinces where they established stations at Ludhiana (1834), Saharanpur and Allahabad (1836), Fatehgarh (1838) and Manipur (1843). From these provinces they extended to the Punjab where they established stations at Ambala (1848), Lahore (1849) and Rawalpindi (1856). It may be pointed out in passing that the *Church Missionary Society* also established stations at Amritsar (1852), Kangra (1854), and Multan and Peshawar in 1855. In fact, the Punjab was then a good field for missionary enterprise because many of its early Governors were men of great missionary zeal.

In the period prior to 1833, the elementary schools teaching through the modern Indian languages formed the bulk of missionary educational enterprise. But between 1833 and 1853, the missionaries shifted the emphasis to secondary schools and colleges teaching through English. This change was dictated by two considerations: the first was the belief, already referred to, that a study of Western science and literature would inevitably be followed by a conversion to Christianity and the second was the desire to convert the upper classes of the Hindu Society. The missionaries knew that the upper classes desired to study English for the worldly advantages it brought and that they would not mind joining a mission school (which they otherwise disliked) for the sake of learning English. The mission schools and colleges, therefore, with their compulsory teaching of the Bible, gave the missionaries an excellent and probably their only opportunity to contact the boys and girls of the higher castes and to preach the Gospel to them. A lead in this direction was given by Alexander Duff, the greatest missionary of this period, who himself started an English school in Calcutta in 1830. Duff's faith

soon infected almost all the missionaries working in the field of Indian education and English schools conducted by missionaries began to multiply very rapidly after 1830. It was realised even then that the Indian pupils joined the missionary schools, not for the sake of religious instruction, but to learn English with a view to securing employment under Government. It was also soon discovered that the pupils put up with the compulsory Bible period as a matter of necessity and that they generally showed no interest in the teachings of Christ. But with the infinite patience and the incorrigible optimism that are characteristic of the missionary spirit, the workers of the Indian missions toiled in English schools in the hope that "some seed at least is sure a strike". The disillusionment came later—by about 1870—but, so far as the period under review was concerned, the hopes of a plentiful harvest of conversions through English schools ran high. Consequently,

the quarter century, 1830-57, is the *age of the mission school*. During that period the Government—in spite of the good intentions of Bentinck—lay really in an apathy which we find it hard to understand; for three years Lord Ellenborough was Governor-General, a man who regarded the political ruin of the English power as the inevitable consequence of the education of the Hindus! Hence at that time the mission school exercised a dominating influence over Indian Thought which it is difficult to estimate nowadays. In Bombay Dr. John Wilson (after Duff the most brilliant Scotch missionary of the day), founded the magnificent college which afterwards bore his name. At Madras Anderson and Braidwood opened the General Assembly's school in 1837, which, under the genial direction of Dr. Miller, the most famous educational missionary alive, has become the "Christian College". At Nagpur in Central India, Stephen Hislop opened in 1844 the fourth of his Society's colleges. In 1853 the Church Missionary Society founded St. John's College at Agra, the first principal of which was the future Bishop French; in 1841 Robert Noble opened the "Noble" College at Masulipatam. These were the most famous of the colleges which were erected in rapid succession in the most widely separated parts of the country under the direct influence and inspiration of Duff, to say nothing of other colleges like those built at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay by the National Church of Scotland.¹

This growth of missionary enterprise, whether in the sphere of proselytisation or of education, was greatly facilitated by the cordial relations that prevailed in this period between the officials of the Company and the missionaries. This was due to two causes: *firstly*, the period of 1833-53 was one of great reforms and liberal ideas in the social life of England with the result that many of the Company's officials were themselves inspired by

missionary zeal ; *secondly*, the fear that interference with religious institutions would be greatly resented by Hindus and Muslims—it was this fear that had mainly led to the adoption of the policy of religious neutrality in the earlier decades—was not entertained seriously during this period. One test case was made out in the abolition of *Sati*. The opponents of this reform had argued that the attempt would lead to revolts. But nothing of the kind happened and enlightened Hindus came forward to support the reform and thank the Government. Another instance of successful intervention with the religious institutions lay in the management by the Company of rich Hindu temples and Hindu religious fairs—an act that aroused no opposition and brought some profits to the Company to boot. The officials of this period, therefore, were not afraid to associate themselves openly with the missionaries and encourage their efforts. The relations between the missionaries and the officials of the Company, therefore, were extremely cordial between 1833 and 1853—a fact that is in direct contrast to the strained relations that existed between them in the period from 1793 to 1813, or to the none too warm feelings that prevailed in the two decades between 1813 and 1833.

4. Alexander Duff (1806-78). As in the earlier period, a large number of extremely able and zealous missionaries devoted their life, in this period also, to the cause of the spread of Christianity in India and, in particular, to the development of educational institutions as a means thereof. Among these may be mentioned the names of Rev. J. Wilson who has been rightly regarded as the greatest Protestant missionary to work in Western India and after whom the Wilson High school and Wilson College in Bombay are named, Rev. John Anderson who did great service to the cause of missionary education in Madras in the earlier half of the nineteenth century and Alexander Duff who worked in Bengal and who, more than any other missionary of his time, made a great contribution to the development of the modern educational system in India by establishing English schools and colleges and by influencing the policies of Governors-General in Calcutta or the members of Parliament in England. All these three missionaries, and the others who followed in their footsteps, observed an identical methodological in education and were inspired by

detailed account of the life and work of Alexander Duff because it will illustrate the principles and methods of missionary educational enterprise in this period and its contribution to the development of modern education in India.

Alexander Duff was born in 1806 and after a brilliant academic career at the Perth Grammar school and St. Andrew's University, he came to Calcutta at the age of twenty-four to spread education and the Gospel. Soon after his arrival, he made a careful study of the missionary work done previously and found it far from satisfactory. To begin with, the bulk of the converts came from among orphans or the members of the lowest castes who accepted the new religion for economic rather than spiritual considerations, and were, in consequence, contemptuously described as "rice christians" by contemporary society. Duff was not at all satisfied with this attack on Hinduism through its tail end. He felt that it would take centuries to "liquidate Hinduism"—the principal object of mission endeavours—by such methods. He proposed instead to storm the very citadel of Hinduism by converting Brahmins and the other higher castes in the first instance. He felt that, if this could be done, mass conversions to Christianity would automatically follow. He was, in fact, a believer in a sort of Downward Filtration Theory applied to the spread of Christianity and wanted missionaries to devote more and more attention to the conversion of the higher Hindu castes. Secondly, he did not like the way in which the Bible was taught in several mission schools of the period—either on an optional basis, or a little surreptitiously through books and talks, or as a minor subject of instruction. He believed that all true education was inseparable from the Christian faith and its doctrines, and that Christianity ought to be, not only the foundation of all education, but its animating and hallowing spirit. He, therefore, advocated the view that mission schools should teach the Bible compulsorily, openly and boldly. He was prepared to risk anything to popularise this policy and also felt that the objection to Bible-teaching in schools would soon disappear if a frank and bold stand were accepted on the issue. Thirdly, he was a great champion of the use of English as a medium of instruction. He tried to study Bengali but never obtained any proficiency over it; and yet he came to the conclusion that "it was

translation or by original composition, no works embodying any subjects of study beyond the merest elements".¹ [The joke about the person who refused to enter water unless he had first learnt to swim is too well-known. Obviously, those educationists of this period who argued that Indian languages should not be used as media of instruction because they were poor and undeveloped were committing the same fallacy, because the correct position is that a language becomes developed and rich *through* its use for higher purposes and *not* that it begins to be used for higher purposes *after* it has been developed and enriched.] But as we have seen already, Duff was not alone in holding this view and he sinned in distinguished company. Duff, therefore, argued that English could and must be adopted as the medium of instruction and desired missionaries to concentrate on secondary and collegiate education rather than on primary. This suggestion was greatly at variance with the practice of older missionaries who emphasized education through the mother-tongue and the conduct of elementary schools. They opposed his view and feared that English schools and colleges which were conducted by missionaries and in which the Bible was to be frankly and boldly taught would never be popular; but Duff had an indomitable faith in them and his zeal and enthusiasm carried the day. Fourthly, Duff believed that the Company must acknowledge the service of the missionaries to the cause of education. He held the view that even the schools conducted by the Company must teach Christianity; if this were not possible, he argued that the Company should withdraw from direct educational enterprise and leave the entire field to missionaries rather than conduct secular schools. He also felt that the missions had a claim to receive grant-in-aid from the Company just as the educational institutions of the Church were aided by Parliament in England. Duff thus became a pioneer of the grant-in-aid system in India and one of the earliest champions of the view that the State must withdraw in favour of private educational enterprise. These views were very bold and implied that, ultimately, the mission schools (there was hardly any private Indian enterprise at this time) must provide for *all* the educational needs of the country on a grant-in-aid basis. Even here, Duff's view differed from that of the earlier missionaries who neither claimed nor desired

¹ G. Smith: *The Life of Alexander Duff*, Vol. I, p. 122.

such a monopoly and who were content to run a few schools, principally for the converted population.

It will be seen from the above analysis that Duff was cutting an entirely new ground in missionary educational enterprise. He was, therefore, opposed, in the beginning, by almost all the conservative elements among the missionaries, the officials and the Indian people. But he was also supported by all progressive elements and particularly by the venerable missionary, Carey, and by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. He, therefore, took the plunge and started an English school at Calcutta in 1830. It became so successful and popular that the views of Duff began to be accepted as perfectly sound, especially because, within a few years, he was able to convert some respectable Brahmins to Christianity. Among the missionary circles, therefore, the views of Duff came to be widely accepted and after the Minutes of Macaulay and Bentinck, they were generally accepted, although with some reservations, in official quarters as well.

Ill-health compelled Duff to return to England; but he soon came back to India in 1840 and stayed on till 1850. It was during this period that he started a Normal school for teachers—the first of its type in Bengal. Here as in several other fields, the missionaries in general and Duff in particular, did valuable pioneer work. Although this school was started primarily with the object of supplying trained teachers for the growing body of the mission schools, it supplied teachers to several official schools as well. Very soon, as we shall see later, the normal schools became an important feature of missionary educational enterprise and trained teachers for official and Indian private schools in addition to those required by the mission schools themselves. Duff also did valuable service to the cause of the education of women—another pioneer activity of the missionaries.

In 1850, Duff returned to England and remained there till 1855. His most important work during this period was to give evidence before the Select Committee of the Commons in 1853—both oral and written. It was this evidence that was mainly responsible for those clauses of the Despatch of 1854 which refer to grant-in-aid and religious education and which will be discussed in the later paragraphs of this Chapter.

In 1855, Duff again came to India and took a leading part.

was a member of the Senate of the Calcutta University from its inception in 1857 and exercised a tremendous influence on its policies. In 1863, he had to return to England again on grounds of health. He was unable to come back as his health never improved sufficiently, but he continued to serve the cause of Christian Missions till his death, which occurred in 1878, in his seventy-second year.

It would be wrong to look upon Duff only as an individual. He was really typical of a large group of missionary educationists and the strength and weakness of his work and opinions should really be regarded as the strength and weakness of missionary educational enterprise in India between 1830 and 1880. This enterprise did valuable pioneer work in several fields and was directly responsible for making the officials accept the principle of grant-in-aid and the doctrine of state withdrawal from direct educational enterprise. It also indirectly led to several modifications of official educational policy such as the adoption of English as a medium of instruction, emphasis on the spread of Western knowledge as an object of educational policy, the grant of open patronage to the education of women, recognition of the necessity of training teachers, etc. Some of these contributions (*e.g.* the adoption of grant-in-aid) were definitely valuable; others (*e.g.* spread of Western knowledge as an object of educational policy or the doctrine of state withdrawal from direct educational enterprise) served some useful purpose for a time and were later on abandoned as inadequate; while some (*e.g.* use of English as a medium of instruction) were definitely harmful. But whatever the verdict on their educational contributions may be, opinion is generally agreed now that the premises and principles which guided Duff (and the other missionaries who followed his lead) were fundamentally unsound and that they failed in all their main objectives. They were wrong in their summary and wholesale condemnation of Hinduism; they underestimated its power of resilience and were too optimistic and cocksure about the superiority of Christianity and its power to storm the very citadel of Hinduism through the gun-powder of English education; they were definitely wrong in teaching the Bible compulsorily to *all* students—particularly those at an impressionable age: they were also wrong

the adoption of Christianity as a dogma, not to speak of a *Christian* way of life; and most of all, they blundered in trying to *substitute* Eastern culture and religion *en masse* by the Western. They failed in their object of securing a monopoly of educational enterprise in India to the mission schools; and equally great was their failure to reap a *rich harvest of conversions* through English schools although their personal character and example deeply influenced many a Hindu student for good and led to reformist and purificatory movements within Hinduism itself. On the body of the Muslim society, they exercised little or no influence whatsoever. This is mainly because the Muslims were slow to take advantage of the new system of education. They did not come significantly into the picture until after the Report of the Indian Education Commission (1882-3) and by then the tide created by Duff and his followers was already at an ebb.

5. **Census of Mission Institutions (1851).** The extent of the missionary activity in India at the time of the Despatch of 1854 can be fairly estimated from the following statistics given by Sherring for 1851 :—

Statistics

	Bombay	Bengal	N.W.P.	Punjab	Central India	Madras	Total
1. No. of stations.	23	61	19	5	3	111	222
2. Foreign ordained agents.	38	95	45	10	4	147	339
3. Indian ordained agents ..	4	2	1	1	1	12	21
4. Foreign and European lay preachers ..	2	22	11	11	7'	19	72
5. Indian lay preachers ..	15	132	37	2	1	306	493
6. Churches or congregations.	13	70	17	4	2	161	267
7. Indian Christians	638	14,177	1,732	98	271	74,176	91,092
8. Communicants.	290	3,371	573	25	68	10,334	14,661
9. Anglo-vernacular schools and colleges for men	7	22	13	3	3	43	91

Statistics—contd.

	Bombay	Bengal	N.W.P.	Punjab	Central India	Madras	Total
10. Pupils in Anglo-vernacular schools and colleges for men	907	8,054	1,029	178	137	4,096	12,401
11. Vernacular schools for boys	85	126	47	9	8	824	1,099
12. Pupils in Vernacular schools for boys ..	4,679	6,319	2,640	488	357	24,178	38,661
13. Boarding schools for boys	4	20	10	..	1	32	67
14. Pupils in Boarding schools for boys	64	708	209	..	20	787	1,788
15. Day schools for girls	31	26	8	..	3	217	285
16. Pupils in Day schools for girls	1,186	690	213	..	62	6,768	8,919
17. Boarding schools for girls	8	27	9	2	1	39	86
18. Pupils in Boarding schools for girls	139	797	173	35	20	1,110	2,274
19. Grand Total of pupils—male & female (excluding Sunday schools) ..	6,975	14,568	4,264	701	596	36,939	64,043
20. Sunday schools	131	183	350	27	74	1,102	1,867
21. Pupils in Sunday schools ..	3,711	6,938	16,671	3,007	2,642	28,719	61,688

N.B.—(a) The statistics are for Protestant missions only. In addition to these, the Catholic missions also had a considerable number of institutions to their credit by 1851.

(b) This table is compiled from the statistics given at pp. 442-447 of Sherring's *The History of Protestant Missions in India*.

It will be seen from these fairly comprehensive statistics that the mission activity in education was almost equal to official

the Protestant organisations alone are considered. But the total mission activity in education—both Protestant and Roman Catholic—must certainly have exceeded the official enterprise.

It would, therefore, be correct to say that, in 1854, the largest part of educational enterprise in India (indigenous schools apart) was provided, not by the Company, but by the missionaries. It can also be seen that the extent of mission activity varied from Province to Province. It was extremely widespread and strong in Madras, partly because it began very early (1706) and partly because the extremely hard plight of the Harijans in the South provided a more fruitful soil for conversions. It was weakest in the Punjab, the next Provinces in order of increasing strength being Central India, N.W.P., Bombay and Bengal.

6. **Claims of Missionary Enterprise (1813-53).** When Section 43 of the Charter Act of 1813 was passed, the object of Parliament was *not* to secure financial assistance to the missionary educational institutions (as some missionaries seemed to think), but to create a rival set of institutions conducted by the Company or by the Indian people in order that there may be "a reliable counterpoise, a protecting break-water against the threatened deluge of missionary enterprise". This object was generally kept in view between 1813 and 1853. That is to say, the Company spent the annual grant of a lakh of rupees (ten lakhs from 1833 onwards) in maintaining its own institutions and only rarely did it sanction any grants-in-aid to mission schools. Consequently, the two systems of modern schools, *viz.*, (a) the mission schools with their insistence on Bible-teaching and (b) the exclusively secular schools conducted by the Company grew up independently of each other between 1813 and 1853.

It soon became apparent that the schools of the Company would prove serious rivals to the mission schools. The former were secular and hence more popular with the Indian people than the mission schools whose emphasis on proselytisation and Bible-teaching was both disliked and feared. Moreover, the schools of the Company could command large financial resources which the missions could never hope to do. The missionaries, therefore, realised that unless the competition between their schools and those of the Company was put an end to and unless their financial resources were strengthened, they had no

chance of survival. They, therefore, put forward the following claims:—

(a) The Company's schools were secular, *i.e.*, "godless" or "heathen" in the usual missionary parlance. Such schools were positively harmful and, therefore, the Bible must be taught in all the schools of the Company;

(b) If this were not possible on political grounds, it was argued that the Company should withdraw from direct educational enterprise and leave the field clear for the mission schools;

(c) It was also argued that the Company's schools were necessarily costlier, so that it would be wiser to spend the available limited resources in giving grants-in-aid to mission schools than in maintaining State institutions;

(d) The missions, it was claimed, had always a *moral* right to receive a grant-in-aid from the Company. It was, therefore, argued that this moral right should be made a *legal* one by passing a Grant-in-aid Code under which an adequate financial assistance would be assured to every mission school;

(e) Finally, it was claimed that the ideal state of affairs in India would be one in which the Company would withdraw completely from direct educational enterprise and *all* the institutions required by the country would be provided by the missions on a grant-in-aid basis.

These demands were inspired by contemporary developments in England. Reference has already been made to the first Parliamentary grant for education sanctioned in 1833 (*vide* Chapter III, section 2). But Parliament did not at all think of utilising this amount to establish schools under its direct control. At that time the elementary schools were conducted by the Churches and all that Parliament did was to distribute grant-in-aid to these schools and, in return, supervise and inspect them through a special agency created for the purpose.

The first parliamentary grant for education was exclusively intended for the construction of school buildings. Partly because a State machinery to distribute this grant was non-existent and partly because Parliament wanted to encourage and conciliate religious organisations, it was decided that applications for building grants should be scrutinised and recommended by one or other of the two religious societies which conducted the bulk of the elementary schools then in existence, *viz.*, the 'British and Foreign School Society' or the 'National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church'. The conditions for payment of the grant were two: At least half the estimated cost of the building must be raised by voluntary con-

would be permanently supported. It was also decided that preference would be given to applications from populous areas and to large schools accommodating 400 scholars and above.

These building grants continued to be distributed for six years between 1833 and 1839 and an amount of over £100,000 was distributed to the two societies. On the one hand, the grants stimulated private enterprise and there was a keen demand for their continuance and extension. On the other hand, the working of the system also showed some undesirable features since several buildings were not erected in accordance with approved plans. Besides, the efficiency and quality of instruction given in many schools receiving grants was also not satisfactory. In 1839, therefore, a special Department, the Committee of Council on Education, was created by an Order-in-Council to superintend the work of education. The Committee adopted a new policy which may be described as one of *specific purpose grants*, according to which Government grants were awarded to private schools for such specific purposes as construction of school buildings, teachers' quarters, students' hostels, training of teachers, provision of educational equipment, stipends to pupil teachers and Monitors, provision of books and maps, etc. In return for such assistance, the Committee insisted on the State's right to inspect the schools—a proposition which the religious organisations had to accept, although with considerable reluctance.

Between 1839 and 1853, the committee did considerable useful work on these lines. It appointed inspectors of schools under its direct control and dispensed with the inspectorial work that was formerly entrusted to the 'National' and 'British and Foreign' School Societies. The building grants were continued and extended to schools conducted by organisations other than these two societies. Similarly, the scope of the grants was extended and new grants came to be sanctioned for construction of teachers' houses, provision of school furniture, etc. Approved plans and specifications for school buildings were prepared and generally more stringent conditions were attached to parliamentary grants and enforced through the inspectors. When parents began to withdraw promising children from schools on account of financial difficulties and the system of Monitors began to collapse, the Committee sanctioned, in 1846, a system of granting stipends to pupil teachers and Monitors. When the supply of primary teachers began to fall short owing mainly to the low remuneration provided in these schools, the Committee introduced a system of allowances to teachers based on their qualifications and the number of pupil-teachers and Monitors working under them. Regulations were also framed making it obligatory on the locality to provide a house for the teacher, free of charge, and to give him a salary equal at least to twice the parliamentary grant for the purpose. Provision was also made by the Committee to grant pensions to teachers who had served for not less than 15 years and, in 1847, grants were also sanctioned for the provision of maps and books at a fixed rate per student in attendance. All grants sanctioned were subject to the raising of a fixed local contribution; but exceptions began to be made in case of poor localities who found it difficult to raise their quota under the rules. As a result of all these activities, the grants distributed by the Committee rose from about £30,000 in 1839 to £188,856 in 1852.¹

On the analogy of these events in England, the missionaries in India felt that (a) the Company should not conduct any schools

¹ J. P. Naik: *Administration and Finance of Elementary Education in England during the Nineteenth Century*. (The Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay, April 1948, pp. 458-60.) It is on the basis of these developments that the Despatch of 1854, on schools, etc.

of its own just as Parliament did not conduct any ; (b) the missionaries should have a monopoly of *all* educational enterprise in India just as the churches had a virtual monopoly of the education of the poor in England ; (c) the Company should, therefore, withdraw from direct educational enterprise in favour of private schools which then meant mission schools ; (d) the Company should utilise its annual educational grants in assisting the mission schools and *not* in conducting schools of its own ; and that (e) a regular grant-in-aid code should be drawn up, as in England, with a view to deciding the amount and conditions of grant-in-aid to private schools.

These claims ignored the private Indian enterprise altogether and were based on the misconception that the missions could do for India what the Churches did for the poor in England. But it took some years to realise these fallacies. For the time being, however, missionary influence in England and India was so strong and the relations between the officials of the Company and the missionaries were so cordial that all these claims were accepted in principle, as we shall soon see, by the Despatch of 1854.

7. **Private Educational Enterprise by British Officials and Non-officials.** We discussed missionary enterprise first because it was the oldest, and in so far as this period is concerned, the most extensive non-official agency in modern education. But the missionaries were not the only Europeans to work for modern education in India. To their group we must add a large number of British Officials of the Company who worked in their individual capacity and a few British non-officials, chiefly businessmen, who assisted the cause of education either as a hobby or as a form of social service. Some of them sympathised with the missionary ideals and methods and assisted them. Their work need not be discussed here because it entirely partook of the character of the missionary endeavours which have already been discussed. But there were several British officials and non-officials who could not lend support to the missionaries either because they believed in secular schools or because they wanted to encourage private enterprise among the Indian people themselves. The work of this small group of British officials and non-officials is even more significant than that of the missionaries although it is far less in quantity and deserves a close analysis.

Curiously enough, the pioneer British gentleman who tried to build up a new educational system for India, but on a plan different from that of the missionaries, was a humble watch-maker and jeweller from Calcutta, *David Hare* (1775-1842). His early education was far from satisfactory and he was not therefore, a "scholar" in the usually accepted sense of the term although he was generally well informed and had read some of the best English authors. Quite modestly, he used to describe himself as "an uneducated man friendly to education".¹ He came to India in 1800 and by 1815 had earned enough to enable him to retire from his profession. Instead of returning to England, however, he decided to stay on in Calcutta and devote the remainder of his life to the improvement of the people of India. With this end in view, he engaged in a large variety of public activities. He supported the liberty of the Press, advocated the introduction of trial by jury, the use of English instead of Persian in courts and gave liberal financial assistance to every deserving cause. But what interested him more than anything else was the development of education. He used to say "that India was teeming with productions of all kinds, that her resources were inexhaustible, that her people were intelligent and industrious and possessed of capabilities, if not superior, at least equal, to those of the other civilised inhabitants of the World and that centuries of misrule and oppression had completely destroyed her own learning and philosophy, and buried this land in almost total darkness. To improve her condition, nothing appeared to him more essential than a dissemination of European learning and science among her people".² He, therefore, tried his utmost to develop a modern system of education in India in all possible ways.

Hare believed, like the missionaries, that a knowledge of the English language and an acquaintance with English literature was essential for the regeneration of the Hindu society; but being a secularist himself, he could not agree with them on the subject of religious instruction. It was, therefore, his view that India needed secular schools and colleges teaching the mother-tongue and English and spreading knowledge of English literature among the people. He had a contempt for Sanskrit and

¹ H. V. Hampton: *Biographical Studies in Modern Indian Education*, p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

no great regard for scientific studies and, therefore, excluded them from his programme almost completely. It was to show the utility and practicability of such an experiment that he worked with zest all his life and carried out his most important educational project, the *Hindu Vidyalaya or College*. In order to bring it into existence, he first contacted a number of prominent Hindus and secured their support to the idea. Then he collected subscriptions, gave liberal assistance from his own funds and persuaded the parents to send their children to it. When the Vidyalaya did come into existence (1817), he visited it almost everyday and took a lively and personal interest in the progress of each pupil. He saved it from financial disaster by securing a grant-in-aid from the Government and kept, on the whole, so active and zealous a watch over its interests that it would be no exaggeration to say that the college owed its success more to him than to any other member of the Calcutta public, both official and non-official.

The object of the Vidyalaya was to provide good English education to the sons of Hindu gentlemen and it was unique in two respects: Firstly, it was conducted by a committee consisting of Europeans and Indians and secondly, it was the first great attempt to provide collegiate education of the Western type on a purely secular basis. [Owing to financial difficulties, however, the Vidyalaya was later handed over to the Company for management and became the Presidency College in 1854.] But its early history is of great historical importance because it shows how attempts to provide secular education became more popular with the Indian people and brought forth their willing co-operation in all respects.

[Among the other educational projects in which Hare took a leading part may be mentioned the Calcutta Medical College. Hare helped very greatly in popularising medical education among Indians and was, in recognition of his services, appointed the Secretary of the College in 1837. He also supported the advancement of primary education. He gave financial help to the Calcutta School Book Society and was the European Secretary of the Calcutta School Society.] He also maintained a primary school at Arpooley almost entirely at his own cost and assisted the cause of the education of women by his enthusiastic membership of the Societies organised for the purpose. In

short, it may be said that Hare did all he could to spread secular modern education among the Indian people and to induce them to organise private enterprise for the establishment of schools teaching Bengali and English. His useful public career was, however, cut short in 1842 when he got an attack of cholera and died after a brief illness.

The main contribution of Hare to the cause of modern education is the principle of secularism. He found that all educational enterprise of his time was dominated by religion—the institutions conducted by the Company (like the Benares Sanskrit College or Calcutta Madrasah) were dominated by the teaching of Hinduism and Islam, while the missionary institutions were dominated by Christianity. He was convinced that both these types were unsatisfactory and evolved a new system in which Bengali and English would be taught rather than Sanskrit and Arabic and all religious education would be positively eschewed. His contempt for Sanskrit was responsible for the exclusion of Oriental studies and his lack of scholarship for the neglect of the sciences. The whole object of the institution, therefore, was to emphasize the study of English language and literature. The institution met with a strong opposition from several quarters in the early stages. The exclusion of Oriental studies enraged conservative Indians; the failure to emphasize the study of science alienated the sympathies of others, while the missionaries challenged the desirability of excluding all religious instruction. But very soon, the practical advantages of Hare's concept became patent and the model of the Hindu Vidyalaya came to be generally adopted by the Company as well as by private Indian enterprise. The Company found that the principle of secularism enabled it to maintain its policy of religious neutrality, while the emphasis on the study of English language and literature enabled it to obtain servants for the Government Departments where English was being adopted as the language of business. Private Indian enterprise also found it convenient to follow the model of the Hindu Vidyalaya because a policy of secular education involved no administrative problems and because a subordination of scientific studies made the conduct of the institutions less costly and difficult. For several years to come, therefore, the modern educational institutions started in India, either by the

X model of the Hindu Vidyalaya, that is to say, secular educational institutions whose chief object was to acquaint the students with English language and literature. Scientific and Oriental studies were included later on in varying proportions, and to that extent, the original design of Hare may be said to have been modified by later developments. But his concept of secularism remains the prominent feature of all Government (and most private Indian institutions as well) even to this day.

David Hare was a non-official and could, therefore, chalk out his own policy with freedom. The officials of the Company, on the other hand, had to work under several limitations. They could not, for obvious reasons, undertake any activity to which the Company was *directly* opposed. But they could certainly engage *individually* in any activity to which the Company did not object but which, for some reason or the other, it refused directly to undertake. Several broad-minded officials, therefore, organised or assisted, in their individual capacity, such educational projects as the Company would not countenance or support but which, in their opinion, were essential to the progress of India. A good illustration of this type of work is provided in the life of J. E. D. Bethune (1801-51) who was the Law-member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the President of the Council of Education from 1848 to 1851. After being educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, he was called to the Bar in 1837. Prior to his arrival in India in 1848, he held several important offices under His Majesty's Government in England. He was keenly interested in the education of women and soon after his arrival in India, began to consider the ways and means to foster it. The Company, at this time, was not prepared to countenance any effort at the education of women and hence the channel of official enterprise was closed to him. Bethune was also convinced that respectable Hindus would never educate their daughters in the mission schools because of the missionary insistence on religious instruction. He, therefore, decided to establish a secular school for Indian girls in his own individual capacity and to bear all the expenses thereof. In a letter to Lord Dalhousie, dated 29th March, 1850, he thus explains his motive in establishing this school:

The failure of every attempt to induce respectable Natives to send their daughters to a Missionary School, and the conviction which I have that the system of the Government Schools is best adapted for the education of the

effect in the country induced me to establish my School on the same principle of excluding from it all religious teaching, though I was well aware of the additional difficulty which this restriction would cause to me for procuring efficient female teachers. English was to be taught to those only whose parents wished it, all were to be instructed in Bengali and in plain and fancy work.¹

The success of the school which began to function in May 1849 was almost phenomenal. Within a short time, it attracted a fairly large number of girls whose eagerness to learn, docility and quickness corresponded, in the opinion of Bethune, to those of the boys and even surpassed "what is found among European girls of the same age".² But even more important were two other results: enlightened Indians at once came forward to support the experiment and the example of the school began to be copied elsewhere. As Bethune observes:

The three Natives to whom I desire specially to record my gratitude for their assistance are Baboo Ram Gopal Ghose, the well known merchant who was my principal adviser in the first instance and who procured me my first pupils, Baboo Dukkina Runjin Mookerjea, a Zemindar, who was previously unknown to me, but who as soon as my design was published, introduced himself to me for the purpose of offering me the free gift of a site for the school, or five beegahs of land valued at Rs. 10,000 in the Native quarter of the town and Pundit Madun Mohun Turkalunkar, one of the Pundits of the Sanscrit College, who not only sent two daughters to the school, but has continued to attend it daily, to give gratuitous instruction to the children in Bengali, and has employed his leisure time in the compilation of a series of elementary Bengali Books expressly for their use. . . . I was gratified by learning that the example I had set found imitation by the Natives themselves, in different parts of the country. Just about the time of the opening of my school, Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee, a zemindar of the Hooghly District addressed the council of Education on a plan which he proposed for opening a female school at Ooterparah of what he professed himself ready to pay half the expenses if the Government would give it sanction to the undertaking and defray the remainder. Under my advice the Council returned a dilatory answer to this application, intimating that it would be desirable to witness the success of my experiment before the Government engaged directly in the business. On my late visit to Ooterparah, I learned that Joykissen Mookerjea is preparing to open the school at once without any further application to Government. At Baraset some of the most respectable inhabitants have already established one, now attended by more than 20 girls, chiefly Brahminical caste, and what is very remarkable two of them being already married.³

Bethune died at Calcutta in 1851 and, in his will, endowed the school with all the lands and property he had in the city. It was then taken over by Lord Dalhousie who paid for it from his own private purse until the Company took it over. As a proper tribute to this great man, the school was permanently associated with his name and it soon developed into the Bethune

¹ *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, p. 52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 53.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-4.

College—a pioneer and important institution for the education of Indian women.

This experiment is but an instance from several educational experiments made by British officials working in their individual capacity. They are too numerous to be mentioned in a book of this type; and cover, not only education, but other branches of social service as well. Bethune's school should, therefore, be regarded, not as an individual institution, but as representative of a group of institutions started and financed by officials in their individual capacity, because their views were not acceptable either to the Company or to the missionaries. These attempts, it should be noted, exercised a greater influence on the Indian mind, on account of their transparent sincerity and secular character, than those made either by the Company or the proselytising missionaries.

Of a different type were the experiments made by Mountstuart Elphinstone and Prof. Patton in Bombay. They did not establish or conduct schools of their own as Bethune or Dalhousie did; but they induced, encouraged and guided Indians to organise private schools of the modern type. Mountstuart Elphinstone played a very important part in organising the Bombay Native Education Society (1822-40) which did such useful service to the cause of Indian education in the Province of Bombay. When he became Governor of the Province in 1819, he found that the only non-official body (excluding the missions) which tried to provide modern education to the people was the Bombay Education Society. This had been established in 1815 by members of the Church of England resident in Bombay with the principal object of training Anglo-Indian or poor European children. It began its activities by taking over the Charity School established in Bombay by Rev. Richard Cobbe in 1719 and by starting others. As the Society admitted Indian children also to its schools without compelling them to be present at religious instruction, many Hindu, Parsee and Muslim children attended them. By 1820, the Society conducted four schools for Indian children with about 250 pupils on their rolls.

In the same year, the Society appointed a special committee, called the Native School and School Book Committee. The idea

was then the Governor of Bombay and President of the Society and who took keen interest in the spread of education among Indians. The objects of this Committee were two-fold: to improve existing schools for Indian children and establish or aid new ones—wherever necessary; and secondly, to prepare books for the use of Indian children under instruction. By 1822, the Society's work for Indian children had grown considerably and it, therefore, rightly felt that it had undertaken activities which went far beyond its original aims. Hence the special Committee appointed by it two years earlier was now formed into a separate Society called the Bombay Native School Book and School Society (known by the handier epithet of Bombay Native Education Society since 1827), to look after the education of Indian children and the parent Society restricted its activities to the education of European or Anglo-Indian children only. It was mainly the encouragement and guidance of Mountstuart Elphinstone that was responsible for this independent organisation of the B.N.E. Society. He also agreed to be its President and, as narrated already in Chapter III, section 3(b), made the Directors sanction a grant-in-aid to the Society and accept it as the principal agency for the spread of education among the Indian people. It would be no exaggeration to say that it was this paternal interest of Elphinstone that enabled the B.N.E. Society to develop into an august body and, through its activities, give practical training to Indians in organising and conducting associations for the spread of education.

Prof. Patton's experiment came a little later in 1848. He organised a student's Literary and Scientific Society in the Elphinstone College where he was a Professor. The primary object of this Society was to hold periodical meetings and discuss literary and scientific problems. But its work did not end there. It soon established Marathi and Gujarati branches wherein an attempt was made to spread Western knowledge through these Indian languages. But its most significant activity was to start girls' schools in the city of Bombay. These schools were secular in character like Bethune's school, and in the first year, the student members of the Society themselves worked as honorary teachers. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India, was a member of this Society and received some of his earliest lessons in national service through its activities. Financial assistance

however, soon came in and enabled the Society to employ paid teachers. In 1854, it conducted nine girls' schools attended by more than 600 pupils. The Society still exists and is conducting a High school and some middle and primary schools in the City of Bombay.

These efforts of Elphinstone and Patton show how some of the broad-minded officials of this period tried to develop private Indian enterprise in modern education. They were convinced that neither missionaries nor the Company could provide *all* the educational institutions which the country needed; that, after all, a people must educate themselves; that the very attempts to educate themselves form an important type of social education which a people can never obtain through a ready-made system of schools provided by an alien agency; and that private Indian enterprise must ultimately be developed to provide the bulk of the new educational institutions which were necessary to regenerate the country. They, therefore, took measures to bring forth and develop private Indian enterprise in education. The Indians of this period, it must be noted, were new to the modern methods of co-operative and organised educational enterprise and needed both initiation and guidance. This came readily from those enlightened officials of the Company who had a sense of duty to the country. They contacted leading Indians, convinced them of the necessity of private educational enterprise on modern lines, and showed them how to form and conduct societies for the purpose. Such a guidance was both necessary and valuable and could not have come from the missionaries partly because of their desire to monopolise the field and partly because of their insistence on Bible-Teaching; and had it not been for the fostering care of officials working in their individual capacity, private Indian enterprise in education would have taken a very much longer time to develop.

8. Private Indian Enterprise in Education (1813-53).

Prior to 1854, private Indian enterprise in education was responsible for two entirely different types of activities. The first of these was the conduct of the indigenous schools—both higher and elementary—which still formed the most widely spread, the most numerous and the most important agency for the education of the people. But these were neither recognised nor assisted

system of education is concerned, this extensive activity of private Indian enterprise will just have to be ignored. The second type of private Indian enterprise was that which went to the building up of the modern system of education in India—an activity wherein, prior to 1854, Indians played a very minor role. This was due to a variety of circumstances. To begin with, the whole weight of conservative opinion was against the new system of education. [The orthodox parents refused to send their children to English schools because they were afraid that English education made young men lose faith in the religious beliefs and practices of their forefathers—a fear that was not quite groundless. They even objected to the ideas from Western knowledge which were being spread through the Indian languages in the new type of primary schools and feared that all this new education was part of some secret plan to tamper with their religion] In these circumstances, it required an immense amount of moral courage to come forward to preach the utility of the new education or to conduct institutions based on the new ideals, and very few individuals could have such courage. Secondly, the educational institutions of the modern type could only be conducted by persons who were educated in the new system. The number of such Indians was very small and most of them could easily find a job in some important Government Department which at once brought them money, social status and executive authority. They were, therefore, naturally unwilling to start and conduct private schools which then, as now, were but an ill-paid form of social service. Thirdly, there were certain concepts prevalent at this time which created special difficulties for Indian private enterprise, *e.g.*, it was believed that the Principals of English schools and colleges must be Europeans. This requirement could easily be fulfilled by the Company or by the missionaries. But how could Indians, even if they raised the necessary funds, find European employees to superintend their schools and colleges? This was probably the biggest stumbling block and it was overcome only when Government stopped demanding the employment of Europeans as Heads of schools and colleges and a band of Indians competent to hold such posts was created. But this result could be achieved only by 1880 or thereafter and in so far as the period under review is concerned, Indian private enterprise was at a great handicap in

the conduct of secondary and collegiate institutions. Lastly, Indians were new to the co-operative organisation of educational institutions and were just having their first lessons in conducting modern educational institutions at the hands of a few liberal officials and non-officials, here and there, and they had not yet pooled together enough experience to show any substantial results. It is, therefore, hardly a matter of surprise that modern educational institutions conducted by Indians formed a very small minority even in 1854. What matters to students of history, therefore, is not the quantitative, but the qualitative and ideological aspects of Indian private enterprise and these can be very well illustrated through the lives of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Jagannath Shankarset or Mahatma Phule.

9. Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), aptly described as the Father of Modern India, was born in Radhanagar in 1772. He came from an ancient and respectable Brahmin family and before he was sixteen years old, acquired a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. His study of sufi philosophy and the Koran had brought about such a change of views in him that endless disputes arose with his orthodox father and he, therefore, left his home and wandered about India for 3 or 4 years studying the religious beliefs and social practices of the people. But a conciliation soon took place and he returned home. Already in 1796, he had begun the study of English and later on, he also studied Hebrew and Greek in order to be able to study the New and Old Testaments in the original. In 1803, he lost his father and, in the following year, he joined the service of the Company and, by his industry and ability, soon rose to the post of the Dewan—the highest post in the Revenue Department then open to Indians. He amassed a moderate fortune and in 1814 retired from service in order to devote all his time to the service of his motherland.

The next twenty years—between his retirement in 1814 and death at Bristol in 1833—form a crowded era of public service. Ram Mohan Roy's work touched several aspects of Indian life, and the following important services rendered by him to the country may be mentioned here :—

(a) He was a staunch opponent of the cruel custom of *sati* and lent strong and valuable support to Bentinck in abolishing it.

(b) He stood for a more equitable and humane treatment of women; advocated the grant of property rights to them; was a champion of their education; roundly condemned polygamy and, in his will, disinherited any son or descendant who would have more than one wife at a time; had his grand-daughter married at the age of 16 and was obviously opposed to child-marriage; had no faith in the alleged inferiority of women. In short, he was one of the earliest champions of women's rights in modern India and started a movement for their emancipation which gathered great momentum later on.

(c) He was a great religious reformer. Being a student of comparative religion, he found that all religions had several common points. On the basis of his study, he evolved a purificatory movement within Hinduism itself—the Brahmo Samaj. As Rabindranath Tagore observes, "He extended wide his heart, and invited Hindu, Mussalman and Christian there, for in the expanse of his heart there was no lack of space for any one of them. In this it was the real heart of India that he revealed and expressed in himself her truest character. For the truth of India is in the man who honours all and accepts all in his heart."¹

(d) He was a pioneer among the nation-builders of modern India. He visualised an educated, cultured, rich and free India and tried to carry out certain reforms in the administrative system of his day. He advocated the use of English in law-courts, trial by jury, separation of the executive from the judiciary, and codification of criminal and other laws. As editor of the Bengali Journal, *Sambad Kaumudi*, published in 1821, he may be regarded as the virtual "Founder of Modern Indian Press" whose liberty he strongly defended against official attacks.

We are more concerned here with the work of Raja Ram Mohan Roy as an educationist, and it is in this field that we find his most signal services to his country. [He was one of the earliest Indians to realise that India's greatest need was a synthesis of Eastern and Western cultures. Being a great Sanskrit scholar himself and having been deeply convinced of the truth and greatness of the ancient and pure form of Hinduism, he would not be a party to the wholesale condemnation of Eastern culture and religion which was so fashionable in

Ram
Mohan

missionary circles, nor would he subscribe to the view that the Eastern culture must be replaced by the Western. At the same time, he understood that the Indian mind had rusted very considerably on account of its isolation and realised that contact with Western literature and science alone could regenerate Oriental culture, correct its follies and contribute to it the essential qualities which it lacked. He, therefore, saw (together with a few other men of vision) "the need of a new synthesis of the best that Europe and Asia had to give and strove, consequently, to weave into the tapestry of Indian life such threads from the spindles of the West, without bringing about a complete alteration in the pattern upon the Indian loom".¹ This great vision makes the Raja a prophet of modern India. It is true that this advice went unheeded for a time ; but ultimately, it triumphed.

The second great contribution of the Raja to the modern system of education was to popularise a study of English language and through it, of Western science and literature. Although a great Sanskrit scholar himself, he deprecated all the official attempts to educate Indians through Sanskrit and Arabic and, as stated already in Chapter III, Section 3 (a), petitioned the Government to abandon its project for Oriental education and to undertake the teaching of Western science and literature instead. It is true that he can claim no originality for this view and that it had already been put forward by men like Grant. But it must be remembered that the Raja's advocacy of the study of English and Western science and literature produced effects which were different from anything that had gone before. In the first place, he was a Hindu talking to other Hindus and this consideration alone made his appeal far stronger and more powerful than that of missionaries or officials whose motives were generally suspect. Secondly, he could overcome several fears which prevented the contemporary Hindu society from taking freely to the study of English or Western science and literature. The orthodox Hindus were afraid that such studies might make a young man an atheist, or a convert to Christianity or an unbalanced rebel against all tradition. The early examples of some educated Hindu youths confirmed these fears. Some of them became actual converts to Christianity ; others remained within the Hindu fold but lost all devotion to traditional religion ;

¹ Earl of Ronaldshay : *The Heart of Aryavarta*, p. 48.

while a large number led culturally unsettled lives and delighted in exhibiting the so-called *Western virtues* of eating beef or drinking wine. Ram Mohan Roy showed, both by precept and example, that these consequences were not inevitable in Western education. He proved that a synthesis of Eastern and Western cultures was possible and although his method of the synthesis was not acceptable to many, he could convince his co-religionists that Western education was not always culturally dangerous as it was supposed to be. He thus acted as one of the earliest Indian interpreters of the West to India.

Thirdly, he did an equal or even more valuable service in interpreting India to England. He tried his utmost to dispel the absurd notions which then prevailed regarding the nature of Hinduism, the poverty of the ancient literatures in Sanskrit, the lack of character and moral values among Indians, etc. His great learning, unimpeachable character, lucid and convincing exposition of his deep religious beliefs showed to Englishmen that it would be wrong to condemn summarily all Eastern learning and religion and that a judicious study of Oriental culture ought to have a place in the modern educational system of India—a view that was later on accepted by the Despatch of 1854 as well.

The fourth great contribution of the Raja to the system of modern education was his emphasis on the study of modern Indian languages. He himself gave a great lead in the matter by writing books in Bengali on Grammar, Geography, Astronomy and Geometry and he is considered as the father of modern literary Bengali prose. He was also the first to write theistic poems in Bengali. His advocacy of the study and development of modern Indian languages, although unheeded for a long time, was certainly a great contribution to the educational thought of his times.

Equally able was the Raja's advocacy of the education of women. Although the concept had already been put forward by missionaries, it was the Raja who helped to popularise it among the Hindus. He took his stand on the old *shastras* and convincingly showed that in ancient times, the women of India were highly educated and that the education of women was in keeping with ancient religious traditions and beliefs.

prejudices against the education of women that were then prevalent in the Hindu society and the credit for this goes mostly to Ram Mohan Roy.

In 1830, the Raja went to England and gave very valuable evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1833. In this last great act of his life the Raja urged, among other reforms, the codification of civil and criminal laws and the appointment of Indians to important posts under Government. Both these proposals were accepted and incorporated in the Charter Act of 1833. In order to carry out the first, a Law-Member was added to the Council of the Governor-General and a little later, Macaulay came out to India as the first person to hold the post. On the second proposal, the Raja had lodged a strong protest against the policy of excluding Indians from all but the inferior posts under Government. This view of the only Indian who was in a position to place it before Parliament was also supported by several other British witnesses before the Committee and was, therefore, accepted without much difficulty. Section 87 of the Charter Act of 1833 provided "that no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company". At this time, Macaulay was a member of Parliament and spoke very brilliantly on the Charter. The following extract from his speech will show how he interpreted this section :—

There is, however, one part of the Bill on which, after what has recently passed elsewhere, I feel myself irresistibly impelled to say a few words. I allude to that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause which enacts that no native of our Indian Empire shall, by reason of his colour, his descent, or his religion, be incapable of holding office. At the risk of being called by that nickname which is regarded as the most opprobrious of all nicknames by men of selfish hearts and contracted minds—at the risk of being called a philosopher—I must say that, to the last day of my life, I shall be proud of having been one of those who assisted in the framing of the Bill which contains that clause. We are told that the time can never come when the natives of India can be admitted to high civil and military office. We are told that this is the condition on which we hold our power. We are told that we are bound to confer on our subjects—every benefit which they are capable of enjoying?—No. Which it is in our power to confer on them?—No. But which we can confer on them without hazard to our own dominion. Against that proposition I solemnly protest, as inconsistent alike with sound policy and sound morality.... I am far, very far, from wishing to proceed hastily in this delicate matter. I feel that, for the good of India itself, the admission of Natives to high offices must be effected by slow

requires the change, we ought to refuse to make that change lest we should endanger our own power—this is a doctrine which I cannot think of without indignation. Governments, like men, may buy existence too dear.¹

Unfortunately, this clause mostly remained on paper for several years in spite of all this brilliant rhetoric. But that does not detract in any way from the signal service which the Raja did to the cause of political regeneration of India by making Parliament accept, in principle at least, the doctrine of the Indianisation of key-posts under Government.

The foregoing review of the various services of the Raja will show why he is called the Father of Modern India. Probably, the best tribute to his manifold and great services to the country is paid by Rabindranath Tagore who said :

✓ Rammohun Roy inaugurated the Modern Age in India. He was born at a time when our country having lost its link with the inmost truths of its being, struggled under a crushing load of unreason, in abject slavery to circumstances. In social usage, in politics, in realm of religion and art, we had entered the zone of uncreative habit, of decadent tradition, and ceased to exercise our humanity. In this dark gloom of India's degeneration Rammohun rose up, a luminous star in the firmament of India's history, with prophetic purity of vision, and unconquerable heroism of soul. He shed radiance all over the land; he rescued us from the penury of self-oblivion. Through the dynamic power of his personality, his uncompromising freedom of the spirit, he vitalized our national being with the urgency of creative endeavour, and launched it into the arduous adventure of realization. He is the great path-maker of this century who has removed ponderous obstacles that impeded our progress at every step, and initiated us into the present Era of world-wide co-operation of humanity.... Rammohun was the only person in his time, in the whole world of man, to realize completely the significance of the Modern Age. He knew that the ideal of human civilization does not lie in the isolation of independence, but in the brotherhood of interdependence of individuals as well as of nations in all spheres of thought and activity. He applied this principle of humanity with his extraordinary depth of scholarship and natural gift of intuition, to social, literary and religious affairs, never acknowledging limitations of circumstance, never deviating from his purpose lured by distractions of temporal excitement.... His attempt was to establish our peoples on the full consciousness of their own cultural personality, to make them comprehend the reality of all that was unique and indestructible in their civilization, and simultaneously, to make them approach other civilizations in the spirit of sympathetic co-operation. With this view in his mind he tackled an amazingly wide range of social, cultural, and religious problems of our country, and through a long life spent in unflagging service to the cause of India's cultural reassertion, brought back the pure stream of India's philosophy to the futility of our immobile and unproductive national existence. In social ethics he was an uncompromising interpreter of the truths of human relationship, tireless in his crusade against social wrongs and superstition, generous in his co-operation with any reformer, both of this country and of outside, who came to our aid in a genuine spirit of comradeship. Unsparingly he devoted himself to the task of rescuing from the debris of India's decadence the true products

of its civilization, and to make our people build on them, as the basis, the super-structure of an international culture. Deeply versed in Sanskrit, he revived classical studies, and while he imbued the Bengali literature and language with the rich atmosphere of our classical period, he opened its doors wide to the Spirit of the Age, offering access to new words from other languages, and to new ideas. To every sphere of our national existence he brought the sagacity of a comprehensive vision, the spirit of self-manifestation of the unique in the light of the universal.¹

10. **Jagannath Shankarset (1803-1865)** is another typical Indian worker of this period. He was born in a rich upper class family of Bombay in 1803 and entered public life at the early age of 19. He was keenly interested in the spread of education and was convinced that the missionary enterprise would never succeed in solving this national problem. He, therefore, gave whole-hearted support to the official and non-official *secular* attempts to spread modern education. He was a prominent member of the Bombay Native Education Society from its inception in 1822 to its closure in 1840. He was then annually elected as a member of the Board of Education from 1840 to 1855 when it was replaced by a Department of Education. He was a member of the Bombay University Senate from its establishment in 1857 to his death in 1865. He was also a member of the Bombay Municipality and of the first Legislative Council in the Province of Bombay (first established in 1861). He was a prominent member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Agrihorticultural Society of Western India, the Geographical Society, and a political organisation called the Bombay Association (established 1852). In short, it may be said that he was a prominent figure in all social, political, cultural and educational activities in the Province from 1822 to 1865.

Jagannath Shankarset held clearcut and strong views on the educational problems of his day. He supported a secular system of education. He felt that the Indian people must organise private educational enterprise in order to regenerate the social life of the country and in every way possible, tried to further the cause of modern schools conducted by Indians themselves. Although a great lover of the English language and Western science and literature, he never believed in exclusive Westernisation. He valued ancient Hindu culture and tried his utmost to encourage a careful study of Sanskrit language and literature. He may, therefore, be regarded as advocating a synthesis of Eastern

and Western cultures rather than an exclusive emphasis on either. He was very strongly opposed to the use of English as a medium of instruction. He, therefore, gave donations and strongly supported the movement to translate Western books in Marathi and to spread Western knowledge through Marathi. He was also a great champion of women's education and when the Students' Literary and Scientific Society began to open girls' schools, he gave liberal support by housing one of its schools in his own compound and by sending his daughters to it. The service of Jagannath Shankarset to the Province of Bombay was, therefore, similar to that of Ram Mohan Roy to Bengal. He exemplified, within himself, a fine product of the synthesis of East and West and greatly helped to create a new system of education which would take *ideas* from the West, but teach them through modern Indian languages enriched by a study of Sanskrit or Arabic.

11. Mahatma Phule (1828-90). Jotiba Govindrao Phule was another great Hindu worker of this period. In a way, he was greater than any other worker of his time, not excluding Raja Ram Mohan Roy, but as his writings were all in Marathi, he exercised hardly any influence outside Maharashtra and may even be regarded as almost unknown to the rest of India. His own followers in Maharashtra, however, were deeply moved by his teachings at a later date and called him a "Mahatma"—an epithet which he richly deserved.

He was born in Poona in 1828 in the family of a poor gardener. Although highly intelligent, he could study, with great difficulty, up to the Matriculation class at the most. His principal difficulties were poverty, ignorance of his own caste-people and opposition from Brahmins. It was this education, however, that convinced him of the necessity of educating the lower classes, brought him in touch with missionaries whose sincerity and devotion to duty he admired most, and made him an inveterate enemy of the monopoly in education which the upper classes of society had come to obtain.

He began his public life at the early age of 20. He had no social status, no wealth, and only a humble education. His work was, therefore, far more difficult than that of men like Jagannath Shankarset or Ram Mohan Roy who had all the advantages that

work in modern education. He was the first Hindu in the Province of Bombay to start a private school for girls. He taught in the school personally and when the number of pupils increased and he could not get an assistant teacher, he taught his wife and made her assist him in the cause. Both he and his wife had to face tremendous opposition in this task from the conservative sections of society, but they continued their work undaunted and made it successful. He was also the first Hindu to start a private school for Harijans, and in 1852, he conducted and maintained, at his own personal expense, two schools for Harijan pupils in Poona. His sympathy for these downtrodden people was so great that he adopted a boy of the Mahar caste and left him all his property.

His greatest contribution to education, however, is his advocacy of the education of the masses. He was one of the earliest thinkers to speak of compulsory education in India. When every one was talking of the Downward Filtration Theory, Mahatma Phule raised his voice against the domination of the upper castes among the Hindus and pleaded for the compulsory education of the lower castes in order to regenerate the life of the country. For instance, in an English Preface attached to a Marathi book published in 1873, he said :

Perhaps a part of the blame in bringing matters to this crisis may be justly laid to the credit of the Government. Whatever may have been their motives in providing ampler funds, and greater facilities, for higher education and neglecting that of the masses, it will be acknowledged by all that in justice to the latter this is not as it should be. It is an admitted fact that the greater portion of the revenues of the Indian Empire are derived from the ryot's labour—from the sweat of his brow. The higher and richer classes contribute little or nothing to the State's exchequer. A well-informed English writer states that our income is derived, not from the surplus profits but from capital ; not from luxuries, but from the poorest necessities. It is the product of sin and tears.

That Government should expend profusely a large portion of revenue thus raised on the education of the higher classes, for it is these only who take advantage of it, is anything but just or equitable. Their object in patronising this virtual high-class education appears to be to prepare scholars who, it is thought, would in time vend learning without money and without price. If we can inspire, say they, the love of knowledge in the minds of the superior classes, the result will be a higher standard of morals in the cases of the individuals, a large amount of affection for the British Government, and an unconquerable desire to spread among their own countrymen the intellectual blessings which they have received.

Regarding these objects of Government the writer above alluded to state that we have never heard of philosophy more benevolent and more Utopian. It is proposed by men who witness the wondrous changes brought about in the

classes and to them only. We ask the friends of Indian Universities to favour us with a single example of the truth of their theory from the instances which have already fallen within the scope of their experience. They have educated many children of wealthy men, and have been the means of advancing very materially the worldly prospects of some of their pupils ; but what contribution have these made to the great work of regenerating their fellow-men ? How have they begun to act upon the masses ? Have any of them formed classes at their own homes, or elsewhere for the instruction of their less fortunate or less wise countrymen ? Or have they kept their knowledge to themselves, as a personal gift, not to be soiled by contact with the ignorant vulgar ? Have they in any way shown themselves anxious to advance the general interests and repay philanthropy with patriotism ? Upon what grounds is it asserted that the best way to advance the moral and intellectual welfare of the people is to raise the standard of instruction among the higher classes ? A glorious argument this for aristocracy, were it only tenable. To show the growth of the national happiness, it would only be necessary to refer to the number of pupils at the colleges and the lists of academic degrees. Each wrangler would be accounted a national benefactor ; and the existence of deans and proctors would be associated, like the game-laws and the ten-pound franchise, with the best interests of the Constitution.

One of the most glaring tendencies of the Government system of high-class education has been the virtual monopoly of all the higher offices under them by Brahmins. If the welfare of the ryot is at heart, if it is the duty of Government to check a host of abuses, it behoves them to narrow his monopoly day by day so as to allow a sprinkling of the other castes to get into the public service. Perhaps some might be inclined to say that it is not feasible in the present state of education. Our only reply is that if Government look a little less after higher education and more towards the education of the masses, the former being able to take care of itself, there would be no difficulty in training up a body of men every way qualified, and perhaps far better in morals and manners.

My object in writing the present volume is not only to tell my Sudra brethren how they have been duped by the Brahmins but also to open the eyes of Government to that pernicious system of high-class education which has hitherto been so persistently followed, and which statesmen like Sir George Campbell, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, with broad and universal sympathies, are finding to be highly mischievous and pernicious to the interests of Government. I sincerely hope that Government will ere long see the error of their ways, trust less to writers or men who look through high-class spectacles, and take the glory into their own hands of emancipating my Sudra brethren from the trammels of bondage which the Brahmins have woven round them like the coils of a serpent. It is no less the duty of such of my Sudra brethren as have received any education, to place before Government the true state of their fellow-men and endeavour to the best of their power to emancipate themselves from Brahmin thralldom. Let there be schools for the Sudras in every village, but away with all Brahmin schoolmasters. The Sudras are the life and sinews of the country, and it is to them alone, and not to the Brahmins, that the Government must ever look to tide them over their difficulties, financial as well as political. If the hearts and minds of the Sudras are made happy and contented, the British Government need have no fear for their loyalty in the future.¹

It is often argued that Mahatma Phule was a hater of Brahmins. This is hardly a correct interpretation of his life²

and teachings. He fought for the regeneration of the lower castes and this work inevitably led him to oppose certain age-old privileges of the Brahmins. But Mahatma Phule was a friend of all the oppressed groups, irrespective of caste. The problem of widow-remarriage, for instance, is peculiar to Brahmins and does not exist at all among the lower castes. But in his large-hearted sympathy with the underdog, Mahatma Phule carried on propaganda in favour of widow-remarriage and brought about the remarriage of a Brahmin widow in 1864. He also founded an Orphan Home where widows in difficulty might deliver and leave their illegitimate children. In the face of this and a good deal of other evidence, it seems hardly fair to charge him with the hatred of Brahmins. It was the social, religious, and cultural privileges of Brahmins that he vehemently and rightly opposed.

The truth of the matter is that Mahatma Phule was a prophet of the down-trodden masses born far in advance of his age. His plea for mass education and for the liberation of the lower castes among the Hindus went largely unheeded during this period; but it gathered momentum after his death and, as time passed on, it was his teachings rather than those of any other contemporary, that began to dominate the scene in Maharashtra.

12. Education among the Muslims (1813-53). So far, we have dealt only with the spread of education among the Hindus. The Indian Christians need no special study because their needs were already fully met by missionary enterprise in education. But the educational problems of the Muslims need some special treatment.

Prior to 1854, the Muslims did not enter the modern educational institutions to any appreciable extent. They remained sullen and reserved in their attitude to the British administration and continued to educate their children in the traditional Maktabas or Madrassahs rather than send them to Mission or Government schools of the modern type. The Indian Education Commission, 1882, makes the following interesting observations on this early indifference of the Muslims to English education:—

When in 1782 the Calcutta Madrasa was founded by Warren Hastings, it was designed "to qualify the Muhammadans of Bengal for the public service . . . and to enable them to compete, on more equal terms, with the Hindus for employment under Government". Some fifty years later, after the introduction of English into the course of studies, the Council of Education had to confess that "the endeavour to impart a high order of English education" to the Muhammadan community had completely failed. Forty years later again,

had of late been frequently pressed upon the attention of the Government of India." The Muhammadans were not even then competing on equal terms with the Hindus for employment under Government, nor had the endeavour to impart to them a high order of education been attended by any adequate success. Matters were, no doubt, in a more promising condition than in 1832, and, as regards the general spread of education, in a much more promising condition than in 1792. A considerable proportion of Muhammadans were learning English, a large proportion were in schools of one kind or another. But the higher English education was not cultivated, in any appreciable degree, more extensively than it had been in 1832.

What the causes were which deterred the Muhammadans from such cultivation was debated even among themselves. While some held that the absence of instruction in the tenets of their faith, and still more the injurious effects of English education in creating a disbelief in religion, were the main obstacles, others, though a small minority, were of opinion that religion had little to do with the question. Some contended that the system of education prevailing in Government Schools and Colleges corrupted the morals and manners of the pupils, and that for this reason the better classes would not subject their sons to dangerous contact. The small proportion of Muhammadan teachers in Government institutions; the unwillingness of Government educational officers to accept the counsel and co-operation of Muhammadans; numerous minor faults in the Departmental system, the comparatively small progress in real learning made by the pupils in Government Schools; the practice among the well-to-do Muhammadans of educating their children at home; the indolence and improvidence too common among them; their hereditary love of the profession of arms, the absence of friendly intercourse between Muhammadans and Englishmen; the unwillingness felt by the better born to associate with those lower in the social scale; the poverty nearly general among Muhammadans; the coldness of Government towards the race; the use in Government Schools of books whose tone was hostile or scornful towards the Muhammadan religion; these and a variety of other causes have been put forward at different times by members of the Muhammadan community to account for the scant appreciation which an English education has received at their hands. All such causes may have combined towards a general result, but a candid Muhammadan would probably admit that the most powerful factors are to be found in pride of race, a memory of by-gone superiority, religious fears, and a not unnatural attachment to the learning of Islam. But whatever the causes, the fact remained.¹

13. The Despatch of 1854. It will be seen from the events of the period between 1813 and 1853 narrated in this and the preceding chapter that, by 1853, a stage had been reached when a comprehensive survey of the whole field of education in India was indispensable. Since the Charter Act of 1813, several educational experiments had been tried; a number of agencies had been at work, in their own ways, to spread education among the people; several controversies had been raised and some of them still needed a final decision; various policies for action had been proposed and they involved controversial issues which needed careful consideration. It was, in short, a time when the

best results could be obtained only by holding a thorough and comprehensive review of the past and by prescribing, in the light of this review, a detailed policy for educational reconstruction in the future. This was exactly what the Education Despatch of 1854 did.

The occasion for the Despatch was provided by the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1853. At this time, as at the earlier renewals of the Charter in 1813 and 1833, a Select Committee of the House of Commons held a very thorough enquiry into educational developments in India. On the basis of this enquiry, the Court of Directors sent down their greatest Educational Despatch on 19th July 1854. This document of immense historical importance is sometimes described as *Wood's Education Despatch* because it was probably written at the instance of Charles Wood who was then the President of the Board of Control. It is a long document of a hundred paragraphs and deals with several questions of great educational importance.

14. Objects of Educational Policy. To begin with, the Despatch explains why the Company undertook the organization of education in India and the results that it expected therefrom :—

Among many subjects of importance, none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties, to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England. . . .

We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated “not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust”. . . .

Nor, while the character of England is deeply concerned in the success of our efforts for the promotion of education, are her material interests altogether unaffected by the advance of European knowledge in India ; this knowledge will teach the natives of India the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital, rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce ; and, at the same time, secure to us a large and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures and extensively consumed by all classes of our population, as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour.

15. Controversy between the Anglicists and Classicists.

The Despatch then refers to the controversy between the Class-

Despatch does not condemn the view of the Oriental party in a summary fashion as Macaulay did. It appreciates the advantages that spring from a study of the classical languages of India, and admits that "an acquaintance with the works contained in them is valuable for historical and antiquarian purposes, and a knowledge of the languages themselves is required in the study of Hindoo and Mahomedan law, and is also of great importance for the critical cultivation and improvement of the vernacular languages of India". It also mentions "the success of many distinguished Oriental scholars in their praiseworthy endeavours to engraft upon portions of Hindoo philosophy the gems of sounder morals and of more advanced science ;" and "the good effect which has thus been produced upon the learned classes of India, who pay hereditary veneration to those ancient languages". Nevertheless, the Despatch agrees with Lord Macaulay and points out that "the system of science and philosophy which forms the learning of the East abounds with grave errors, and Eastern literature is at best very deficient as regards all modern discovery and improvement ;" and concludes the discussion with the following declaration :—

We must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe ; in short of European knowledge.

16. Medium of Instruction. The question of the medium of instruction is next dealt with. The Despatch first explains how it became necessary in the beginning to use English as a medium of instruction "owing to the want of translations or adaptations of European works in the vernacular languages of India and to the very imperfect shape in which European knowledge is to be found in any works in the learned languages of the East". It admits, however, that one evil result of the measure had been to create a tendency to neglect the study of the "vernacular languages". The Despatch then proceeds to repudiate the suggestion that English was used as a medium of instruction by the Company merely to suppress indigenous education or to discourage the study of Indian languages and shows how English and Indian languages *together* may help to spread proper education in India. It says :—

It is neither our aim nor desire to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the

us in the place of Persian in the administration of justice and in the intercourse between the officers of Government and the people. It is indispensable, therefore, that in any general system of education, the study of them should be assiduously attended to, and any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which is to be communicated to the great mass of people—whose circumstances prevent them from acquiring a high order of education, and who cannot be expected to overcome the difficulties of a foreign language—can only be conveyed to them through one or other of those vernacular languages.

In any general system of education, English language should be taught where there is a demand for it; but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language; and while the English language continues to be made use of as by far the most perfect *medium* for the education of those persons who have acquired a sufficient knowledge of it to receive general instruction *through* it, the vernacular languages must be employed to teach the far larger classes who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, English. This can only be done effectually through the instrumentality of masters and professors, who may, by themselves, knowing English and thus having full access to the latest improvements in knowledge of every kind, impart to their countrymen, through the medium of their mother-tongue, the information which they have thus obtained. At the same time, and as the importance of the vernacular languages becomes more appreciated, the vernacular literatures of India will be gradually enriched by translations of European books or by the original compositions of men whose minds have been imbued with the spirit of European advancement; so that European knowledge may gradually be placed in this manner within the reach of all classes of the people. We look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge, and it is our desire to see them cultivated together in all schools in India of a sufficiently high class to maintain a schoolmaster possessing the requisite qualifications.

It will be seen that all the three problems dealt with in the Despatch so far are old controversies, and that the Despatch does nothing more than to sum up the conclusions already reached.

↓ 17. **New Schemes.** (a) *The Education Department:* The Despatch then proceeds to explain the new schemes that were to be introduced. The first of these was the creation of a Department of Public Instruction in each of the five provinces into which the territories of the Company were divided at that time, *viz.*, Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-Western Province and the Punjab. This department was to be placed under an important officer to be called the Director of Public Instruction. He was to be assisted by an adequate number of Inspecting Officers and was required to submit to Government an annual report on the progress of education in his province.

(b) *Universities:* The second scheme related to the esta-

for the establishment of a University at Calcutta made by the Council of Education in 1845 was negatived by the Directors on the ground that it was then premature. But now they were prepared to reconsider their decision and said :—

The rapid spread of a liberal education among the natives of India since that time, the high attainments shown by the native candidates for Government scholarships and by native students in private institutions, the success of the Medical Colleges, and the requirements of an increasing European and Anglo-Indian population, have led us to the conclusion that the time is now arrived for the establishment of universities in India.

The Despatch, therefore, directs that universities should be established at Calcutta and Bombay and states that the Directors were “ready to sanction the creation of an University at Madras, or in any part of India, where a sufficient number of institutions exist, from which properly qualified candidates for degrees could be supplied”. All the Universities were to be modelled on the London University which was then an examining body. Their Senates were to consist of a Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor and Fellows—all of whom were to be nominated by Government. The functions of the Universities were *mainly* to hold examinations and confer degrees. But the following instructions regarding the other duties of the University are greatly interesting:—

It will be advisable to institute, in connexion with the universities, professorships for the purposes of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning, for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities do not now exist in other institutions in India. Law is the most important of these subjects. . . . Civil Engineering is another subject. . . other branches of useful learning may suggest themselves to you, in which it might be advisable that lectures should be read, and special degrees given ; and it would generally encourage the cultivation of the vernacular languages of India that professorships should be founded for these languages, and perhaps also for Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. A knowledge of the Sanskrit language, the root of the vernaculars of the great part of India, is more especially necessary to those who are engaged in the work of composition in those languages ; while Arabic, through Persian, is one of the component parts of the Urdu language, which extends over so large a part of Hindoostan, and is, we are informed, capable of considerable development. The grammars of these languages, and their application to the improvement of the spoken languages of the country, are points to which attention of these professors should be mainly directed.

(c) *Establishment of a Network of Graded Schools all over India* : Having described the two new schemes mentioned above, *viz.*, the creation of the Education Department and the establishment of Universities, the Despatch proceeds to explain the network of graded schools which the Directors desired to

the University and the affiliated colleges which gave instruction in various branches of art and science. Below these, came the high schools which gave instruction either through English or through a modern Indian language, and at the bottom came the indigenous primary schools.

The Despatch admitted that most of the attempts of Government in the past had been directed to the establishment of colleges which absorbed the greater part of the public funds that were then applied to education, and regretted the adoption of the Downward Filtration Theory which led "to too exclusive a direction of the efforts of Government towards providing the means of acquiring a very high degree of education for a very small number of natives of India drawn, for the most part, from the higher classes". After stating that these higher classes may now be made to stand on their own legs, the Despatch observes :—

Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected, namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station of life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts, and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed, for the future, to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure.

To achieve this purpose, the Directors recommended a multiplication of High Schools. It is not generally understood that the Despatch visualized High Schools which imparted good general education through the Indian languages, but the following paragraph will make the whole position clear :—

We include these Anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools in the same class, because we are unwilling to maintain the broad line of separation which at present exists between schools in which the media for imparting instruction differ. The knowledge conveyed is no doubt, at the present time, much higher in the Anglo-vernacular than in the vernacular schools ; but the difference will become less marked, and the latter more efficient as the gradual enrichment of the vernacular languages in works of education allows their schemes of study to be enlarged, and as a more numerous class of schoolmasters is raised up, able to impart a superior education.

Below the High and Middle Schools came the indigenous elementary schools which the Directors proposed to encourage by suitable grant-in-aid. In this connection, the Directors drew the attention of the Government of India to the plan for

North-Western Province and recommended its adoption as largely as possible.

As a connecting link between these various grades of schools, it was proposed to institute scholarships to be given to promising pupils in order to enable them to continue their studies at a higher school or college.¹ As the Despatch observes :—

Such a system as this, placed in all its degrees under efficient inspection, beginning with the humblest elementary instruction, and ending with the university test of a liberal education, the best students in each class of schools being encouraged by the aid afforded them towards obtaining superior education as the reward of merit, by means of such a system of scholarships as we shall have to describe, would, we firmly believe, impart life and energy to education in India and lead to a gradual, but steady extension of its benefits to all classes of the people.

The above proposals of the Despatch have three important features—the rejection of the Downward Filtration Theory, the adoption of the modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the secondary stage, and the inclusion of indigenous schools as the very foundation of a national system of education. In all these principles, the Despatch marked a reversal of the retrograde policy laid down by Lord Auckland.

(d) *Grant-in-Aid*: Excellent as this scheme was, it was obvious that, when fully carried out, it would have involved the Company in an enormous expenditure which it would not have been able to bear without additional taxation. Unfortunately, the Directors shirked to face this problem squarely. They made a non-committal remark that they were prepared to sanction “a considerable increase in expenditure” for their new programme and naively believed that a policy of giving grant-in-aid to private effort would solve the difficulties in Indian education as it had solved those of mass education in England. They said :—

When we consider the vast population of British India and the sums which are now expended upon educational efforts, which, however successful themselves, have reached but an insignificant number of those who are of a proper age to receive school instruction, we cannot but be impressed with the almost insuperable difficulties which would attend such an extension of the present system of education by means of colleges and schools entirely supported at the cost of Government as might be hoped to supply, in any reasonable time, so gigantic a deficiency and to provide adequate means for setting on foot such a system as we have described and desire to see established.

The Despatch then proceeds to mention appreciatively the efforts at education made by Indians themselves and the educa-

backward communities or aboriginal hill tribes, and suggests that the only possible solution of the Indian educational problem is through a system of grant-in-aid.¹ It says :—

The consideration of the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India, and of the ready assistance which may be derived from efforts which have hitherto received but little encouragement from the State, has led us to the natural conclusion that the most effectual method of providing for the wants of India in this respect will be to combine with the agency of the Government the aid which may be derived from the exertions and the liberality of the educated and wealthy natives of India, and of other benevolent persons.

We have, therefore, resolved to adopt in India the system of grants-in-aid which has been carried out in this country with very great success ; and we confidently anticipate by thus drawing support from local resources, in addition to contributions from the State, a far more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by Government ; while it possesses the additional advantage of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local exertions and combination for local purposes, which is of itself of no mean importance to the well-being of a nation.

The Despatch then suggests certain general considerations in the light of which each Provincial Government was expected to frame its own rules of grant-in-aid. For instance, aid was to be given to all schools which—

- (i) impart a good secular education, any religious instruction which they may impart being simply ignored ;
- (ii) possess good local management ;
- (iii) agree to submit to inspection by Government officers and to abide by such other conditions as may be prescribed ; and
- (iv) levy a fee, however small, from the pupils.

The Provincial Governments were advised to follow the model of the grant-in-aid system of England, to sanction *grants for specific objects* such as increase in salaries of teachers, foundation of scholarships, construction of buildings, etc., and to evolve a system of grants which would embrace all types of educational institutions within its sphere, from the colleges at the top to the indigenous elementary schools at the bottom. The discussion of the subject is then concluded in the following words :—

We look forward to the time when any general system of education entirely provided by Government may be discontinued, with the gradual advance of the system of grant-in-aid, and when many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the State.

One wonders at this emphasis on a grant-in-aid system at a time when Indian enterprise had hardly begun and missionary

enterprise was quite out of proportion to the needs of the population. But the following comment of a missionary on this part of the Despatch is illuminating :—

In connection with the second definite move in the new Indian educational policy, the famous " Educational Despatch " of Sir Chas. Wood (later Lord Halifax) on July 19th, 1854, Duff exercised, along with his distinguished friend Sir Chas. Trevelyan, a definite influence. When the protracted and complicated negotiations anterior to the last renewal of the East India Charter were going on in 1852, Duff was in England, and he was accepted, even in Government circles, as a supreme authority on Indian affairs. Frequently consulted upon this question, he threw the whole weight of his personality into the balance in order that this *Magna Charta of Indian education* might pass into law. . . .

For missions too this grant-in-aid system was of great importance. Whereas formerly, in spite of the benevolent decrees of a Bentinck or a Hardinge, the Government had been loath to grant financial aid to mission schools, *missions now had the additional claim of a legal right*. And as missionaries like Dr. Duff had a distinct influence in the shaping of the famous Despatch, it was perfectly clear that the main tendency of the new grant-in-aid system was to encourage the various missions to engage in the very congenial work of elementary education to a larger extent than ever before.¹

In this connection, the attitude of the Despatch towards religious instruction is also worthy of note as it shows the official sympathy for missionary effort. So far as aided schools were concerned (which in those days meant missionary schools only) the Despatch desired that the Inspecting Officers should take "*no notice whatsoever of the religious doctrines that may be taught in any school*". As regards Government institutions, the Despatch stated :—

Considerable misapprehension appears to exist as to our views with respect to religious instruction in the Government institutions. Those institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India ; and in order to effect their object it was, and is, indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular. The Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools and the pupils are able freely to consult it. This is as it should be ; and, moreover, we have no desire to prevent, or discourage, any explanations which the pupils may, of their own free will, ask from the masters upon the subject of the Christian religion provided that such information be given out of school hours. Such instruction being entirely voluntary on both sides, it is necessary, in order to prevent the slightest suspicion of an intention on our part to make use of the influence of Government for the purpose of proselytism, that no notice shall be taken of it by the inspectors in their periodical visits.

(e) *Training of Teachers* : The Despatch then proceeds to consider the question of securing properly qualified teachers for schools, and says :—

In England when systematic attempts began to be made for the improvement of education, one of the chief defects was found to be the insufficient number

¹ Richter : *A History of Missions in India*, p. 180 (Italics ours).

of qualified schoolmasters and the imperfect method of teaching which prevailed. This led to the foundation of normal and model schools for the training of masters and the exemplification of the best methods for the organization, discipline and instruction of elementary schools. (This deficiency has been more palpably felt in India, as the difficulty of finding persons properly educated for the work of tuition is greater; and we desire to see the establishment, with as little delay as possible, of training schools and classes for masters in each Presidency in India.) . . .

We cannot do better than refer you to the plan which has been adopted in Great Britain for this object, and which appears to us to be capable of easy adaptation to India. It mainly consists, as you will perceive on reference to the Minutes of the Committee of Council, copies of which we enclose, in the selection and stipend of pupil-teachers (awarding a small payment to the masters of the schools in which they are employed for the instruction out of school hours); their ultimate removal, if they prove worthy, to normal schools; the issue to them of certificates on the completion of their training in those normal schools; and in securing to them a sufficient salary when they are afterwards employed as schoolmasters. This system should be carried out in India, both in the Government colleges and schools, and, by means of grants-in-aid, in all institutions which are brought under Government inspection. . . .

Our wish is that the profession of schoolmaster may, for the future, afford inducements to the natives of India such as are held out in other branches of the public service.

18. Education and Employment. The question of giving encouragement to educated Indians is then taken up. The Despatch states:—

We have always been of opinion that the spread of education in India will produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration by enabling you to obtain the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department of Government; and on the other hand, we believe that the numerous vacancies of different kinds which have constantly to be filled up, may afford a great stimulus to education. . . .

What we desire is that, where the other qualifications of the candidates for appointments under Government are equal, a person who has received a good education, irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired, should be preferred to one who has not; and that even in lower situations, a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot if he is equally eligible in other respects.

But, however large the number of appointments under Government may be, the views of the natives of India should be directed to the far wider and more important sphere of usefulness and advantage which a liberal education lays open to them; and such practical benefits arising from improved knowledge should be constantly impressed upon them by those who know their feelings and have influence or authority to advise or direct their efforts.

19. Education of Women. Finally, the Despatch offers a few suggestions regarding some other problems of education. For instance, the Despatch points out the necessity of providing suitable school books in Indian languages; the importance of vocational instruction and to that end, the need of establishing

of spreading education among women. With regard to the last of these, the Despatch observes :—

The importance of female education in India cannot be overrated ; and we have observed with pleasure the evidence which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. We have already observed that schools for females are included among those to which grants-in-aid may be given ; and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction. Our Governor-General in Council has declared, in a communication to the Government of Bengal, that the Government ought to give to the native female education in India its frank and cordial support ; and in this we heartily concur and we especially approve of the bestowal of marks of honour upon such native gentlemen as Rao Bahadur Magahunbhai Karamchand who donated Rs. 20,000 to the foundation of two native female schools in Ahmedabad, as by such means our desire for the extension of female education becomes generally known.

20. The Despatch Summed Up. Finally, after a brief review of the educational activities in each Province, the Despatch concludes with the following significant words :—

We have now concluded the observations which we think it is necessary to address to you upon the subject of the education of the natives of India. We have declared that our object is to extend European knowledge throughout all classes of the people. We have shown that this object must be effected by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction, and by that of the vernacular languages of India to the great mass of the people. We have directed such a system of general superintendence and inspection by Government to be established, as will, if properly carried out, give efficiency and uniformity to your efforts. We propose by the institution of universities to provide the highest test and encouragement of liberal education. By sanctioning grants-in-aid of private efforts, we hope to call to the assistance of Government private exertions and private liberality. The higher classes will now be gradually called upon to depend upon themselves ; and your attention has been more especially directed to the education of the middle and lower classes, both by the establishment of fitting schools for this purpose and by means of a careful encouragement of the native schools which exist, and have existed from time immemorial, in every village, and none of which perhaps cannot, in some degree, be made available to the end we have in view.

We believe that the measures we have determined upon are calculated to extend the benefits of education throughout India ; but, at the same time, we must add that we are not sanguine enough to expect any sudden, or even speedy, results to follow from their adoption. To imbue a vast and ignorant population with a general desire for knowledge, and to take advantage of that desire, when excited, to improve the means for diffusing education amongst them, must be a work of many years.

As a Government, we can do no more than direct the efforts of the people, and aid them wherever they appear to require most assistance. The result depends more upon them than upon us ; and although we are fully aware that the measures we have now adopted will involve in the end a much larger expenditure upon education from the revenues of India, or, in other words, from the

with Sir Thomas Munro, in words used many years since, that any expense which may be incurred for this object ' will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country ; for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of life, by exertion to acquire them and by the growing prosperity of the people '.

21. Criticism of the Despatch. Such were the main provisions of this document of great historical importance. Its immediate effects were the creation of an Education Department in each province of British India and the establishment of Universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. It gave an impetus to secondary education and to some extent, to primary education also. It introduced the system of grant-in-aid and led to the establishment of training institutions for teachers. The Despatch is the last and the most complete of a series of historical documents which includes Grant's Observations, Section 43 of the Charter Act of 1813, Minutes of Lord Minto, Lord Moira, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Elphinstone, Sir Thomas Munro, Lord Macaulay and Lord Auckland. It forms a fitting close to the second period in the history of Indian Education in which the foundations of the present education system were laid. It affords us an excellent platform from which we can take a retrospective glance at the past and, as the late M. R. Paranjpe observed, it enables us " to find out how far we have achieved the educational objectives which the authors of the Despatch had in view, and to note the changes brought about in our educational objectives in the last hundred years, partly by mere lapse of time and partly by the new environment created by the educational progress in the period".¹

It is a matter for regret that some of the most important recommendations of the Despatch were not carried out for a long time ; some were given effect to in a mutilated form ; while some more have yet to be acted upon. The encouragement of Indian languages which it promised remained a pious wish for a long time to come and the languages spoken and understood by the masses continued to languish. The desire of the Despatch to evolve a policy of grant-in-aid which would enable Government completely to withdraw from the field of educational activities was more observed in breach than in fulfilment. As the late M. R. Paranjpe observes :—

For over sixty years, however, Government institutions gradually increased in number and private enterprise was often discouraged rather than encouraged.

During the first thirty years, *i.e.* up to 1880, Christian missions were the only private agency in the field and Government did not have the courage to entrust the work of education to Christian missions whose primary aim was to secure converts to Christianity. The incidents of 1857 had demonstrated to Government the risk it ran in creating suspicion in people's mind regarding Government's attitude towards the religions of the people of India, and the Christian missions did not get the full measure of Government support although they continued to be the most favoured non-Government agency in the field of education.¹

With the spread of education and new ideals of social service, Indian private enterprise began and multiplied. But Government was not prepared to hand over its schools and colleges to Indian management either, because it would not believe, in our opinion quite wrongly, in the capacity of Indians to conduct them efficiently.

The plans of mass education visualised by the Despatch were not realised, nor were High Schools imparting education through the medium of the mother-tongue established for more than seven decades. It may be pointed out that it is to these, and other omissions to give full effect to the provisions of the Despatch, that the origin of many of the defects of the present educational system can be traced.

It is also interesting to note how some of the sentiments expressed in the Despatch have grown obsolete. For instance, the Despatch speaks of education "suited to every station in life". This is quite intelligible as an ideal of the early Victorian era when people believed in a "beautiful social order Providentially arranged" in which each person had a definite status according to birth or environment. But the idea jars upon a modern thinker who believes in equality of educational opportunity for all. Similarly, one is pained to find that the Despatch can only think of the India to come as the supplier of raw materials for British industries and as the consumer of the finished products of England. This is a position which hardly any self-respecting Indian would accept, either from the economic or educational point of view.

✓ In pointing out these facts, let us not be misunderstood as belittling the work done or contemplated by the framers of the Despatch. We cannot, however, find any justification for the superlative terms in which some historians have described the Despatch and even called it "The Magna Charta of Indian

Education". In our opinion, such a view betrays a lack of proportion. The Despatch, no doubt, did a lot towards the evolution of a good system of education in India according to the educational ideals then prevalent. But these ideals have changed so materially since then that it would help India very little to be now guided by the sentiments of the Despatch. As for calling it a Charter, one cannot do better than to quote the late M. R. Paranjpe who observes :—

But in spite of all these good features it would be incorrect to describe the Educational Despatch of 1854 as an Educational Charter, *i.e.* an official paper bestowing or guaranteeing certain rights and privileges. The Despatch does not even refer to the ideal of universal literacy although it expects education to spread over a wider field through the grants-in-aid system ; it does not recognize the obligation of the State to educate every child below a certain age ; it does not declare that poverty shall be no bar to the education of deserving students ; and while it may be admitted that employment in Government offices was not the object of English education as visualised in the Despatch, the authors did not aim at education for leadership, education for the industrial regeneration of India, education for the defence of the motherland, in short, education required by the people of a self-governing nation. It was perhaps pardonable that the authors of the Despatch could not visualise the progress of Indian aspirations after a century—but that is admitting indirectly the imperfections of the Despatch. Whatever were its value in 1854, it would be ridiculous to describe the Despatch as an Educational Charter, in the year 1941.¹

¹ *Progress of Education*, Poona, July 1941, pp. 51-2.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE VICTORIAN ERA (1854-1902)

The Despatch of 1854 was at first looked upon as the beginning of a great era of educational reforms under the East India Company. But, as events actually turned out, it proved to be its swan song. The Departments of Public Instruction were constituted in 1855-6 and the Universities were incorporated in 1857. But before any further action could be taken on the terms of the Despatch, the Company ceased to be a political power in 1858 and the Government of India came directly under the Crown. Broadly speaking, therefore, education in India under the East India Company may be taken to have ended with the Despatch of 1854 itself.

2. **General Features of the Period from 1854 to 1902.** The Despatch of 1854, as pointed out in the last Chapter, took stock of the past and laid down long range policies for future guidance. The directions of the Despatch continued to be followed in broad outline until the opening of the twentieth century when Lord Curzon started another new era in Indian education. The period of about five decades between the Despatch of 1854 and the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission by Lord Curzon in 1902 may, therefore, be described as the third period in modern education in India or, briefly, the *Victorian Era* in Indian Education.

As compared with India under the Company, this Victorian Era was a period of peace and tranquillity. Between 1813 and 1853, the main tasks of the British administrators were conquest and consolidation. It was, therefore, a period of almost continuous warfare. Anarchy and general unrest prevailed in several parts of India and law and order was restored only when these parts were conquered and brought directly under the British rule or indirectly under British influence through a treaty with their rulers. By 1854, however, the whole of India had been either conquered by the Company or brought under its influence and law and order were restored everywhere. But for the events

the period under review¹ and a background of peace and social security which is so essential a pre-requisite of educational progress was maintained throughout.

The second feature of this period which distinguishes it from the earlier one is the *grateful* attitude of the Indian people towards their British *conquerors*. Prior to 1854, the Indian people and the Britishers had never come together close enough to understand each other. The Indian attitude towards the British varied from place to place, from time to time, and from one individual or social class to another. It was sometimes that of hostility, sometimes of awe, but most often of suspicion and distrust. There was a general unwillingness (except on the part of a few persons of the upper classes) to study the language of the conquerors, to understand their culture, and generally to come into closer relations with them. After 1902, there was again a parting of the ways because the national sentiment had been reawakened and the Indian people had begun their *war* against their British rulers. But between 1854 and 1902, we generally find the most harmonious relations existing between the rulers and the ruled. The Indian people were sick of the anarchy that had followed the disruption of the Mughal Empire and, more than anything else, needed a strong government that would maintain law and order. As the British rule supplied this prime and urgent need, all its inconveniences and shortcomings were forgotten and the people blessed the British conquest of India and hailed it as their good fortune. There was also a general feeling that the British connection with India should continue indefinitely and that it would ultimately lead to great progress and happiness of the Indian people. The earlier attitude of distrust and suspicion, therefore, gradually disappeared and an admiration of Western culture and science in general and English literature and history in particular began to gain ground instead. This combined feeling of gratitude, loyalty and admiration was quite satisfying to Englishmen as well because it made them feel that they were serving some divine and altruistic purpose in conquering and administering India. There were, of course, a few significant exceptions to this general picture. Some sections of the Indians had never really reconciled themselves to

British rule ; others had the vision to see the deficiencies of foreign rule and to ask for self-government, although at some distant date. The Indian National Congress had already been established in 1885 and several nationalist leaders, like Dadabhai Naoroji, were already criticising the *un-British* character of the Indian administration. But these early signs of the coming storms were a minor phenomenon and it would be generally correct to say that, during this period, the attitude of the Indian people towards British rule was broadly one of loyalty, gratitude and admiration, as compared to that of fear, distrust or suspicion between 1813 and 1853 and of open hostility after 1902.

The third distinctive feature of this period is that the centre of interest in education now shifted from London to Calcutta. Prior to 1854, most educational questions had to be referred *Home* for the orders of the Court of Directors. A reference to the historical events narrated in Chapters II to IV will show that (a) every important question was decided, before 1854, by a Despatch from the Directors in London, and (b) that Parliament showed very keen interest in Indian education, particularly when the Charters of the Company were renewed in 1698, 1793, 1813, 1833 and 1853. This Parliamentary interest in Indian affairs in general, and in Indian education in particular, was reduced to the lowest level as soon as the governance of India was transferred to the Crown. It is true that the Secretary of State for India—the new officer who took the place of the Court of Directors as well as the President of the Board of Control—wrote the Educational Despatch of 1859 and supervised Indian education in a general manner just as he supervised all other departments of the Indian administration. But his control was very broad and general and, therefore, the most effective authority in Indian education after 1858 was the Government of India, rather than any authority at *Home*.

Between 1854 and 1902, we find a good deal of evidence to show that the Central Government took a very keen and continuous interest in education. [For instance, the Despatch of 1854 was followed, in 1855, by the appointment of a *Central* Committee to plan the universities ; in 1857, the Indian Universities were established by Acts of the Central Executive

held, through special officers, detailed surveys of education in India. In 1882, the Indian Education Commission was appointed by the orders of the Central Government. In 1886-7, 1891-2, 1896-7 and 1901-2 appeared four quinquennial reviews held by the Government of India regarding the progress of education. Moreover, the Government of India also passed hundreds of resolutions on educational matters during this period because its sanction was necessary to every important decision or change of policy. This general trend will be illustrated by several examples narrated in the course of the next three chapters; but it would be enough to state here that the years between 1854 and 1902 witnessed an almost complete loss of interest in Indian education on the part of the British Parliament, its place being taken by the keen and intensive interest which the Government of India now began to take in educational matters.

Fourthly, this period was one of general financial stringency—a feature in which it resembled the earlier period between 1813 and 1853. The reasons for the stringency were, however, different. Prior to 1853, the financial stringency of the Company was mainly due to the heavy military expenditure which had to be incurred on the conquest of India, and to the general unsettled condition of the country, not to speak of the very natural desire of the Directors of the East India Company not to allow their dividends to get smaller. Between 1854 and 1902, however, the only wars were the events of 1857, and the Afghan and Burma wars whose financial implications were not so heavy and law and order was maintained everywhere. The revenues of Government, therefore, expanded considerably during this period; and yet, adequate finances for education could never be found and Government was almost always complaining of the shortage of funds. The explanation of this paradox lies in a number of factors among which the following may be mentioned:—

(a) Between 1854 and 1870, the financial administration in India was extremely centralised.¹ There was only one budget for India as a whole and the Provincial Governments had hardly any financial powers. All revenues were received in the name of the Government of India and all expenditure was incurred with its sanction alone. This system did not provide any incentive to collect more revenue because the budget allotted to a Provincial

¹ This extreme centralization had, in fact, begun much earlier, *i.e.*, with the Charter Act of 1833.

Government had no direct relationship with the revenue collected by it. Not only did the system not induce any economy but even penalised it to some extent, because a Province which economised lost the savings at the end of the financial year in accordance with the budgetary principle of *lapse*, and also stood a chance of having its allotment reduced for the next year! More often than not, larger grants came to be allotted, not to the needy and deserving provinces but to the most vocal and the most spendthrift. This wasteful system of financial administration, therefore, had a very material effect on the total amount available for education and its distribution between one Province and another or between one scheme and another.

(b) In 1870, Lord Mayo started the scheme of decentralization under which the Provincial Governments were made responsible for all the expenditure of some Departments—education being one of them—and were asked to meet it out of (i) receipts from these Departments, (ii) lump-sum additional grants sanctioned by the Centre and (iii) more taxation of a specified type. This system was in force till 1876-7. It eased the situation somewhat and eliminated a good deal of wasteful expenditure. But it inevitably contracted the total expenditure on education. In 1876-7, the Central Government started the system of *budget by shared revenues* under which the Provincial Governments were given a share in the revenue of some Departments in lieu of a portion of the cash allotment made in 1870. In 1882-3, the system of *quinquennial contract grants* was started under which the cash allotments were totally dispensed with and the Provincial Governments were given a specified share in some items of revenue. That is to say, some sources of revenue were made entirely *Central*, others entirely *Provincial* and the rest were *Divided*. The details varied from Province to Province and from time to time. But this general pattern was followed in all cases and settlements on these lines were made in 1882-3, 1886-7, 1891-2 and 1896-7. This system was an improvement over the older one no doubt. But even under it, the resources given to a Provincial Government were limited and consequently, education could get but a meagre grant. The only chance to get more funds for education arose at the time of the revision of the settlements and the

a Provincial Government could control were very meagre, and education—which was a Provincial subject of expenditure—could not secure liberal and ever-increasing grants.

(c) Between 1854 and 1870, the budget of the Central Government had, more often than not, a deficit, and after 1870 also, the situation did not improve because of the Afghan and Burma wars and the famines and the plague which affected most parts of India. These political situations and natural calamities worsened the financial position of the Central Government and restricted the funds available for education.

(d) British administration failed to develop the potential industrial resources of the country because its objective, as frankly stated by the Despatch of 1854, was to develop India as a supplier of raw materials to England and the buyer of her finished goods.) This lack of industrial development naturally led to a very great contraction of the wealth available for taxation.

(e) The policy of the Government in taxation was not very progressive. The poor were heavily taxed through taxes like land-revenue, local fund cess on land-revenue, the salt-tax, etc. But the rich did not pay their share to a like extent—a factor that again led to the diminution of national public income and resulted in contracting expenditure on education and such other utility services.

A detailed financial history of this period is beyond the scope of this book ; but what has been stated above is enough to show that the financial stringency of this period was only partly due to wars and mainly to defective system of financial administration, failure to develop the wealth of the country, natural calamities like plague and famine, and a regressive and unsatisfactory taxation policy. But whatever the reasons may be, their inevitable result was to contract materially the funds available for education and to hamper its progress.

True, the shortage of Government funds for education was sought to be made good, in this period, by securing additional funds from (i) the levy of local fund cesses in rural areas, (ii) contributions of municipalities in urban areas, (iii) fees and (iv) donations from the public. A detailed account of these developments will be given in the relevant context in the follow-

sources of revenue did make up, to some extent, for the inadequacy of Government grants—particularly in the field of secondary and collegiate education. But they were still very meagre and could hardly atone in full for the extreme inadequacy of the Government grant for education. In spite of these new resources, therefore, financial stringency continued to dominate the educational scene and hold up progress at every point, but most of all in mass education.

✓ Finally, this period differed from the earlier one in its comparative freedom from controversies, and its greater record of achievements. As shown in Chapters II to IV, [the period from 1813 to 1853 was mainly one of violent controversies and experiments and its achievements in terms of institutions started or pupils educated were inconsiderable. This aspect changed materially after 1854. The Despatch of 1854 laid down educational policies in such detail that several controversies were effectively sealed up and the ground for a rapid advance in education was prepared automatically.] It is of course true that even this period is not altogether free from controversies—some of which were carried over from the preceding period and others were newly raised. This, in a way, is inevitable, because every age in education has its own problems and raises its own controversies. But nevertheless, the period between 1854 and 1902 may be said to be more a period of achievements than of controversies. It witnessed the establishment of five Universities in India—at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Allahabad and Lahore ; it brought into existence an Education Department in each Province which, by 1902, had established a fairly detailed and satisfactory system of the supervision of private educational enterprise and, in addition, conducted a large number of educational institutions under its direct control ; it saw a very rapid expansion of collegiate and secondary education and a tremendous increase of private Indian enterprise in this field ; it started the collection of special taxes for education and saw a large increase in primary schools of the modern type ; it witnessed significant developments in vocational education and in the education of such erstwhile backward groups as Muslims, Harijans, aboriginals and women. These advances, which by no means exhaust the whole list, indicate that this was a period of steady educational development in which controversies played but a minor role.

In fact, had it not been for the financial stringency that was so conspicuous a feature of the situation, the achievements of this period might have been greater still.

3. Main Documents of the Period. From this survey of the broad general features of the period, we shall now turn to a study of the important documents which surveyed or influenced its events and policies.

The Despatch of 1854 whose provisions were analysed in detail in the preceding chapter forms, not only the starting, but the dominating point for the period as a whole. Right up to the time of Lord Curzon, we find the Despatch of 1854 being continuously quoted or referred to in all educational controversies for the authoritative decision of principles or policies. The mere fact that a certain policy was recommended by the Despatch of 1854 was assumed at this time as perfectly good evidence of its validity, and the most rigorous proof was demanded for every variation proposed. This does not mean that *all* the injunctions of the Despatch were carried out. As shown earlier in Chap. IV, Section 21, several important directives of the Despatch were observed more in breach than in fulfilment. All the same, it may be said that, between 1854 and 1902, the educational policy in India was chiefly dictated by the Despatch of 1854.

The next document is a *Despatch, dated 28th April 1858, from Lord Ellenborough*, the President of the Board of Control. It was written shortly after the "Mutiny" and is a panicky document which tried to reverse the policies laid down by the Despatch of 1854 on the ground that they had led to the events of 1857. Fortunately, a better sense of reality soon dawned and its recommendations were never acted upon. Certain extracts from the Despatch will be given and discussed at appropriate places in the following pages.

In 1859 came the third important document of this period—*Lord Stanley's Despatch of 1859*. The occasion for the Despatch was the transfer of the governance of India from the Company to the Crown (1858). Such a major change of administration required that the new authorities should review the existing policies in education and either confirm or amend them as early as possible. Such a review had become all the more urgent since the Despatch of Lord Ellenborough had raised doubts regarding several important policies enunciated in the Despatch of 1854,

viz., necessity of direct official attempts for mass education, encouragement of the education of women, grants-in-aid to mission schools, etc., and recommended that the Downward Filtration Theory be continued, that the education of women be not interfered with and that no assistance be given to mission schools. Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India, reviewed the whole position, confirmed all the directives of the Despatch of 1854 (except in so far as primary education is concerned) and put an end to the storm raised by Lord Ellenborough.

Fourteen years later, in 1883, came the next important document of this period—the *Report of the Indian Education Commission*. The appointment of this Commission was necessitated by two reasons: the first was the desire of the Government of India to review in a comprehensive manner the development of education in India since the Despatch of 1854. In the earlier period, the Charter of the Company came for renewal every 20 years and provided an occasion for an exhaustive review of education. With the abolition of the Company, that opportunity was lost; but it was felt that the old practice of periodical reviews was healthy and useful and, in 1882, the Indian Education Commission was appointed for the purpose. The second reason for the appointment of the Commission was the agitation conducted by the missionaries, particularly in England, to the effect that the educational system of India was not carried on in accordance with the Despatch of 1854. This agitation necessitated an enquiry and the Commission of 1882-3 served the purpose. The following quotation from the Resolution appointing the Commission will give both its personnel and the terms of reference:—

In view of the facts that, since the measures set forth in the Despatch of 1854 came into active operation, a full quarter of a century has elapsed, and that it is now ten years since the responsible direction of the educational system was entrusted to the Local Governments, it appears to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council that the time has come for instituting a more careful examination into the results attained, and into the working of the present arrangements than has hitherto been attempted. The experience of the past has shown that a mere critical review or analysis of the returns and reports of the different provinces fails to impart a thoroughly satisfactory knowledge of the actual state of things in the districts, and that there are many points which only an acquaintance with local circumstances can adequately estimate or explain. His Excellency in Council has therefore decided to appoint a Commission on behalf of Government to enquire into the present position of education in British India,

the different provinces to secure the adequate and intelligent consideration of the facts that will be laid before it. The Commission will be constituted as follows :—

President :

THE HON'BLE W. W. HUNTER, LL.B., C.I.E.

Members :

The Hon'ble Sayyid Ahmed Khan Bahadur, c.s.i., The Hon'ble D. M. Barbour, c.s., The Revd. W. R. Blackett, M.A., Mr. Ananda Mohun Bose, B.A., Mr. A. W. Croft, M.A., Mr. K. Deighton, B.A., Mr. J. T. Fowler, Mr. A. P. Howell, M.A., c.s., Mr. H. P. Jacob, Mr. W. Lee-Warner, M.A., c.s., The Revd. W. Miller, M.A., P. Rangananda Mudaliar, M.A., The Hon'ble Baboo Bhudeb Mookerjee, C.I.E., Mr. C. Pearson, M.A., The Hon'ble Maharaja Jotendro Mohan Tagore, c.s.i., Mr. Kashinath Trimbuk Telang, M.A., LL.B., Mr. G. E. Ward, c.s., The Revd. A. Jean, D.D., Mr. Colin Browning, Inspector-General of Education, C.P., and Mr. Haji Ghulam of Amritsar.

Secretary :

MR. B. L. RICE.

It will be the duty of the Commission to enquire particularly (subject only to certain limitations to the notice below) into the manner in which effect has been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854 ; and to suggest such measures as it may think desirable in order to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down. The Government of India is firmly convinced of the soundness of that policy, and has no wish to depart from the principles upon which it is based. It is intended only at the present time to examine into the general results of its operation, and to scrutinize the efficiency of the machinery that has been set on foot for bringing about those ends which the Government from the outset had especially in view. The general purport of the Despatch of 1854 was thus summarised by the Secretary of State in 1859 : ' The improvement and far wider extensions of education, both English and Vernacular, having been the general objects of the Despatch of 1854, the means prescribed for the accomplishment of those objects were the constitution of a separate department of the administration for the work of education ; the institution of universities at the several presidency towns ; the establishment of training institutions for raising up teachers for the various classes of schools ; the maintenance of the existing Government colleges and schools of a high order, and the increase of their number when necessary ; the establishment of additional zillah or middle schools ; increased attention to vernacular schools for elementary education, including the indigenous schools already existing throughout the country ; and finally, the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid under which the efforts of private individuals and of local communities would be stimulated and encouraged by pecuniary grants from Government in consideration of a good secular education being afforded in the aided schools.' It will be for the Commission to enquire how far these objects have been attained, and how this machinery is working at the present time.

The investigation by this Commission is the most detailed enquiry ever held in Indian education. It appointed Provincial Committees to prepare preliminary reports ; it examined about 200 witnesses ; and received more than 300 memorials. Its report is a bulky document of about 700 pages of foolscap size. Taken along with the reports of the Provincial Committees, we get about 3,000 pages of material regarding the development of education in modern India until 1882. The historical value

of this document, therefore, is incalculable. But it had several other results as well; the enquiry of the Commission led to a great educational awakening in India and its main findings, which agreed largely with the Despatch of 1854, dominated Indian educational policy till 1902.

As stated before, the Central Government held comprehensive quinquennial reviews of education in India in 1886-7, 1891-2, 1892-7 and 1901-2. These are very useful documents, comprehensive, reliable and detailed. But they did not try to formulate and influence policies.

It will be seen from the foregoing account that the educational policies between 1854 and 1902 were formulated by two main documents only—the Despatch of 1854 and the Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882-3—which are complementary to each other. The first of these is already studied in Chapter IV. The principal recommendations of the second will be enumerated and discussed in the course of this and the next three chapters at the appropriate places.

4. Main Events of the Period 1854 to 1902. The principal educational events of the period between 1854 and 1902 were the following :—

- (a) Creation of the Education Departments ;
- (b) Indianisation of the agency to spread education among the people ;
- (c) Development of the system of grant-in-aid ;
- (d) Establishment of the Universities and substantial extension of collegiate and secondary education ;
- (e) Westernisation of the content of education and its results ;
- (f) Neglect of indigenous schools leading to their almost complete disappearance by 1902 ; the creation of a new system of primary schools instead, supported partly by local rates and fees and partly by Government grants ; and
- (g) Development of vocational education and education among women, Muslims, Harijans, and the aboriginals, and the development of modern education in Indian States.

The first three of these topics will be dealt with in this chapter

in Chapter VII. Topic (g), together with a retrospect of the period, is dealt with in Chapter VIII.

5. The Creation of the Education Department (1854).

[Prior to 1854, there was, as stated already, no Education Department as such; but in two Provinces—Bombay and N.-W.P.—some arrangements for the supervision of schools had already been made and these may be regarded as the precursors of the Departments proper.] In *Bombay*, a Board of Education was created in 1840, to manage *all* the educational institutions in the Province. The Board was directly subordinate to the Provincial Government and all letters from it were addressed to and disposed of by the Governor-in-Council. In order to supervise the educational institutions under its control, the Board of Education divided the whole area of the Province into three Divisions and appointed a Superintendent in charge of each Division. In the beginning, the number of educational institutions was small and the Superintendents were part-time officers and had also to work as Professors in the Elphinstone Institution at Bombay. But as time passed on and the number of educational institutions increased, the necessity of whole-time Superintendents became more and more evident. In short, the Board of Education with its Superintendents had already created a departmental structure and all that the Despatch of 1854 did was to create a *Director of Public Instruction* in lieu of the Board of Education and whole-time Educational Inspectors in place of the Superintendents of the Board. [In the *N.-W. Province*, Mr. Thomason had, as described in Chapter III, established the Halkabandi schools and, in order to supervise them, had appointed Pergunnah visitors over whom were placed Zilla Visitors for each district, and over all, a Visitor-General for the whole of the Province. The first Visitor-General was Mr. H. S. Reid. It will be seen, therefore, that a regular Education Department was already functioning in the North-Western Province even before the Despatch of 1854 arrived. All that the Despatch did was to change the designation of Mr. H. S. Reid from "Visitor-General" to the "Director of Public Instruction".]

The honour of having created the Education Departments proper in the Provinces of India, however, belongs to the Despatch of 1854. The remarks of the Despatch on this subject are so

18. An adequate system of inspection will also, for the future, become an essential part of our educational system ; and we desire that a sufficient number of qualified inspectors be appointed, who will periodically report upon the state of those colleges and schools which are now supported and managed by Government, as well as of such as will hereafter be brought under Government inspection by the measures that we propose to adopt. They will conduct, or assist at, the examination of the scholars of these institutions and generally, by their advice, aid the managers and schoolmasters in conducting colleges and schools of every description throughout the country. They will necessarily be of different classes, and may possess different degrees of acquirements, according to the higher or lower character of the institutions, which they will be employed to visit ; but we need hardly say that, even for the proper inspection of the lower schools, and with a view to their effectual improvement, the greatest care will be necessary to select persons of high character and fitting judgement for such employment. A proper staff of clerks and other officers will, moreover, be required for the Educational Departments.

19. Reports of the proceedings of the inspectors should be made periodically and these again, should be embodied in the annual reports of the heads of the Educational Departments, which should be transmitted to us, together with statistical returns (to be drawn up in similar forms in all parts of India), and other information of a general character relating to education.

20. We desire that your proceedings in this matter (*i.e.*, creation of the Education Departments in all Provinces) may be reported to us with as little delay as possible, as we are prepared to approve of such expenditure as you may deem necessary for this purpose.

21. In the selection of the heads of the Educational Departments, the inspectors, and other officers, it will be of the greatest importance to secure the services of persons who are not only best able, from their character, position and acquirements, to carry our objects into effect, but who may command the confidence of the natives of India. It may perhaps be advisable that the first heads of the Educational Departments as well as some of the inspectors, should be members of our Civil Service, as such appointments in the instance would tend to raise the estimation in which these officers will be held, and to show the importance we attach to the subject of education, and also, as amongst them you will probably find the persons best qualified for the performance of the duty. But we desire that neither these officers, nor any others connected with education, shall be considered as necessarily to be filled by members of that service, to the exclusion of others, Europeans or Natives, who may be better fitted for them ; and that, in any case, the scale of their remuneration shall be so fixed as publicly to recognise the important duties they will have to perform.

It will be seen from the above passage that the idea of creating Education Departments was not so much to manage the then existing institutions, but to bring about a rapid and a comprehensive expansion of education ; that the Court of Directors were prepared to sanction a considerable amount of expenditure for the salaries and allowances for the Directors of Public Instruction and an adequate number of inspecting officers ; that Indians were also to be appointed as inspecting officers ; and that the first Directors of Public Instruction were to be preferably recruited from the Civil Service in order to raise the estimation in which

these officers would be held and to show the importance which the Company attached to the subject of education.

In accordance with these orders steps were soon taken to form an Education Department in every Province of India as it then existed and, by 1856, the new system was fairly at work. Owing to increase in territories or administrative reorganisation, new provinces were created in India from time to time. After 1854, however, it became a rule to create a new Education Department as soon as a new Province was created and Education Departments functioned in all administrative units of India (except centrally administered areas). The functions of these newly created Provincial Departments of Education were the following :—

- (a) to advise the Provincial Government on all educational matters ;
- (b) to administer the funds allocated to education by the Provincial and Central Governments ;
- (c) to conduct certain educational institutions directly under the authority of Government ;
- (d) to supervise and inspect the working of private educational institutions which applied to the Departments for grants-in-aid or recognition ;
- (e) to compile annual reports on the progress of education within their jurisdiction along with the necessary statistics and to publish them ; and
- (f) generally to take all such steps as were necessary to improve and expand education.

6. The History of the Education Department (1854-1882).

In accordance with the Despatch of 1854, some of the first Directors of Public Instruction were selected from the Civil Service. In Bombay, for example, Mr. Erskine the first Director of Public Instruction belonged to the Civil Service of the Company. There are some instances also where even inspectors were recruited from the junior members of the Civil Service. The scale of pay of the first Education officers was also fixed very liberally. The Director of Public Instruction in Bombay, for example, received a salary of Rs. 2,000 to 2,500 which must be regarded as very good remuneration in view of the low prices prevailing at this period. But very soon this policy was changed by the Court of Directors. They stopped the recruitment of officers of the

Education Department from the Civil Service, presumably because the officers of the Civil Service preferred to be Collectors or Judges rather than work as Headmasters or Inspectors. The scales of pay that came to be sanctioned for the education officers in subsequent years were much lower than those of the Civil Service. The pension facilities allowed to the education officers were also cut down to a low level and were less favourable than those allowed to the Civil Service or even to the Ecclesiastical Department. Very often, no care was taken to see that the best people were recruited for the educational service, and appointments were made on grounds of favouritism or nepotism rather than of merit. These developments were really unhappy and were entirely contrary to the spirit of the Despatch of 1854 which directed that the appointment of educational officers should be so made as to show the importance that Government attached to the subject of education and that the scale of their remuneration should be "so fixed as publicly to recognise the importance of the duties they will have to perform!" It is to be regretted even more that this change of policy came all too quickly after the Despatch of 1854, and as early as 1867, Sir Alexander Grant, the Director of Public Instruction in the Province of Bombay, complained that the Bombay Educational Service had sprung up "fortuitously," that educational appointments were given up "neglectfully to political retainers or filled up at haphazard, like other uncovenanted appointments" and that the Bombay Educational Service was "a very poor, precarious and in fact, miserable sphere, into which one can hardly dare to advise any young man of ability and cultivation to enter".¹ Moreover, the scales of pay of the Educational officers in different Provinces were not the same. There were several glaring inequalities and the Bengal officials were much better off than the others—an event which led to great dissatisfaction. Sir Alexander Grant, therefore, proposed the creation of a regular Educational Service to remedy these evils. He said:—

1st. That an upper Educational Service in the Bombay Presidency be formed, which should be open to Natives of distinguished merit, but which would, for a long time to come, be mostly filled by graduates of high standing from the European Universities.

2nd. That this be constituted a "Service" properly so called, with the covenant of conditions, and regular rules of advance in pay.

3rd. That this Service consist of Headmasters of First Grade High Schools, Educational Inspectors, Professors of Literature and Science, Principals of Colleges, and the Director of Public Instruction.

4th. That all other persons in Educational appointments in the Presidency be considered as constituting the "Uncovenanted Educational Service," and remain on the footing of their present rules.

5th. That every officer of the Covenanted Educational Service commence with a salary of not less than Rs. 500 per mensem, and that he be entitled to an increase of Rs. 50 per mensem additional to his former pay at the end of each year of actual service, with the following limitations :—

No High Schoolmaster to attain to a salary exceeding	Rs. 800 per mensem
No Professor	„ 1,200 do.
No Principal of a College	„ 1,500 do.
No Educational Inspector	„ 1,500 do.

The salary of the Director of Public Instruction to remain as at present (Rs. 2,500 per mensem) without his being entitled to any increase.¹

The Government of Bombay accepted this view and recommended to the Government of India that a separate Educational Service should be organised on the principles outlined by Sir Alexander Grant. Unfortunately, the suggestion was far too advanced for the times and the Government of India turned it down. The Central Government could not agree to the view that the appointments in the Education Department were neglectfully made as alleged by Sir Alexander Grant; it also felt that the remuneration and pension conditions offered to the Educational Service were sufficiently good to attract the right type of persons; and that no useful purpose would be served by creating an Educational Service analogous to the Civil Service. The efforts of Sir Alexander Grant were not, however, altogether in vain, because the Government of India soon revised the salaries of the education officers all round and removed some of the glaring causes of dissatisfaction. It also tried to equalise the scales of pay between different Provinces of India to some extent, although Bengal still continued to be the favourite Province. For example, the Government of India equated the pay of the Principal of the Poona College to that of a Professor in the Presidency College at Calcutta on the ground that the Principal of a "rural college" ought really to be deemed equivalent to a Professor in a Presidency College! But barring a few exceptions of this type, a fairly equitable system of *graded service* was built up for the Education Departments in India between 1870 and 1882. Under this plan, the educational appointments were divided into various grades

each grade having a fixed minimum salary, a fixed maximum salary and a definite scale of increment.

7. **Organisation of the Education Department in 1882.** The following statistics taken from the Report of the Indian Education Commission give some details regarding the organisation of the Education Departments in 1881-2 :—

Statistics

Name of Province.	Designation of Inspecting Officers.	Number of Inspecting Officers.	Average area in square miles allotted to each Inspecting Officer.	Average number of Schools under the charge of each Inspecting Officer.	Total expenditure on education Rs.	Percentage of previous column to total expenditure on education.
Madras	Inspectors .. Deputy Inspectors	7 55	23,108 3,026	2,545 266	3,15,166	9.09
Bombay	Inspectors .. Deputy Inspectors Assistant Deputy Inspectors ..	5 30 19	38,128 7,648 3,824	1,124 211 101	2,50,631	7.31
Bengal	Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors .. Deputy Inspectors Sub-Inspectors ..	10 43 173	18,722 3,539 874	197 1,301 312	4,39,738	7.02
North-Western Provinces and Oudh	Inspectors .. Assistant Inspector .. Deputy Inspectors .. Sub-Deputy Inspectors ..	8 1 44 34	12,346 24,246 2,566 2,599	735 1,343 140 129	2,51,455	12.24
Punjab	Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors .. District Inspectors and Chief School Mohavirs ..	7 30	15,427 3,600	296 46	1,69,638	10.40
Central Provinces	Inspector-General Inspectors .. District and Joint Inspectors ..	1 3 20	84,445 28,148 4,222	1,444 481 72	1,03,658	15.38

Statistics—contd.

Name of Province.	Designation of Inspecting Officers.	Number of Inspecting Officers.	Average area in square miles allotted to each Inspecting Officer.	Average number of schools under the charge of each Inspecting Officer.	Total expenditure on education Rs.	Percentage of previous column to total expenditure on education.
Assam	Inspector ..	1	4,634	1,455	48,781	15.68
	Deputy Inspectors	9	4,032	158		
	Sub-Inspectors ..	14	1,783	75		
Coorg	Inspector ..	1	1,583	63	1,301	5.72
	Sub-Deputy Inspector ..	1	1,583	51		
Hyderabad Assigned Districts	Inspector ..	1	17,711	22	47,672	13.51
	Deputy Inspectors	7	5,060	139		
Total for India	Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors ..	45	24,417	882	Direction	1.50
	Deputy Inspectors	238	4,211	291	2,73,757	
	Sub-Deputy Inspectors ..	241	2,132	133	Inspection 13,54,283	

It will be seen from the above statistics that the strength of the Education Department was not equitably distributed among the Provinces. This difference in strength sometimes led to heart-burning and accusations against the Central Government. In this period of centralization, all proposals for increase of staff generally required the sanction of the Central Government. In these early years, it is not a matter for surprise if the Government of India had not yet developed any clear-cut principles regarding the basis on which personnel was to be sanctioned to the Departments so that inequalities often arose from Province to Province. Consequently, those Provinces which felt neglected often complained that Bengal was the most favoured Province with the Central Government and that increases were sanctioned more frequently to those Provinces which

needy but prudent or modest. Such accusations had, of course, some truth in them, though they were often exaggerated. Evidently this is a defect inseparable from a centralized system of administration and disappeared only when education became a Provincial subject in 1921.

It may also be observed from the statistics given above that the number of inspecting officers was very inadequate in every Province. Whereas the modern standard is that there should be one inspecting officer for about 60 schools, the average number of schools in charge of each inspecting officer in 1882 was as high as 133. The extent of inadequacy can be imagined when it is remembered that in those days, population was much more scattered and communications were very much poorer. This inadequacy led to a dual system of inspection, *viz.*, inspection *in situ* and inspection *at centres*. Under the former system, the inspector visited the school in the place where it was located. Under the latter system, the inspector went to a convenient central place and called all the schools in the neighbourhood to this temporary headquarters for purposes of inspection. It is obvious that the full benefit of inspection can never be obtained under this latter system; but the inadequacy of staff compelled the Departments to adopt it on a fairly large scale.

A complaint was also made by the European officers of the Department that although the average pay of the superior posts (about Rs. 900 p.m.) was adequate "to attract, to an educational career in India, many men of considerable distinction at the English universities, and some of the highest academical rank,"¹ the prospects of promotion of an officer were few and that the pension conditions were too strict. Moreover, the number of Indians appointed to superior service was small. "In Bengal, out of a total of 39 officers, 7 were natives of India. . . . In other Provinces the number of native graded officers was smaller; but in all the larger Departments, some were found."² This was another subject for agitation and a demand was being put forward that Indians ought to be employed more generally to responsible posts in the Education Department.

8. History of the Department (1882-1902) and the Creation of the I.E.S. (1896-7). The Indian Education Commission

made the following recommendations to improve the Departmental position :—

- (1) That the Inspecting staff be increased so as to be adequate to the requirements of each Province ;
- (2) That the remuneration of subordinate Inspecting officers be reconsidered in each Province ;
- (3) That it be distinctly laid down that native gentlemen of approved qualifications are eligible for the post of Inspector of schools, and that they be employed in that capacity more commonly than has been the case hitherto ; and
- (4) That examinations by inspecting officers be conducted as far as possible *in situ* and all primary schools receiving aid be invariably inspected *in situ*.

These recommendations, good as they were, were rather tame and, therefore, not much was done as a result thereof to improve the situation. In 1886, however, the Public Service Commission made far-reaching recommendations regarding the reorganization of all departmental services. In particular, it recommended that the *graded service* should be discontinued and that recruitment for all higher posts should be made in England. It said:—

- (1) The graded lists of the superior branch should be abolished, due regard being had to the interests of existing incumbents.
- (2) Recruitment should be made in England only for—
 - (a) Principalships of colleges ;
 - (b) Professorships in those branches of knowledge in which European standard of advancement has not been attained in India ; and
 - (c) A smaller number of Inspectorships than at present.
- (3) Recruitment of Professors should ordinarily be of specialists and when practicable, for a term of years, with powers of re-appointment.
- (4) The remuneration of officers recruited in England should be fixed with reference to the attainments required and the duties to be performed in each case.
- (5) All educational appointments, other than those in the graded lists of the superior branch, should be filled up locally by the existing mode of recruitment on the principles recommended in the Report as to conditions of service for the general Provincial Service.
- (6) There should be in each Presidency, and in the larger Provinces, at least one college with a staff of Professors capable of teaching up to the highest European standards, under a European Principal and the same object should be kept in view in smaller colleges as far as practicable ; and
- (7) The inspection of schools and colleges should be carried on by an agency entirely separate from the teaching staff and recruited from a different source, recruitment being more largely made than heretofore in India.¹

These recommendations were carefully examined and, in 1896, the Secretary of State for India passed the following orders :—

The Educational Department will in future be broadly divided into (a) the Superior Service, and (b) the Subordinate Service. The former will consist

¹ *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1896-7*, p. 53.

of two branches, one including all posts to be filled by persons appointed in England, which will be called 'The Indian Educational Service'; and the other including all posts to be filled by recruitment in India, which will be known as 'the Provincial Educational Service' (of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and so forth). The words 'appointed in England' may be added after 'The Indian Educational Service' whenever particular differentiation is needed.

The principles upon which appointments recruited for in India are to be classed in the Provincial or in the Subordinate Service are :—

- (1) That the line between the two services shall be drawn rather according to the nature of the office held than according to pay ;
- (2) That generally Professors, Inspectors, and Joint and Assistant Inspectors are to be included in the Provincial Service, and Deputy-inspectors, headmasters of District schools, and officers of lower rank in the Subordinate Service ;

The scales of pay for officers of the Indian Educational Service will be that proposed by Viscount Cross, namely :—

- (a) During the probationary period of five years, Rs. 500-50-700 a month ; it being open to the Secretary of State to offer a fixed pay of Rs. 600, or even Rs. 700, in special cases, when the services of a competent officer cannot otherwise be secured ;
- (b) In the second period, Rs. 750-50-1,000, the maximum attained at the end of ten years from first appointment.

This will be the general rule, but in certain exceptional cases it may be necessary to appoint persons with special qualifications on higher rates of pay.¹

In the light of these principles, all the Education Departments were reorganised. The net result of the proposal is thus described :—

Under the new scheme, the Indian Educational Service, in the Provinces to which it applies will ultimately consist of the following officers : Inspectors, 21 ; Principals, 20 ; Professors, 36 ; other appointments, 15 ; total, 92. The Provincial Service will ultimately consist of the following officers : Inspectors, 14 ; Junior and Assistant Inspectors, 33 ; Professors, 80 ; Junior and Assistant Professors, 11 ; Headmasters, 40 ; other appointments, 29 ; total, 207. The grand total of the two branches of the superior service will therefore consist of 299 appointments, of which 131 will be in Bengal, 54 in Madras, 44 in Bombay, 35 in the North-West, 25 in the Punjab, and 10 in the Central Provinces.²

Thus did the famous I.E.S. come into existence in 1896-7. Its avowed purpose was to attract capable persons from England to work in India. It did not succeed in this aim and, if anything, the officials that went before 1896 were much superior to those that came in afterwards ; but unhappily enough, it gave Englishmen a monopoly of most of the higher posts in the Department—a feature that came in for a good deal of well-deserved criticism at the hands of the Indian people.

In 1901-2, the strength of the Provincial Departments of Education was as follows :—

Provinces.	Number of Officers in Indian Education Service.	Number of Officers in Superior Provincial Education Service.	Number of Officers in sub-ordinate Provincial Education Service.	No. of Institutions per Inspecting Officer.	No. of Pupils per Inspecting Officer.
Madras	20	35	262	239	8,513
Bombay	21	23	51	119	7,111
Bengal	25	106	706	184	5,509
United Provinces ..	11	25	57	66	3,123
Punjab	9	20	1	73	4,446
Central Provinces ..	4	6	—	75	4,460
Assam	—	—	50	88	2,846
Total	90	215	1,127		

9. Agencies to Spread Education among the Indian People.

From this brief account of the development of the Education Department between 1854 and 1902, we shall now turn to the history of the different agencies that were engaged, during this period, in the task of spreading education among the Indian people. These were (a) Missionary educational enterprise ; (b) Educational enterprise by officials in their individual capacity ; (c) Educational enterprise by Indians on modern lines ; (d) Educational institutions conducted by the Education Department ; and (e) Indigenous educational institutions.

Of these, the educational enterprise of the officials, conducted in their individual capacity, disappeared completely during this period. On the transfer of the government to the Crown, the rules for the conduct and discipline of Government servants which naturally became more strict and began to be more rigorously enforced, did not generally leave much scope for *pioneer* work in individual capacity. Moreover, the need for this type of work also disappeared in course of time. Its main purpose, as stated already, was to bring forth Indian private

institutions on modern lines. By 1902, Indians had fully assimilated this technique and, as will be seen later, were dominating the whole field of private educational enterprise. Official guidance in this matter was no longer needed now, although it had served a useful purpose prior to 1854, and hence there is hardly any need to regret its exit.

Another activity which disappeared during this period almost completely was the vast network of indigenous educational institutions. In spite of the directives of the Despatch of 1854 and the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission, the indigenous schools were generally neglected and by 1902, they disappeared almost completely from the scene. The detailed history of this unhappy development will be given in Chapter VII; and it would be quite enough to state here that the only educational system that survived and progressed during the period under review was the new system of education whose ideal was to spread Western knowledge and science through the medium of English. In this branch of educational activity, the missionaries reigned supreme in 1854, Government efforts came next, and private Indian enterprise occupied the lowest place. But in the next five decades, a great revolution came about. The missionary efforts thrived for a time; but their expansion was soon restricted on account of the non-fulfilment of the great hope of proselytisation which was expected to result from English schools, the lack of sufficient encouragement at the hands of Government, and the unwillingness of many missionary bodies to conduct educational activities for non-Christian children; the direct efforts of Government were also limited by financial and administrative considerations; and it was Indians alone who availed themselves most of the system of grant-in-aid, especially after the report of the Indian Education Commission of 1882. Private Indian enterprise, therefore, occupied the first and the most important place in almost all branches of educational activity even as early as 1902. This great revolution in modern education is one of the most important achievements of this period and its history can be conveniently studied under three heads, *viz.*, (a) Missionary educational enterprise; (b) Official enterprise in education; and (c) Private Indian enterprise.

10. **Missionary Educational Enterprise (1854-1882).** One

missionary educational enterprise to a minor place in the educational life of the country. As stated already in Chap. IV, section 5, missionary educational institutions formed the most numerous part of the total number of modern schools and colleges which existed in India in 1854. Moreover, the Despatch of 1854 had aroused hopes of a great era of expansion in which Government would eventually withdraw from direct educational enterprise and the missionary schools, supported by liberal grants-in-aid from Government, would cover the whole country. But a sad disillusionment followed within a few years. The first bolt from the blue was the so-called "Sepoy Mutiny" of 1857. An opinion at once began to spread in England that an important cause of these disturbances was the policy of open encouragement to mission enterprise which had been adopted in an increasing measure since 1813 and particularly by the Despatch of 1854, and it began to be argued that all State assistance should be summarily withdrawn from the mission schools. This view is clearly seen in the following passage from the Despatch of Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, dated 28th April 1858 :—

20. I do not observe in the letter of the Court in 1854 any direct explicit instruction to afford aid to schools under the charge of missionaries ; but the expressions of the Court in that letter have been interpreted as permitting, if they do not direct, such an application of public money, and it has been so applied.

21. This measure, even guarded as it appears to be, by restricting the aid of Government to the secular education of the natives in missionary schools, seems to me to be of a very perilous character.

22. The primary object of the missionary is to proselytise. He gives education, because by giving education he hopes to extend Christianity. He may be quite right in adopting this course ; and left to himself, unaided by the Government, and evidently unconnected with it, he may obtain some, although probably no great extent of success : but the moment he is ostensibly assisted by the Government, he not only loses a large portion of his chance of doing good in the furtherance of his primary object, but, by creating the impression that education means proselytism, he materially impedes the measures of Government directed to education alone.

23. This has been the view taken of the effect of any appearance of connexion between the Government and the missionaries by some of the most pious as well as the most able men who have ever been employed under the Government of India, and I have at all times adhered to their opinion.

24. The benefit which can be derived to education from thus aiding the schools of missionaries is, on account of the limited number of such schools in Bengal and Upper India, necessarily small ; but great, on the other hand, is the danger, not to our success in education alone, but to the peace of the Empire, by thus exciting as we practically do, the apprehension that the Government

25. I have from the first been under the impression and all I have heard from the commencement of the mutinies has only tended to confirm it, that this almost unanimous mutiny of the Bengal army, accompanied as it has been by very extensive indications of a hostile feeling amongst the people, could never have occurred without the existence of some all-pervading apprehension that the Government entertained designs against their religion. No cause of inferior power could have produced so great a revolution in the native mind.

26. There may have been certain acts of recent legislation, and certain hardships attending our revenue administration, which may have had a partial effect in alienating classes of our subjects, and there may perhaps have been a change in the demeanour of persons in Civil employment towards the people, and of officers towards the troops; but, however much to be regretted, these causes of alienation from our Government must have been confined to particular classes and to particular localities. Our scheme of education pervaded the land. It was known in every village. We were teaching new things in a new way, and often, as the teacher, stood the missionary, who was only in India to convert the people.

27. I must express my doubt whether to aid by Government funds the imparting even of purely secular education in a missionary school is consistent with the promises so often made to the people, and till now so scrupulously kept, of perfect neutrality in matters of religion.

28. It is true that the money of the State is only granted to the missionary on account of the secular education which alone he engages to give to the native unless the native should otherwise desire; but it may often, if not always, happen, that it is only through the aid thus given professedly for secular education, that the missionary is enabled to keep the school at all, which he only designs for other, and those proselytizing purposes.

29. We thus indirectly support where we profess to repudiate, and practically abandon the neutrality to which we have at all times pledged ourselves to adhere. Such conduct brings into question our good faith, and may naturally give alarm to the people.

30. I feel satisfied that at the present moment no measure could be adopted more calculated to tranquilize the minds of the natives, and to restore to us their confidence, than that of withholding the aid of Government from schools with which missionaries are connected.¹

If this view had been allowed to stand, it would have meant a complete reversal of the policy adopted by the Despatch of 1854—the Magna Charta of missionary educational enterprise in India. But fortunately for the missionaries, their cause received support from several quarters. The missionaries and their friends in England categorically denied, and quite rightly, that the work of the missions and its encouragement by Government had anything to do with the disturbances of 1857. Even the officials in India supported them. Consequently, no rule was made to the effect that the missionary schools should *not* be given a grant-in-aid; but as soon as the Government was transferred to the Crown, Queen Victoria issued a proclamation which

¹ *Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, 1857-58, pp. 10-11.*

adopted a policy of strict neutrality in religious matters and gave an assurance to the people that Government had neither the right nor the desire to impose Christianity upon India. But the apprehensions created by the "Mutiny" which are so well portrayed in the Despatch of Lord Ellenborough, did succeed in making the officials cautious in their dealings with the missionaries and strained the relations between them to a considerable extent.

Between 1858 and 1882, therefore, the policy of the Department was marked by an unsympathetic attitude to mission schools and the officials of those days,—many of whom were agnostics or lacking in missionary zeal,—made it difficult for the missions to work either within the system or without it. For instance, here are some of the difficulties which missionaries experienced while working *within* the official system :—

We cannot, however, pass over the fact that there were great disadvantages bound up with the new school system. Whereas in the first few years the Government preferred to appoint missionaries as inspectors of schools, yet later on, and especially after the great Mutiny of 1857, it turned its back almost entirely upon them, no doubt out of exaggerated religious neutrality, and chose with predilection Englishmen indifferent to religion or non-Christian Brahmans for these positions. As the yearly grants—the hinge on which the new system turned—depended on the result of the annual visitations and examinations conducted by these gentlemen, it came about that mission schools, for instance, were often in a state of very undesirable dependence on the goodwill or the good temper of officials who were antagonistic to missions. How much caprice and party spirit it was possible to exercise in the conducting of examinations, the inspection of school buildings, and the criticism of the school staff! How much vexation and worry were thereby set in motion! . . . It was also a direct consequence of the uniformity aimed at by Government—a consequence that also worked remarkably for the convenience of the inspectors!—that the text-books recommended by those in authority were introduced practically everywhere; these text-books were for the most part neutral as to religion even, if not directly antagonistic to Christianity, and their introduction simply meant that the books compiled at great pains by the missionaries were crowded out of existence.¹

Similarly, the Department often followed a policy of direct competition which made it impossible for the missionaries to work *independently* of the official educational system. Richter narrates the following interesting account of one such experiment :—

They (*i.e.*, missionary schools) now found in the rapidly developing educational schemes of the Government an all-powerful rival. What position should they take up with regard to it? The mission school has of necessity two main objects which the Government neither can nor will include in its programme—the dissemination of a fundamental knowledge of Christian teaching and the training

of a body of native assistants. It seemed to be the best solution of the difficulty for the two to pursue their schemes amicably but separately, and for the missionaries to endeavour to render their school system independent and up-to-date. The Basel Missionary Society after a short-lived enthusiasm for the new Government scheme, which was shared at that time by nearly all the Societies, was the first to take action along these lines. In 1860, it severed its connection with the Government system, and reorganised its schools along its own lines. The results were overwhelming. On entering upon this new policy the Basel Society had hoped, perhaps in too sanguine a fashion, to gain possession of the whole school system in the provinces where it laboured. But instead of this the Government wrested from them the direction of all things educational, even in the midst of their main spheres of activity, Kanara and Malabar. First of all, the English school at Cannanore had to be given up because the Government had erected a similar one in the same place (1861). Then at the English school in Kanara there were not enough missionaries who, in addition to the ordinary school subjects, were sufficiently masters of English language and literature to satisfy the demands of the Government for a provincial school of this type. The English school at Calicut was simply crushed out of existence, owing to an elaborate school plan set down by the Government in the immediate neighbourhood. In the native schools such thorough-going reforms were insisted upon that, of 1,450 scholars in 1862, only 648 remained in 1866. In 1867 the missionaries sent an urgent request to the Missionary Committee asking for re-union with the Government educational system, and the Committee complied, though with heavy hearts, in order that the missionaries might not be driven to the wall, and robbed of all influence upon the rising generation. Thus an educational scheme apart from that of the Government proved an impossibility; against such rivalry it was unable to hold one's own.¹

It was these difficulties that made the missionaries start an agitation, both in England and in India, to the effect that the educational administration of India was not carried on in accordance with the Despatch of 1854 which had recommended the closure or transfer of Government schools, that the officials were competing with missionary enterprise to such an extent that the latter was threatened with extinction, and that the secular educational institutions of Government were *Godless* and *irreligious*. It was this agitation that led to the appointment of the Indian Education Commission in 1882, and it was called upon to decide the following specific issues in this connection:—

(a) Should Government withdraw from direct educational enterprise in favour of missionaries, as the Despatch of 1854 had led some of them to hope?

(b) What should be the policy of Government in religious education? Should it be imparted in schools or not? If it was to be imparted, in what form and subject to what conditions was it to be allowed?

(c) What should be the policy of Government in the matter of text-books? What freedom would the missionaries have in using books of their own choice?

Each one of these issues figured prominently in the deliberations of the Commission and taken all in all, the missionaries lost the war although they did win a battle or two.

11. The Position of Missionary Enterprise in Indian Education. On the first of these issues, the opinion of the Commission went against the missionaries. On a careful consideration of the problem, the Commission came to the conclusion that missionary educational enterprise can only occupy a secondary place in Indian education and that Government should not withdraw in favour of missionary managements. It said :

The question how far the withdrawal of the State from the direct provision of means of higher education would throw such education into the hands of missionary bodies, held the foremost place in all the evidence bearing on the topic of withdrawal. Prominent officers of the Department and many native gentlemen argued strongly against any withdrawal, on the ground that it must practically hand over higher education to missionaries. As a rule the missionary witnesses themselves, while generally advocating the policy of withdrawal, expressed quite the contrary opinion, stating that they neither expected nor desired that any power over education given up by the Department should pass into their hands. In a country with such varied needs as India, we should deprecate any measure which would throw excessive influence over higher education into the hands of any single agency ; and particularly into the hands of an agency which, however benevolent and earnest, cannot on all points be in sympathy with the mass of the community. . . . At the same time we think it well to put on record our unanimous opinion that withdrawal of direct departmental agency should not take place in favour of missionary bodies and that departmental institutions of the higher order should not be transferred to missionary management. . . . In the point of view in which we are at present considering the question, missionary institutions hold an intermediate position between those managed by the Department and those managed by the people for themselves. On the one hand, they are the outcome of private effort, but on the other they are not strictly local ; nor will encouragement to them directly foster those habits of self-reliance and combination for purposes of public utility which it is one of the objects of the grant-in-aid system to develop. Missionary institutions may serve the great purpose of showing what private effort can accomplish, and thus of inducing other agencies to come forward. They should be allowed to follow their own independent course under the general supervision of the State ; and so long as there are room and need for every variety of agency in the field of education, they should receive all the encouragement and aid that private effort can legitimately claim. But it must not be forgotten that the private effort which it is mainly intended to evoke is that of the people themselves. Natives of India must constitute the most important of all agencies if educational means are ever to be co-extensive with educational wants. Other agencies may hold a prominent place for a time, and may always find some place in a system

nor will it receive the wide extension that is needed, until the larger part of it at all events is provided and managed by the people of the country for themselves.¹

This recommendation is of very great importance because it decided, once for all, that missionary activities can only have a subordinate place in a national system of education in India. It was in this recommendation that the missionaries "caught a tartar" as the late M. R. Paranjpe put it. The Despatch of 1854 had led the missionaries to believe that they would ultimately provide for all the educational needs of the country. These hopes were shattered completely by the above recommendation of the Indian Education Commission which soon became the official policy in the matter.

12. Religious Education. Allied to this problem of Government withdrawal from direct educational enterprise was the problem of religious education, so dear to the heart of the missionaries. They had always put forward the view (a) that the Company's policy of religious neutrality was not in the spiritual interests of the Indian people; (b) that, as all true education is inseparable from religion, every school and college conducted by the Company must impart instruction in religion (which, however, they interpreted narrowly as instruction in Christianity); and (c) that the missionaries should have full freedom, in spite of their being in receipt of State grants, to teach the Bible compulsorily to all students who may join their schools. Of these three demands, only the third had been recognised, though in a negative form, by the Despatch of 1854 and only a very lukewarm attempt had been made to meet the second by directing that the Bible should be placed in school libraries and that no attempt should be made to prevent or discourage teachers from answering any question on Christian religion that a pupil may voluntarily ask. (*Vide* p. 211 *supra*.) These orders could hardly be expected to satisfy the missionaries and as soon as the government of India was transferred to the Crown, they petitioned the Queen to reverse the earlier policy on the subject and to grant their demands in full. For instance, the Church Missionary Society submitted the following memorial to Queen Victoria in 1858:—

Your Memorialists humbly beseech Your Majesty to have it declared to the public authorities in the East Indies:—

1. That the existing policy will be no longer professed or maintained, but that, as it is the belief of Your Majesty and of this Christian nation that the

adoption of the Christian religion, upon an intelligent conviction of its truth will be an incalculable benefit to the natives of India, the countenance and aid of Government will be given to any legitimate measures for bringing that religion under their notice and investigation.

2. That since the Government, in addition to maintaining its own educational establishments, provides grant-in-aid to all other schools which provide a prescribed amount of secular knowledge . . . the Bible will be introduced into the system of education in all the Government schools and colleges, as the only standard of moral rectitude, and the source of those Christian principles upon which Your Majesty's Government is to be conducted.

3. That any connection which may still subsist between the Indian Government and the revenues or ceremonies of the Muhammadan, Hindu, or other false religion shall at once cease and determine.¹

But the events of 1857 went against them and the missionaries, instead of gaining any additional advantage, even lost some of the ground they had gained under the Despatch of 1854. They, however, continued to carry on their agitation in favour of religious education. On the main issue, their ranks were soon strengthened by other groups. The Brahmo Samajists, the Prarthana Samajists and the Arya Samajists, the new sects among the Hindus, also demanded religious education in schools on the lines of their own faith; the orthodox Hindus who, in the earlier period, had fought against the new education altogether now gave up that fight and began to demand that the new schools should combine instruction in the principles of Hindu religion with Western science and literature, in the case of all Hindu children; and the Muslims who were now coming under the modern system of education insisted that the Koran should necessarily be taught to Muslim children. In short, there was, by 1882, a general feeling among several sections of the people that the policy of secular education should be abandoned and that religious education should be provided to each child in the principles of his own faith. As the Commission observed:

Government having deliberately adopted the policy of religious neutrality, there is no religious teaching in the colleges managed by the Department of Education. The grant-in-aid system is based upon the same policy, and it might therefore seem that the subject of religious teaching in aided colleges has no place in the Report of this Commission. Nor would it if the question had not been raised by some of the witnesses whether another policy than the present be not equally consistent with the religious neutrality of Government colleges, the policy, namely, not of excluding all religions, but of giving equally facility for instruction in them all. This has been advocated by several native witnesses especially in the Punjab. The arguments adduced in favour of such a policy seem generally to be that the minds of students are so filled with their secular studies that religion drops out of view and ceases to influence them, and that

home influence has been found in practice too weak to counteract the anti-religious or rather non-religious, influence which exclusive attention to the subjects studied at college is exerting. This is expressed as follows by one who pleads strongly for a change in this respect: 'Children are sent to school as soon as they are able to talk and move about freely and they spend a number of years in school, until in fact they are passed out as full-blown B.A.'s or some such thing Their whole time and attention being devoted to school-books, they fall very little under what is called the home influence The unfavourable impressions which the children receive in the school for a series of years at the early part of their age sit deep in their hearts and exert a very demoralising influence upon them in after-life, to the prejudice of themselves and of those who come in their way.' Will Government tolerate such a state of things? Will it still persist in a policy which excludes religion from the State education, but encourages something which is anti-religious, though in the most indirect manner? The remedy proposed is that Government should employ teachers of all prevalent forms of religion to give instruction in its colleges, or should at least give such teachers admission to its colleges if their services are provided by outside bodies.¹

Such a proposal could not obviously be accepted by the Commission on administrative and financial grounds. The Commission, therefore, reiterated the necessity of keeping all Government schools secular. As Shri. K. T. Telang, a member of the Commission observed:—

I will only add one word here with respect to the question of religious instruction which was raised before the Commission. I deeply sympathise with the demand of some witnesses whose evidence has come before us, that provision should be made in our educational system for that religious instruction without which, as Lord Ripon declared before the University of Calcutta, all education is imperfect. I sympathise with this demand, but do not see my way to suggest any feasible means of satisfying it. There are only two possible modes, which can be adopted in justice and fairness, of practically imparting religious instruction. Either you must teach the principles common to all religions under the name of Natural Religion, or you must teach the principles of each religious creed to the students whose parents adopt that creed. The difficulties of these alternatives have been indicated by no less an authority than Mr. Cobden (see his *Speeches*, pages 588, *et seq.*). Those difficulties are certainly not less great in this country than in England. They appear to me to be so great that we must be content to 'take refuge,' as it has been expressed, 'in the remote haven of refuge for the educationists—the secular system'. But I would also point out to all those who ask for this religious education, that the cultivation of those feelings of human nature to which religion appeals is not even now entirely neglected, and that the further direction to be given to those feelings, according to the principles of each religious creed, ought to be undertaken, as it is best carried out, not by a Government like the British Indian Government, but by the professors of the several creeds. Some agencies of this sort, more or less organised, more or less powerful, are at present working. Whether a more complete organisation will bring out results more satisfactory to those who are now asking for a change, is a matter upon which I own I am somewhat sceptical. And some of the grounds of my scepticism have been already indicated in what I have said above, on the kindred question of moral education. But at all events,

on this I am quite clear, that our institutions for secular instruction should not be embarrassed by any meddling with religious instruction, for such meddling, among other mischiefs, will yield results which on the religious side will satisfy nobody, and on the secular side will be distinctly retrograde.¹

The missionaries, therefore, lost their demand that Christianity should be taught in all Government schools; even the modified demand that each child should be taught his own religion was rejected. The policy of secular education in Government schools was upheld once more, and in spite of all attacks, continues to hold the field even today.

As a corollary to this decision, the question of religious education in aided schools came up for discussion. Here, one line of action was to follow the American precedent and declare that no institution which imparted religious education should be aided by Government. But at this time, America had hardly come into the picture and our administrators were generally guided by English precedents. It was, therefore, decided (a) that private schools should be permitted to impart such instruction as they chose; (b) that Government should just ignore such religious education; and (c) that it should pay grants-in-aid on the basis of the secular education imparted in them. This view had already been propounded by the Despatch of 1854 and the Commission, in deference chiefly to missionary opinion, reiterated it with almost equal firmness.

This decision satisfied the missionaries; but Indian public opinion in general was opposed to this concession to mission enterprise. It was pointed out that, in England, where the freedom to impart religious education of its choice was given to an aided school, the parents also were given a defence in the *conscience-clause* which enabled them to withdraw their children, if they so desired, from the religious education to which they objected. The view that such a conscience-clause should be adopted in India was, therefore, strongly put forward before the Indian Education Commission. For instance Shri. K. T. Telang wrote :—

Upon the question of the conscience clause, my opinions are already on record in our minutes. I wish to add only a few words. It is said that in England the conscience clause is a dead letter. My information on that subject is, of course, limited; but if it is a dead letter, I cannot explain the recent speech of Mr. Mundella, who spoke of the fact that the Education Act, 1870, in relation to religious teaching is doing a work which the country never expected of it, and

which religious bodies themselves throughout the country appear scarcely to understand.' Besides, it certainly has not been formally repealed, and the question for us, therefore is whether the provision is in itself a just and expedient one. I do not feel much pressed by the objection that a conscience clause is inconsistent with the provision of the Despatch which prohibits State interference with the religious teaching imparted in aided schools. For I consider that the effect of that prohibition is incorrectly described in the Report, when it is stated to be a 'strict abstinence from all enquiry as to any religion being taught or not taught,' in such schools. I understand the prohibition to mean that the officers of the State are not to order or forbid the teaching of particular doctrines, or the use of particular text-books. But I do not understand it to prohibit the State from insisting that such religious teaching as is imparted should be imparted subject to the condition that any pupil may refuse to receive it if he pleases. The effect of the prohibition is no greater than that of the conscience clause of the Education Act of 1870, which, according to Mr. Morley, lays down absolute neutrality and indifference as regards religious instruction, and embodies the true principle thus expressed by Mr. Gladstone. 'The duty of the State is to hold itself entirely and absolutely detached from all responsibility with regard to their (*i.e.*, of the voluntary schools) religious teaching.' The argument, again, that the conscience clause owes its origin historically to England having a State Church, is also answered by remembering that in Ireland, after the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church there, it is still enforced, and that even here in India itself the Government have prescribed a conscience clause for European and Eurasian schools, not to mention that we have a State Church even in India which in 1880 cost £56,012 to the revenues of the country. And again, I own I cannot see how it is consistent with the absolute neutrality on which so much stress was laid in the Commission, for the State to help some or even all of the warring religions and religious sects of the country with the funds at its command, where those funds are avowedly applied for propagandist purposes. That seems to me not neutrality, but participation in the strife, and even more,—in fact, a rushing into the *melee*, so to say. And when it is said that the State has nothing to do except with secular results, I entirely demur to that contention, except in the case where the secular and the religious results are plainly severable one from the other. They are severable, when the public are allowed to withdraw from the religious lessons, if they please, in the manner provided by Section 7 of the Education Act of 1870. They are not severable, if the pupils are not allowed to do so.

We are thus brought back to the question, is the conscience clause just and expedient? I can see no reasonable argument against the justice of it; indeed, the justice seems to me to be practically admitted, when a representative of missionary schools protests that attendance at religious lessons is already voluntary. That shows that if my proposal is accepted, the result will be only to enforce the good example of some missionaries upon the whole body—a result to which I cannot see any objection even in the argument that 'compelling' the missionaries to do this might be wrong, though the doing of it might be itself right. Is it then expedient? If I thought that the effect of the proposed rule would be to reduce very greatly the number of missionary schools in the country, it would, in my opinion, perhaps be inexpedient. But I am satisfied that that will not be the result at all. The very eminent representative of missionary institutions in the Commission told us plainly that that would not be the result. And I agree with him.

it is at once unfounded and irrelevant. Lastly, I wish to notice one misapprehension on this subject. It is not correct to say that the proposal of a conscience clause is exclusively aimed at Christian missionaries, though it most certainly is aimed mainly at them. We have already seen the beginnings of educational activity on the part of the Brahmo Samajes and the Prarthana Samajes throughout the country. To them, as well as to the various religious persuasions—Hindus, Muhammadans, &c.—which are referred to in the Despatch, and to which Lord Ripon appealed in his address before the University of Calcutta, a similar rule ought to be made applicable.¹

But these arguments did not weigh with the Commission. In deference to missionary opinion, it generally stuck to its view that private schools should be free to impart the religious education of their choice. As a concession to the supporters of the conscience clause, however, it made only one exception, *viz.*, the case where a private school was the *only* institution of its type in the locality. It said :

Our attention has been drawn to an obstacle which has lessened the influence of aided education in special circumstances and localities, and which the course we shall now recommend may help for the future to remove. It is sometimes the case that the only institution of a particular class in a whole town or district is one where instruction in some definite form of religion is part of the ordinary course. In such cases it occasionally happens that many of the inhabitants allow their children to grow up in ignorance rather than have them instructed in the tenets of a religion they object to. From our point of view, and we believe also from the point of view of the benevolent persons by whom the schools in question are maintained, it is better that children should receive secular instruction only than that they should grow up without instruction of any kind. We are, therefore, of opinion that, in the cases described, the question whether pupils are to attend the religious lessons ought to be left to the decision of their parents or guardians. We are aware that any such recommendation implies taking notice of religious instruction, and may, therefore, be held to contravene the fundamental principle of absolute religious neutrality. But exceptional circumstances may sometimes justify an exceptional line of action. In all cases where a practical option is already afforded to parents by the existence of an institution at which religious instruction does not form part of the ordinary course, the principle of abstinence from all enquiry whether religion is taught or not taught, should remain in force. And altogether apart from the principle of religious neutrality, we recognise that in ordinary circumstances it is best that all institutions under private managers should be perfectly untrammelled with regard to the instruction they impart and to the whole course of their development. But when it is found that any of the arrangements of an institution have the practical effect of retarding the spread of education, we consider it desirable to remedy the evil. In such cases it may commonly be better that those who object to the course of instruction in an existing school should set up a new school of their own, towards the establishment of which the Department should afford every encouragement. If that be done, the ground of interference with the course which the managers of the existing school may lay down will be removed. But until such a new school has been established, we are of opinion that parents should have it in their power to withdraw their children from that portion of the course

in the existing school which they object to, so that the spread of education in the locality may not be practically hindered. *We therefore recommend that the system of grants-in-aid be based as hitherto, in accordance with paragraph 53 of the Despatch of 1854, on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the institution assisted : provided that when the only institution of any particular grade existing in any town or village is an institution in which religious instruction forms a part of the ordinary course, it shall be open to parents to withdraw their children from attendance at such instruction without forfeiting any of the benefits of the institution.*¹

The enquiries held by the Indian Education Commission marked the last great occasion when the Government policy in religious education was discussed in India. Ever since 1813 when the Company accepted responsibility for the education of the Indian people, the subject of religious education was almost continuously debated upon and no final decision could be reached. The credit of having laid down a definite and final policy on the subject, therefore, belongs to the Indian Education Commission. Its rulings were perhaps none too happy. They did not satisfy *any* section of public opinion in *full*; but they had to be accepted as the only practicable solutions of the problem under Indian conditions. Consequently, all official policies in religious education were based upon these decisions of the Commission right up to 1911.

13. Text-Books. We shall deal here with only those aspects of the text-book problem that concerned the missionaries, *viz.*, whether they had or did not have the liberty to use the books which they had compiled in *their own* schools. To them, a text-book was not so much a problem of scholarship or profits; it was rather a vehicle through which they tried to convey the teachings of Christianity, a means of religious education or of proselytisation. They desired, therefore, that these books ought to be universally adopted; but if that were not possible, at least their freedom to use them in their own schools should not be challenged. On the other hand, the mission text-books were objected to in several quarters as containing material which offends the religious susceptibilities of the Indian people; and the desire for (a) uniformity of text-books and (b) Government monopoly in their preparation which was shown by the Department often resulted in driving the missionary text-books out of the field. On a careful review of the problem, the Indian Education Commission made the following recommendations:—

(1) There should be a Text-books Committee in each Province consisting of (a) departmental officers and (b) qualified persons of different sections of the

community not connected with the Department, and that to these Committees should be submitted all text-books, both English and 'vernacular', that it is proposed to introduce into schools, and all text-books now in use that may seem to need revision ;

(2) The supply and distribution of English books should be left as far as possible to the agency of private trade, with which the operations of the Government book-depots were alleged materially to interfere ;

(3) The operations of the existing Government depots should be confined, as soon as may be practicable, to the supply and distribution of 'vernacular' text-books.

(4) Care should be taken to avoid, as far as possible, the introduction of text-books which are of an aggressive character, or are likely to give unnecessary offence to any section of the community, and

(5) Care should be taken lest public examinations become the means of practically imposing the same text-books or curriculum on all schools.¹

These recommendations, which came to be accepted later on, meant that the missionaries lost their ground in so far as they had to submit all their text-books for approval to the text-book committees. But they gained their demand that aided schools should have the freedom to use any *approved* text-books and that Government should not attempt to have a monopoly of text-books in English schools and colleges.

14. **Missionary Educational Enterprise (1882-1902).** Taken together, the decisions of the Indian Education Commission on the problems of (a) the role of missionary enterprise in Indian education, (b) religious education, and (c) text-books, showed to the missionaries that the aggressive and bold policy of Duff needed a revision. They made the missionaries think, take stock of the whole position, and outline a new educational policy to guide their educational enterprise in future. This was done during the next twenty years and by 1902, the missionaries adopted the policy of restricting their educational activities to the maintenance of a few educational institutions in as high a state of efficiency as possible and abandoned their earlier dreams of commanding the whole educational field in India.

The reasons for this decision were several. In the first place, the prominent position which missionary enterprise occupied in Indian education at the time of the Despatch of 1854 was whittled down considerably by the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission. Secondly, the missionaries had a further disappointment when they found that the spread of English education did not lead to considerable proselytisation as expected by them. Thirdly, a new party arose among the missionaries

themselves which held that it was no part of missionary enterprise to maintain schools for non-Christian children. This is how a missionary describes the view of this party :—

Now whether it is better, from a missionary point of view, to limit mission school education to the needs of the native Christian community, or to use the large Government grants as a lever by which the schools may be so developed as to give missionaries a commanding influence over the scholars who pass through them? Mark well! The point at issue is not whether missions should keep up sufficient schools to meet the needs of the native Christian community. That is a matter on which there has never been any serious difference of opinion. The question is, whether missions should establish elementary and secondary schools for the non-Christian youth of India in order through them to disseminate Christian knowledge amongst the heathen masses of the people. No branch of mission work has caused such heated debate as this of schools for heathen children. At the decennial Missionary Conferences at Allahabad in 1872, at Calcutta in 1882, at Bombay in 1892, and at the South India Conference at Bangalore in 1879, it invariably led to animated and often to elaborate discussion. It was of special moment that the great Missionary Secretary of the American Board, Rufus Anderson, and his entire Society, and along with them the English Baptist Missionary Society, should cast their entire weight into the balance against the maintenance of an extensive system of schools for heathen children. What arguments did these opponents advance? "School teaching is not missionary work." "It is no duty of the home churches at their own cost to spread higher education among any people whatsoever, save in so far as their immediate *raison d'être*, the propagation of the gospel, is advanced thereby." Missions have neither a call nor a mandate to teach English literature, history, mathematics, or natural science. The preaching of the gospel to the heathen and the exercise of pastoral care over the native churches is so clearly the head and front of all missionary labour that everything must be considered as pure 'alien stuff' which does not directly further this end. Any union between the State and Missions can only be to the detriment of the latter; it is used by the stronger partner, the State, simply as an auxiliary to the attainment of its own ends, some of which are alien to the objects of missions, and some of which are indeed antagonistic to those objects. The inspection of mission schools by heathen inspectors, the introduction of text-books utterly incompatible with the standpoint of missions, the regulations with regard to the teaching staff, school buildings, the school inventory, school hours, etc., place missions at the mercy or the caprice of their opponents. Besides, the whole thing is like a screw with an endless worm; at one time an order will be issued making all religious instruction optional, and only to be given out of ordinary school hours (Educational Despatch, 1885, in the North-Western Provinces, withdrawn after pressure from missionary circles); at another, it will be decreed that all the subjects that are under Government inspection must be taught during the first five hours of every day, whilst religious teaching must, if at all, be taken during a sixth hour, when all the strength and power of attention on the part of the children is exhausted (Travancore, 1902). It is a delusion and a snare, in an educational system the whole efforts of which are directed towards examination drill and towards the acquirement by the scholars of a parrot-like facility in chattering English, for missionaries to hope to accomplish anything of value in imparting Christian knowledge—a subject that is of no use in the examination. The scholars tolerate the period set apart for Christian religious teaching, often unwillingly making the best of it as a kind of bad bargain because they have a better

fees of the mission school are lower than those of the competing Government establishment. But it is unworthy of missions to use good teaching in secular subjects for an examination as a decoy by which to entice, for purposes of religious instruction, that portion of the youth of the country which hungers after knowledge. And the results of mission schools, as regards the number of baptisms, bear no sort of comparison with the means and strength employed; many mission schools are unable to record one case of baptism in an entire decade. And further, what could this elite of highly trained missionaries, who alone can be employed in educational mission work, in that case accomplish along the lines of direct missionary work? Precisely the most gifted amongst them are confined to close and stuffy school-rooms, and both intellectually and spiritually are becoming atrophied under the mechanical school grind, whilst away outside, far across the thickly populated tracts of land, millions are dying without having once heard the good tidings of great joy! ¹

Of course, a number of strong arguments were also urged on the other side. It was admitted that the number of conversions through English schools and colleges was extremely small. But it was asserted that this comparatively small number of converts was "the very crown and rejoicing of Indian missions, the most brilliant representatives and pillars of the Indian church, the leading spirits in the ever-increasing body of Indian Christians . . . the officers of the main army which is composed of members belonging to the lower orders of the society".² It was also urged that missionaries held an important place in the world of Indian education and that they ought not to lose it; that the teachings of Christ were spreading largely among the educated Indians although only a few of them became the direct adherents of the Christian religion; that it was a duty of the missionaries to satisfy the growing Indian demand for knowledge; and that the mission schools were the only means by which the gospel could be preached to the upper and influential classes of society.

The sum total of all these discussions was the conclusion that missionaries should rest content with the maintenance of a few efficient schools and colleges and should refrain, as far as possible, from any large scale expansion of their educational activities. This policy was adopted soon after 1882, and the missionaries have since directed their efforts to such fields as have not yet attracted Indian workers, *viz.*, the improvement of Aborigines, Hill Tribes, and other backward communities.

15. Institutions Directly Conducted by the Education Department (1854-82). Similar in effect to this decision of the missionaries *not* to expand their educational activities on any

large scale was the policy of Government to depend mainly on private enterprise to provide for the educational needs of the country—a policy that necessarily implied a refusal to multiply the educational institutions which were under the direct control of the Education Departments. This policy, as pointed out in Chapter IV, was clearly enunciated in the Despatch of 1854, which, even at this early date, looked forward “to the time when any general system of education entirely provided by Government may be discontinued, with the gradual advance of the system of grant-in-aid, and when many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of a higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the State” (para. 64). The principal objective of this policy which may be briefly described as the *Doctrine of State-withdrawal* was, as already stated, to patronize missionary enterprise—an idea whose wisdom came to be largely challenged, especially after the events of 1857. Between 1858 and 1882, therefore, the officials of the Department did not observe these directions of the Despatch of 1854 and brought about a rapid multiplication of Government educational institutions. This was due to (a) the fear of possible political repercussions of Government encouragement to missionary enterprise, (b) the absence of private Indian enterprise on a sufficiently large scale, and (c) the desire of officials of the Department, on grounds of efficiency, to conduct schools and colleges under their direct supervision. The following statistics speak for themselves:—

Institutions conducted directly by the Department.

Institution	1855		1882 ¹	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
1. Arts Colleges (English and Oriental)	15	3,246	38	4,252
2. Professional Colleges and Schools	13	912	96	3,670
3. Secondary Schools	169	18,335	1,363	44,605
4. Primary Schools	1,202	40,041	13,882	6,81,835
5. Normal Schools and Classes	7	197	83	2,814
Total	1,406	62,731	15,462	7,37,176

¹ These figures exclude the statistics of the very large number of primary schools (maintained in 1882 out of the local fund cesses or rates) which were non-Government only in name. But even

The officials defended their action in multiplying departmental schools by referring to later Despatches or even to a portion of the Despatch of 1854 itself. As the Commission observed:—

In adopting this policy, the Department was supported by several Despatches from the Secretary of State for India, particularly by the Despatch of 1859 which, while summarising the objects of the Despatch of 1854, made no further reference to the withdrawal of Government from any of its own institutions, or to their transfer to the management of local bodies. On the contrary, it stated what had not before been stated so explicitly, that one of the objects of that Despatch was the *increase*, where necessary, of the number of Government colleges and schools,—a declaration which was repeated and enforced in the Despatch of the 23rd January 1864. Moreover, while it has been often reiterated as a general principle that Government should withdraw, wherever possible, from the direct maintenance and management of institutions of the higher class, stress has always been laid upon the need of caution in the practical application of the principle. Thus, in the Despatch No. 6 of the Secretary of State, dated 14th May 1862, it is expressly said that in any such withdrawal 'attention must necessarily be given to local circumstances,' and that 'Her Majesty's Government are unwilling that a Government school should be given up in any place where the inhabitants show a marked desire that it should be maintained, or where there is a manifest disinclination on the part of the people, to send their children to the private schools of the neighbourhood.' And again, in Despatch No. 6 of the Secretary of State, dated the 26th May 1870, in reply to a proposal from the Government of India 'to reduce the Government expenditure on colleges in Bengal to an equality with the sum total of the endowments and fees of the colleges,' the fear is expressed lest the proposal would tend 'entirely to paralyse the action of high education in Bengal,' and that 'a large and sudden reduction in the Government grant will tend to the diminution, rather than the augmentation, of private liberality.' Thus, while the time has always been looked forward to when, in the words of the Despatch of 1854, 'many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control, of, and aided by the State,' more recent Despatches have laid particular emphasis on the further statement (in the Despatch of 1854 itself), *viz.*, 'it is far from our wish to check the spread of education in the slightest degree by the abandonment of a single school to probable decay.'¹

The missionaries, in particular, did not like this policy. They argued that the Doctrine of State-withdrawal was the only right policy for Government and that so long as Government was maintaining its own institutions, it could never adopt an impartial attitude of full encouragement to private institutions. For instance, the Rev. Mr. Johnston observed:—

The prestige and influence of a school or college, under the direct management of the Government, makes competition by private enterprise almost impossible on the part of natives, and extremely difficult for any (mission) society, especially in a country like India, under a system of paternal despotism. The high pay of professors and teachers in Government colleges and schools intensifies the difficulty of maintaining private institutions. So long as Government

maintains its own colleges in competition with private ones, it is next to an impossibility for Directors of Public Instruction, as Government servants, to overcome a feeling of partiality for institutions with which they naturally feel themselves identified, more especially when, as is now the growing custom, Government Professors are elevated to this responsible position. They would be more than human if they did not favour institutions from which they had risen, and old associates with whom they had wrought, rather than institutions and men whom they had formerly regarded as rivals, if not as antagonists. We charge none with conscious partiality ; but facts prove that, in such a case, impartiality is in most cases impracticable.¹

The missionaries, therefore, started a crusade, both in India and England, demanding, on the basis of statements made in the Despatch of 1854, that the Government colleges and schools should either be closed or transferred to private enterprise. The Indian Education Commission, therefore, was called upon to decide whether (a) the Doctrine of State-withdrawal was educationally sound and (b) if so, the manner in which it could be properly implemented.

The first of these issues proved to be extremely controversial and the evidence led before the Commission included a vigorous championship of the case *for* and *against* State-withdrawal. As the Commission observed :

On the one hand, it was urged that the very success of the advanced institutions supported directly by the State is a reason for maintaining them ; that the people regard the maintenance of such institutions as an important part of the duty of the State as representing the community, which cannot justifiably be neglected or shifted to other shoulders ; that the example of many civilised communities is in favour of the management of advanced education by the State ; that this duty is now carried out in India at a cost which bears an insignificant proportion to the whole expenditure upon education, and still more insignificant when compared with the whole resources of the State ; that as a rule there are no agencies to whom such institutions can be safely transferred ; that the order of withdrawal must be from below upward, and that, even admitting that the time is come or is approaching when Government may withdraw from secondary schools, the time for its withdrawal from colleges is still distant, or may never arrive ; that no resources but those of the State are adequate to procure a steady supply of men fit to teach in the highest institutions ; and that any withdrawal of the State from higher education would necessarily throw it into the hands of missionary bodies, the chief advocates of a change which would cause distrust and apprehension in the great mass of the native community. On the other hand, it was urged that if ever education is to be adequate, it must be national in a wider sense than is implied in mere State management, and must be managed in a great measure by the people themselves ; that the very success of Government institutions is itself a bar and a discouragement to that local combination and self-reliance which it is a primary object of the grant-in-aid system to encourage ; that as a matter of course the people will not exert themselves to supply their educational wants so long as it is understood that Government is ready to

undertake the task ; that, therefore, the greatest stimulus which government can give to private effort is to put an end to arrangements which make it needless ; that there is some analogy between the action of Government in the matter of education and in the matter of trade, because though Government can do more than any one trader it cannot do so much as all and yet it discourages all, for none can compete with Government ; that Government action thus represses free competition and creates a monopoly injurious to the public interest ; that the absence of bodies willing to manage higher institutions is rather the effect than the cause of the unwillingness of the Department to withdraw from the direct provision of the means of education ; that closing or transferring Government institutions of the higher order would not result in any diminution of the means of higher education, but would provide fresh funds for its extension in backward Districts, so that education would soon be far more widely diffused than at present ; and lastly, that if the policy of withdrawal be accepted, it can be readily guarded by provisions that will bar its application to any missionary agency, and that this policy will, on the contrary, so develop native effort as to make it in the long run vastly superior to all missionary agencies combined.¹

On a careful consideration of the problem, the Commission recommended that the Doctrine of State-withdrawal enunciated by the Despatch of 1854 was intrinsically sound and specially suited to the situation in India. Several weighty reasons prompted this decision. In the first place, Government had frankly told the Commission that the funds at its disposal were so limited that if satisfactory progress was to be made at all, "every available private agency must be called into action to relieve and assist the public funds in connection with every branch of public Instruction". A system of grant-in-aid became, therefore, an absolute necessity, "if the educational means of the country were to be made co-extensive with educational wants". Secondly, the paucity of funds made it necessary to make every pie go the longest way and it was urged that, if Government were to transfer its institutions (which were necessarily costlier) to private bodies, it would effect a considerable saving which might be advantageously used for aiding more educational institutions. For these and other reasons, the Commission recommended that *Government should not only curtail the expansion of its institutions, but should also withdraw from direct enterprise as soon as a suitable agency, public or private, became available to carry on the work.* This fundamental recommendation raised two further issues : In whose favour should the withdrawal take place and what should be the conditions for such a withdrawal ? As stated already, the Commission did not favour State-withdrawal in favour of missionaries. But it recommended (a) a *complete* withdrawal

of the State in the sphere of primary education in favour of local boards and municipalities and (b) a *gradual* withdrawal in the sphere of secondary and collegiate education in favour of private Indian enterprise subject to the general safeguard that such a step does not endanger the future of the institution or lower the quality of instruction given therein or reduce the educational opportunities already provided in the area concerned. The first of these recommendations was accepted by Government *in toto* and almost all primary schools were transferred to the control of local bodies like municipalities and local boards. But it must be remembered that this decision does not really amount to a withdrawal in favour of a private agency as visualised by the Despatch of 1854. The local bodies are a part of Government and the transfer of primary schools to their control was really equivalent to an administrative decentralization and *not* to a transfer from a Government to a non-Government agency. The second recommendation, however, was not accepted and, even after 1882, the Department did not withdraw from direct educational enterprise in secondary and collegiate education. This was due partly to the desire of the Department to conduct its own institutions and partly to the unnecessary fear that the efficiency of these institutions would suffer if they were transferred to private Indian enterprise. Between 1854 and 1902, therefore, it may be said that the Doctrine of State-withdrawal from direct educational enterprise remained, on paper, as the official policy of Government but was almost a dead letter in practice. The effects of this doctrine on Indian education in general would be discussed later in the closing paragraph of this chapter. Here it would be enough to state that it succeeded in checking effectively a rapid multiplication of educational institutions directly conducted by the Department. This result was, in a way, inevitable on account of the general financial stringency that prevailed in this period. All that the Doctrine of State-withdrawal did, therefore, was to cloak the inability of Government to expand its educational activities as a noble administrative policy wherein direct State enterprise was deliberately controlled in order that private enterprise might have "room to expand".

16. Private Indian Enterprise (1854-1902). It will have

1902, both the missionaries and Government decided *not* to attempt a large scale expansion of their educational institutions. This restriction of missionary and governmental enterprise in education opened the whole field of educational activity to private Indian enterprise and made them almost solely responsible for meeting the rapidly growing educational demands of the people. It is to the credit of Government that Indian enterprise was given full freedom to develop and liberal assistance during the period under review. It is also to the credit of educated Indians that they rose to the occasion, undertook the work of educating their brethren at considerable sacrifice and not only met all the growing educational demands of the people but also helped to spread the love of education still further by their life and teaching.

In 1854, the modern educational institutions conducted by Indians were so few that *private enterprise* really meant *missionary enterprise*. But as early as 1882, the position was considerably changed and Indians occupied a fairly important position as the following statistics for 1881-2 will show :—

Institutions.	Conducted by Indian Managers.	Conducted by other than Indian Managers.
Arts Colleges	5	18
Secondary Schools	1,341	757
Primary Schools	54,662	1,842
Professional Colleges and Schools	10	18
Total ..	56,018	2,635

N.B —Figures for British India and some Indian States (exclusive of Burma).

It will be seen that, even in 1882, it was only in the field of higher education that the missionaries had a lead over Indian enterprise. During the next two decades, however, Indian private enterprise increased so rapidly that in 1901-02, the Colleges under Indian management numbered 42 as against 37 under missionary management, and the large bulk of the private secondary schools came to be controlled by Indians themselves.

The motives that led to this expansion of Indian private enterprise were mainly patriotic. By about 1880, there was a

wave of social, religious, and political reforms in India—a veritable beginning of a renaissance in Indian national life. The leaders of this movement were inspired by a faith in the ideal of building up a great nation in India and their ultimate objects were social and political. But they realised that a new nation after their heart's desire could not be built up unless the education of the country's youth came to be controlled and managed by Indians themselves. Hence it was that a movement for establishing schools and colleges started about this time in all provinces—a movement which finds a brilliant expression in such institutions as the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh and the Deccan Education Society of Poona.

At first, the efforts of Indians were restricted to the collection of funds and even the colleges under Indian management generally had European principals. It was necessary to do so because, in those days, Indians were not considered fit to become principals of colleges or even headmasters of high schools. This prejudice, however unfair it may appear today, had some justification in those early years: firstly, Indians versed in *European Knowledge and Science*—which was *the* object of the educational system—were not available. Secondly, the idea that English should be taught, or can only be taught properly, by one whose mother-tongue is English was firmly rooted at this time; and, as the teaching of English was the most important part of education, the employment of Europeans, even in schools and colleges under Indian management, became inevitable on grounds of efficiency.

It is hardly necessary to say that Indian private enterprise could not have thrived much so long as it was compelled to depend upon European headmasters and principals who were not inspired by the same ideals as those of the Indians. Secondly, a rapid extension of education and the reduction of its cost to a figure which was within the means of the average Indian were also impossible so long as costly Europeans continued to be entertained. What the situation demanded was a sacrifice on the part of educated Indians of undoubted ability. To such men, a lucrative post under Government was available for the mere asking. But the interests of the nation's education required them "to scorn delights and live laborious days", to turn their

pittance in private institutions. It was a great demand and it is a golden event in the history of Indian education that educated Indians should have risen to the occasion and made the sacrifices demanded. When persons like R. P. Paranjpe—a senior wrangler of the Cambridge University—began to work as principals of private colleges, the stamp of inferiority that was attached to Indian private enterprise vanished at once, the spread of education became rapid, and its cost was considerably reduced.

Too much tribute cannot be paid to the workers in the cause of Indian education in the years between 1882 and 1902. It was these nameless sons of Mother India that satisfied as well as created the public demand for more education that grew up at this time and thereby laid the foundation of the modern national life in India.

17. Grant-in-aid. The policy of grant-in-aid to private enterprise is an inevitable corollary of the Doctrine of State-withdrawal and it is, therefore, hardly a matter for surprise if a great emphasis on grant-in-aid was placed in all the important documents of this period. The Despatch of 1854, as shown already, was the first document to recommend the adoption of a regular scheme of grant-in-aid. This direction was soon carried out by the Education Departments which framed grant-in-aid codes and began to inspect and financially assist the private schools that came into existence to meet the evergrowing desire for education. It is unnecessary here to go into the details of the provincial systems of grant-in-aid as they were evolved between 1854 and 1882. But the following summary of the criticism levelled against these systems by those who had an experience of their operation¹ will show their principal achievements and failures:—

(a) Although private enterprise had increased very considerably between 1854 and 1882 and although a part of the credit for this increase was undoubtedly due to the policy of grant-in-aid adopted in 1854, it would nevertheless be true to say that even better results would have been obtained if the Departmental policies were free from certain defects.

(b) Private enterprise did not always get the best scope or adequate financial assistance. As the Commission pointed out:

The departmental system was in most cases first in the field; and even where private enterprise has been most freely encouraged, departmental institutions which were often originally established at head-quarter stations or other

large and populous centres, have continued to occupy the most favourable ground and have left to private enterprise the task of cultivating a poorer soil. Departmental institutions have absorbed a large part of admittedly insufficient funds, so that means have not been available for developing private enterprise to the full. Such enterprise has probably been checked in many cases by the manifest impossibility of its competing successfully with institutions backed by the resources of the State ; and in some Provinces the steady development of the departmental system has undoubtedly fostered in the native community a disposition to rely more and more on Government for the whole provision of the means of advanced instruction.¹

(c) The amount of grant-in-aid was generally low or inadequate. It was also alleged, by several witnesses, that greater partiality was shown towards the mission schools in distributing the grants ; that grants were often not paid in time ; that they were often suddenly curtailed or withdrawn ; and that the failure to provide adequate funds in the budget resulted in a reduction of grants even for such reasons as increase in the number of private schools or in the expenditure of Government institutions.

(d) It was argued that the rules of grant-in-aid were often cumbrous and elaborate ; that they were not always given wide publicity ; and that managers of private institutions were not often consulted while revising or amending them.

(e) Public examinations were often so used as to impose uniform curricula and text-books on all schools and thereby render the independent development of private schools impossible.

(f) Private schools were not sympathetically treated and were not accepted as equals of Government schools in matters of status and privileges ; charges of hostility, competition or indifference were often levelled against Departmental officers in their dealings with the aided schools. It was also argued that the representatives of non-Departmental educational bodies were not generally consulted in drawing up educational policies ; that they were often excluded from examinerships ; that scholarships were often confined to pupils of Government schools only ; and that the axe of retrenchment fell first on aided schools.

The Commission carefully considered all these charges and came to the conclusion that a zealous and all-out effort to encourage private enterprise had not yet been made. It, therefore, made the following recommendations from this point of view :—

(a) Institutions under private managers cannot be successful unless they are frankly accepted as an essential part of the general scheme of education.

We have decided . . . that the time has not come when a representative board should be set up to control or influence the educational executive, but meanwhile, a useful substitute for such a Board may be provided by free and frequent consultation between the State and those whom the State has invited to co-operate with itself. If aided institutions are thus to have the cordial sympathy of the Department, it follows that any success on their part must be as fully and warmly acknowledged as the similar success of a departmental institution. It follows, too, that when any changes are from time to time proposed, the bearing of such changes on the welfare and convenience of schools under private managers should be carefully weighed. . . . For reasons such as these, we recommend that, with a view to secure the co-operation of Government and non-Government institutions, the managers of the latter be consulted on matters of general educational interest, and that their students be admitted on equal terms to competition for certificates, scholarships and other public distinctions.¹

(b) In the conduct of all departmental examinations, managers or teachers of non-Governmental schools should be associated as far as possible with the officers of the Department.

(c) All scholarships and rewards that Government confers should be given to pupils from all schools and not restricted to those in Government institutions only.

(d) The proximity of a Government school should not be regarded as of itself a sufficient reason for refusing aid to a non-Government school. In this connection, the Commission observed :—

“Another condition should be observed if private effort is to accomplish all that it is capable of. Room must be made for it as its area gradually expands. Wherever it becomes fit to do the work needed, the Department should remove its own institutions as the Despatch of 1854 contemplates. It must always be a difficult and delicate thing to settle when a departmental institution, or any particular branch of it, ought thus to be withdrawn. If such a step be taken too soon, it may propagate the idea that Government has ceased to wish that opportunities for higher education should be afforded. If delayed too long, it must propagate the equally hurtful idea that the people should depend on Government entirely without making an effort for themselves ; and any such idea is of course fatal to private effort.”²

(e) With the object of rendering assistance to schools in the form best suited to the circumstances of each province and thus to call forth the largest amount of local co-operation, the grant-in-aid rules should be revised by the Local Governments in consultation with the managers of schools. The revised rules should define without ambiguity the amount and duration of the aid to which an institution may be entitled and the conditions of grants for buildings, apparatus, and furniture.

(f) Every application for a grant-in-aid should receive an official reply and in case of refusal the reasons for such refusal should always be given.

(g) It should be a general principle that the grant-in-aid should depend (i) on *locality*, i.e., larger proportionate grants be given to schools in backward districts ; and (ii) on *the class of institutions*, i.e., greater proportionate aid be given to those in which a large amount of self-support cannot be expected, e.g., girls' schools and schools for lower castes and backward communities.

(h) Grants be paid without delay when they become due according to the rules.

(i) The revised rules for grant-in-aid and any subsequent alterations made in them should be not merely published in the official gazettes, but translated into the Indian languages, and communicated to the press, to the managers of aided and private institutions and to all who are likely to help in any way in the spread of education.

(j) A periodically increasing provision should be made in the educational budget of each province for the expansion of aided institutions.

(k) The system of grant-in-aid should be based as hitherto, in accordance with paragraph 53 of the Despatch of 1854, on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the institution assisted; provided that when the only institution of any particular grade existing in any town or village is an institution in which religious instruction forms a part of the ordinary course, it shall be open to parents to withdraw their children from attendance at such instruction without forfeiting any of the benefits of the institution.

(l) Variety in the course of instruction in aided schools should be encouraged by grants for special subjects.

(m) Greater latitude should be given to the managers of aided schools in fixing the course of instruction and the medium through which it is conveyed.

(n) Care should be taken lest public examinations become the means of practically imposing the same text books or curriculum on all schools.

(o) It should be distinctly laid down that Indians having the necessary qualifications should be employed as Inspectors of Schools more commonly than in the past.

These comprehensive recommendations of the Commission were based on undisputed principles of a successful system of grant-in-aid such as the recognition of aided institutions as equal to Government institutions in matters of status and privileges, the provision of liberal financial assistance, abstinence from interference with internal management, and appointment of officials who can command the confidence of the managers.

These recommendations were broadly accepted by Government and the development of private enterprise, particularly in the field of collegiate and secondary education, was, therefore, very rapid between 1882 and 1902. Owing to the contraction of missionary enterprise, however, it was the newly rising Indian private enterprise that got the full benefit of this liberal policy and was thereby greatly helped to come into its own.

18. Systems of Grant-in-aid. As stated already in Chap. IV, section 6, it was on the analogy of the developments of the grant-in-aid system in England that the Despatch of 1854 recommended the system of *specific purpose* grants. In 1861, the system of *payment by results*, i.e., the system of assessing grants on the examination results of pupils was introduced in England and from 1865, we find that it began to be copied in India also. As

methods of grants-in-aid grew up in India by 1881-2. These may be broadly classified under the following three systems which were used either separately or in combination with one another :—

(a) *The Salary-grant System*: This system was in force in the Province of Madras only and was applied mainly to institutions which afforded an advanced instruction and which were managed by associations or persons of *approved standing*. Its advantages and disadvantages were thus described by the Indian Education Commission :—

It tends to ensure efficiency by inducing managers to employ teachers who have proved by success at an examination that they have acquired a certain amount of knowledge and some fitness for imparting it to others. It is likely, in course of time, to provide a body of thoroughly trained teachers and to secure that ultimately the great and important work of education will not be left to men incompetent to perform it . . . Again, the system leaves the greatest freedom to managers, as regards the choice of text-books and all other points in the internal economy of schools, and so supplies a strong inducement to private educational effort . . . If the system is properly administered, the schools under it have the fullest scope for free development. There is a minimum of departmental interference. The Inspector simply has to see that the pupils are well taught, that they know what they profess to know, that their general intelligence is cultivated, and that the discipline is good. Under this system, too, there is little danger of information being confounded with education. Neither teachers nor pupils are compelled to work under high pressure to prepare for examinations nor are they tempted to give their main attention to getting up the special points that are most likely to be noticed by the Inspector on his visit. It removes also any opposition of interests between managers and the Department. Under it, the only interest of both alike is that the school should be improved and should prosper. The Inspector is not predisposed by any desire for economy to take an unfavourable view of the condition of the school, since the grant it will receive does not directly depend on the judgment that he passes. The system also provides in a natural and easy manner for the growth of institutions. If managers wish to open an additional class and the Department is convinced that it is really needed, a duly certificated teacher is employed and an additional grant of the fixed proportion of his salary is bestowed. The system tends also to give stability to an institution ; since the grant depends upon the quality of the staff, and not on the number of pupils or their success at examination, which even in the very best schools fluctuate considerably from year to year . . . On the other hand, the system has its disadvantages. There is danger under it of a school being content with mediocrity, since no pecuniary result depends upon excellence of any kind. It is, of course, understood that continued failure to produce satisfactory results will cause the grant to be withdrawn or reduced ; but this is commonly too distant a prospect to have much practical influence. There is danger too of teachers being employed nominally at high salaries, and getting in reality little more than that proportion of the nominal salary which is paid by the State.¹

(b) *The Fixed Period System*: According to this system which was applied to colleges and secondary schools in the whole

of Northern and Central India, to all classes of schools in N.W.P. and the Punjab and in a somewhat modified form, to the primary schools in Assam, grants to schools were fixed for a term of years. "The great advantages of this system", said the Indian Education Commission,—

are its simplicity and elasticity. No elaborate Code is necessary. Managers have only to state their case fully, and if funds are forthcoming they may learn the amount of aid they can rely on, without having to submit to the minute enquiries as to staff that the system of salary-grants requires, or to wait until their pupils have passed an examination, as is necessary under the system of payment by results. Under this system also it is possible to apportion the grant to the actual wants of the school with an ease and precision which are unattainable under a detailed code. Also it is possible to reduce the grant to a school that can thrive with lessened aid far more easily than under any more rigorously defined system, where no reduction of aid is possible without apparent or real infringement of the general rules laid down. Besides this, the system, if fairly and steadily administered, secures stability as much as the salary grant system, and like it, avoids the risk of placing managers and inspectors in antagonism. It avoids also most of the other risks, enumerated above, which constitute such serious drawbacks on the system of payment by results. . . The main disadvantage of the system is one that is hardly separable from its distinguishing advantage of simplicity and elasticity. We refer to its largely arbitrary character. Under it, the power of the Department in giving or refusing aid is scarcely subject to any practical limitation. Everything depends on administration. If the administrators be fair and sympathetic towards private effort, all goes well ; but if otherwise, it must be extremely difficult for private managers to obtain redress.¹

(c) *Payment by Results System* : This system was applied to primary schools in most Provinces, to nearly all institutions of every class in Bombay and to a few secondary schools in Madras. The Commission pointed out that the system has several advantages such as the following :—

- (a) it enables the inspector to apply praise or blame with an amount of firmness and decision impossible under any system that pays less attention to the examination of individual pupils ;
- (b) it insures that State aid is not wasted by being given where there were no educational results ;
- (c) it acts as a powerful stimulus to managers and teachers ;
- (d) it enables the department to get rid of many troublesome questions about the character and trustworthiness of the management ;
- (e) it enables the department readily to compare the results obtained in different schools and districts.

On the other hand, the system also has a number of disadvantages which may be summarised as under :—

- (a) the test of examination results is uncertain owing to the variation of standards applied by inspectors, or by accidental absence of scholars, or accidental failure to show their real form under examination ;
- (b) the system tends to give most aid to managers who require it least and least to those who need it most ;

¹ Report, pp. 411-2.

- (c) it tends to create antagonism between managers and inspecting officers;
- (d) it crushes out variety in courses and standards of instruction ;
- (e) it makes examinations the main object of the thoughts, alike of pupils and of teachers.

A closer examination will show that most of the so-called advantages of the system are really illusory. The uncertainty of the test by the inspecting officers nullifies the first, second and fifth advantages mentioned above which are all based upon the assumption that the inspectors' tests are certain and infallible. The fourth argument is hardly one to which any importance will be attached, because it would now be considered the duty of the Department to *face* the *troublesome questions* and not to *evade* them. The third advantage is real and it is true that the system of payment by results *does* act as a powerful stimulus to managers and teachers. But it is also easy to see that this powerful stimulus is one which urges them to adopt bad methods of teaching. On the whole, the system of payment by results is more harmful than otherwise and its adoption is not generally in the best interests of education.

The Indian Education Commission recommended that the system of *payment by results* should be definitely abandoned at the collegiate stage ; that each Province should adopt its own system or combination of systems at the secondary stage ; and that the system of *payment by results* should be generally adopted at the primary stage, particularly for indigenous schools. These recommendations were accepted by Government and the one definite achievement of the period under review was the abandoning of the system of payment by results in collegiate education. In so far as secondary schools are concerned, each Province evolved a characteristic system of grant-in-aid, and by 1902, the following methods for aiding secondary schools were in vogue :—

Madras.—High schools were aided under the system of salary grants, middle schools on the permanent list were aided under the system of fixed grants and middle schools on the temporary list were aided on the system of payment by results.

Bombay.—Schools whose permanent character had been established were aided under a system of fixed quinquennial grants and all other schools were aided under the system of payment by results.

Bengal.—Secondary schools were aided under a system of fixed grants based upon the needs and means of the school concerned.

United Provinces.—Each school received a fixed annual grant (*i.e.* Rs. 600 for a high school, Rs. 300 for an upper middle school and Rs. 200 for a lower middle school) which was supplemented by grants for average attendance and for

Punjab.—Schools received a fixed grant based on net expenditure and various other grants for specific purposes.

Central Provinces.—Schools were aided on a system of fixed grants based on net expenditure.

Unfortunately, the pernicious system of payment by results was adopted, almost exclusively, in the case of primary schools and dominated the scene until a movement for reform was started by Lord Curzon and the system was abandoned altogether in the early years of this century.

129. The Role of the State in Education (1854-1902). We are now in a position to discuss the role of the State in Indian education between 1854 and 1902. It will have been seen from the foregoing discussion that, during this period,

- (a) Government did not and could not identify itself with the *people*. It always held itself aloof and spoke of the Indian people making attempts to educate themselves, either through private effort or through the local bodies with whose administration they were more closely associated ;
- (b) Government organised and maintained an Education Department primarily to supervise private enterprise and incidentally to maintain some institutions of its own ;
- (c) Government maintained a few educational institutions under its direct control. Some of these were the historical legacies of the past, while others were meant to supplement private effort and provided costly courses, particularly in vocational education, which could not be provided by private enterprise.

The principal activity of Government during this period, therefore, was to assist private enterprise financially and to supervise it. The first of these objectives was not always satisfactorily carried out and the amount of aid given to private schools was not generally adequate. In so far as the second objective is concerned, the Department followed a policy of *laissez-faire*. A school that did not ask for aid was not controlled at all. Even in the case of aided schools, the control of the Department was far from rigorous and was mostly restricted to a general inspection, examination of pupils and an enquiry as to whether the grant-in-aid from Government was properly spent. The lenient attitude led, of course, to the existence of

many an inefficient institution ; at the same time, it did considerable good by helping private Indian enterprise to develop quickly in these early years.

The State can play an infinite number of roles in education from complete indifference (as in England before 1833) to full responsibility (as in England of today). In India, Government was evidently progressing, during this period, from the role of complete indifference which prevailed prior to 1813 to that of full assumption of responsibility. But the progress was slow and halting because Government refused, as a matter of policy, to provide *all* the educational institutions needed by the people. It only undertook to guide and assist, to such extent as was possible, the educational institutions which the people themselves would come forward to provide and even looked forward to a time when the private effort of the people themselves would provide *all* the educational institutions required by the country and when Government would not be required to maintain any institution of its own. This attitude was due mainly to the failure of Government to identify itself with the people and it is to this attitude that we can ultimately trace the main achievements and failures of this period. Private enterprise is a suitable agency for the spread of secondary and collegiate education of a literary type because such education is not costly to impart and can be made to pay its way through fees and grants-in-aid. Very naturally, therefore, it was this type of education that flourished most in India between 1854 and 1902. On the other hand, the primary education of the masses and vocational and technical education are such costly affairs that no tangible progress is possible unless Government takes a bold stand and accepts all the financial and administrative liabilities involved in the proposal. The Government of India was not prepared to do so and hence the cause of mass and vocational education languished considerably.

In England, the State accepted responsibility for education in 1833. But as the people and the Government were one, the progress of education was very rapid. In 1870 compulsory education was introduced and by 1902, compulsory education between 7 and 13 years of age was being effectively enforced in all parts of the country. In India, the Company accepted the

prior to the similar event in England. But owing to the lack of identification between the Government and the people, the principle of compulsory primary education was not accepted at all and Government talked, not of an aggressive and bold educational policy to educate the masses, but of emphasizing the growth of private enterprise, and looked forward to a day when it could eliminate even the few institutions that it directly conducted. It is mainly because of this policy that India remained so far behind England in 1902.

CHAPTER SIX

UNIVERSITY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION (1854-1902)

The most significant achievement of the period from 1854 to 1902 was an unprecedented expansion of secondary and collegiate education. In 1855, there were 28 colleges (with 4,158 students) and 281 secondary schools (with 33,801 pupils). In 1902, the number of colleges had risen to 191 (with 23,009 students) and of secondary schools to 5,124 (with 590,129 pupils). There were, besides, five statutory Universities. In the course of this chapter, therefore, we propose to deal with (a) the history of this great expansion of university and secondary education, (b) the causes that favoured this growth, (c) the defects which the system of higher education in India developed at this period, and (d) the effect of this education upon the life of the people as a whole.

2. Establishment of the Universities at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta (1857). Soon after the receipt of the Despatch of the Court of Directors dated 19th July 1854, the Government of India took up the work of organising universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The preliminary spade work was heavy and naturally took some time¹; but as early as 1857, the Government of India passed Acts of Incorporation of all the three Universities. Except for a few changes of a local nature, the three Acts are identical and it is enough to study one of them in order to understand the constitution of the Universities established thereby. Let us take the Bombay University Act, 1857, as a sample.

The preamble of the Act states the object of the University in the following words :—

Whereas, for the better encouragement of Her Majesty's subjects of all classes and denominations within the Presidency of Bombay and other parts of India in the pursuit of a regular and a liberal course of education, it has been determined to establish a University at Bombay for the purpose of ascertaining, by means of examination, the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science and Art, and of rewarding them by Academical Degrees as evidence of their respective attainments, and marks of honour

¹ The first step was taken in 1854, when the Government of India passed the Act for the Establishment of Universities in India.

proportioned thereunto ; and whereas, for effectuating the purposes as aforesaid, it is expedient that such a University should be incorporated : it is enacted, etc., etc. . . .

The Act then nominated the first Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows, who together constituted the Body corporate of the University of Bombay. The number of Fellows excluding the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor was to be *not less than* twenty-six ; Fellows were of two classes : *Ex-officio* Fellows who included the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, the Bishop of Bombay, Members of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay, the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, the Educational Inspector of the Presidency Division, and the Principals of all Government Colleges ; the other Fellows were called *Ordinary* Fellows and were *appointed by Government for life*, vacancies in their ranks being only caused by death, resignation, departure from India without the intention of returning thereto, or by cancellation of appointment by Government.

The Senate of the University consisted of the Chancellor (who was always the Governor of Bombay), the Vice-Chancellor (whose appointment was made by the Governor-in-Council for a period of two years at a time) and the Fellows both *ex-officio* and ordinary. The Senate was empowered by the Act—

(a) to have the entire management of and superintendence over the affairs, concerns, and property of the University ;

(b) to make and alter any bye-laws or regulations regarding “ the examination for degrees and the granting of the same ; and touching the examination for honours and granting of marks of honour for a higher proficiency in the different branches of Literature, Science and Art ; and touching the qualifications of the candidates for degrees, and the previous course of instruction to be followed by them ; and touching the mode and time of convening the meetings of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows ; and, in general, touching all other matters whatever regarding the said University ”. All such bye-laws and regulations required the previous approval of the Governor-in-Council ;

(c) to hold examinations, charge fees for the same and to confer degrees ;

(d) to appoint or remove all examiners, officers and servants of the University ; and

(e) generally to act in such manner as shall appear to it to

The Act also prescribed the conditions for admission to the university degrees. It said :—

Except by special order of the Senate, no person shall be admitted as a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, Bachelor of Laws, Licentiate of Medicine, Doctor of Medicine, or Master of Civil Engineering, unless he shall present to the said Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows a certificate from one of the Institutions authorized on that behalf by the Governor of Bombay in Council, to the effect that he has completed the course of instruction prescribed by the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows of the said University, in the bye-laws to be made by them under the power in that behalf given by this Act.

This, in brief, is the Bombay University Act of 1857. The contents of the Act for the Universities of Calcutta and Madras are exactly similar, except for changes in the numbers and names of the first Fellows.

3. Criticism of the University Acts of 1857. There is little to comment on in these Acts ; but it may be helpful for a proper understanding of the subject to call special attention to the following features of the scheme :—

- (a) There was no upper limit to the number of the Fellows. The inevitable consequence was that the Senates grew unwieldy, especially as the Fellows were to be appointed for life and not for a specific period.
- (b) In the universities it is customary to have a small executive body called the Syndicate and to entrust it with the details of the day-to-day administration. But it is significant that the Act makes no mention of the Syndicate and gives all powers to the Senate only. In practice, however, Syndicates came to be established in virtue of the regulations framed by the Senates and they were also entrusted with certain powers. The point to be noted is that the Syndicate received no statutory recognition in the Acts of Incorporation.
- (c) The preamble limited the functions of the universities to the holding of examinations and the granting of degrees only. This was no doubt in keeping with the constitution of the London University as it was in 1857 but it did not carry out, in full, the intentions of the Despatch of 1854 with regard to the functions of the proposed Universities. It is true that,

according to the Despatch, Indian universities were "not so much to be in themselves places of instruction" as agencies "to test the value of the education obtained elsewhere",¹ but the Despatch had also pointed out that it would be "advisable to institute, in connection with the Universities, professorships for the purpose of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning, for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities do not now exist in other institutions in India,"² such as Law, Civil Engineering, the classical as well as modern languages of India, etc. One cannot help feeling here that the framers of the Indian Universities' Acts of 1857 took a very narrow view of the Despatch of 1854.

- (d) The type of the university organization that was created by the Acts of 1857 is known technically as the *Affiliating University*. In this form of organization, the affiliated colleges are the real centres of learning and the university itself is not a unit of teaching but a mere unit of administration whose sole duty is to hold examinations and confer degrees. This form of a university had undoubtedly certain *immediate* advantages in the conditions of India as they were in 1857, but it was harmful to national interests in the long run. This aspect of the problem has been very ably dealt with by the Calcutta University Commission in the following words :—

The establishment of the University did not in itself involve any increase in the teaching resources of the province, or in the opportunities of study available for students ; but only the institution of a series of administrative bodies for the definition of curricula and the conduct of examinations, and by these means, for the regulation and supervision of the work of the colleges, to which the function of teaching was wholly reserved.

Ever since 1857 what is known as the "affiliating" type of university has been the dominating factor in the educational development of India. The most distinctive feature of the system is that it makes the University primarily an examining and regulating body, not a teaching body. And since one of the primary duties of a University of this type is to make regulations, these tend to become extremely elaborate, and the freedom of the teacher tends to be proportionately restricted.

As a mode of organization for higher education such a system is open to many criticisms. In its earlier form, down to 1904, it rested upon the assumptions that a University might have as its primary functions the conduct of examinations and the definition of their subject-matter; that by means of examinations and regulations alone the continued efficiency of teaching institutions could be adequately guaranteed; and that the duty of training men for life could safely be left to self-contained colleges organised primarily with a view to the preparation of candidates for an examination. But even within the formal limits of degree subjects, teaching is so individual a business that it depends in a high degree upon the personality of the teacher, and for that reason the teacher ought to have great freedom, if he is to do justice to the varying needs of the pupils. In so far as he is denied this freedom, his sense of responsibility for the advancement of his students is apt to be weakened.

The traditional idea of a University, which has survived the test of centuries, is something far different from this. According to the accepted view of almost all progressive societies, a University ought to be a place of learning, where a corporation of scholars labour in comradeship for the training of men and the advancement and diffusion of knowledge. On this definition the Indian universities, in their first form, were no true universities. They were not corporations of scholars, but corporations of administrators; they had nothing to do directly with the training of men, but only with the examining of candidates; they were not concerned with learning, except in so far as learning can be tested by examinations. The colleges were the only "places of learning", and the system tended to weaken the responsibility of the stronger colleges and, under the conditions prevailing in India, to reduce them to coaching institutions. The University being merely a group of administrative boards, had no direct contact with the real work of teaching; it could contribute nothing to strengthen the intellectual resources of the colleges, and little to stimulate free criticism and independent thought among teachers or students. With its uniform curricula, and its exaggerated emphasis upon examinations, the system reduced the colleges too much to the same pattern. It encouraged them, for the sake of economy, to limit their teaching to the ordinary conventional subjects, and to disregard those more practical issues to which the Despatch of 1854 had attached so much importance; it often prevented the teacher within his subject from teaching the things he cared most about and understood best; it led the student to value the discipline of his training not for its own sake, but mainly as a means for obtaining marketable qualifications. In the long run such a system must have a sterilising influence.

Yet it must be recognised that the system afforded the easiest solution of the problem as it presented itself in 1857, and perhaps met the immediate need better than any other system could have done. Few of the colleges were yet ripe for that freedom of teaching which we have learnt to regard as the essence of university work. Clearly defined standards of attainments were needed, and a system of examinations can give these, even if in a rather mechanical way. The Indian universities were founded in the Mutiny year; and it was not to be expected, in the political and financial circumstances of that time, that Government should undertake any large and ambitious programme involving great expenditure. The new system gave to Government an impartial means of picking out young Indians of ability for the public service. It made use of all the institutions of various types which had grown up during the previous forty years, and gave them a real stimulus and guidance.¹

¹ *Report of the Calcutta University Commission*, Vol. I, Chapter II, paras. 30-37.

It is a matter for regret that the ultimate disadvantages of the system were ignored in view of its immediate advantages and that it was decided to follow the line of least resistance in preference to a programme of intelligent planning in national interest. The decision looks almost tragic if one remembers that the London University itself was remodelled in 1858 and gave up the affiliating type as unsatisfactory! Perhaps, it would have contributed more to the welfare of the nation had the University Acts been passed in 1859 instead of in 1857.

4. Growth of Universities between 1857 and 1902. Let us now turn to the growth of universities between 1857 and 1902. The Acts of Incorporation of the universities recited by name the degrees which the university might confer. It was afterwards found desirable to add others to the list and hence in 1860 the Indian Universities (Degrees) Act was passed empowering the universities to confer such diplomas or degrees or licences as had been or might be approved by the bye-laws or regulations. In 1884, the Indian Universities (Honorary Degrees) Act was passed which empowered the three universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras to confer the Honorary Degree of LL.D.

In 1882, the Punjab University was established by a special Act of Incorporation. The general framework of this Act was similar to the Acts of 1857; but the Punjab University differed from the older universities in several important matters. These have been mentioned in the following words in the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1897-1902* :—

(1) It has a Faculty of Oriental Learning, and confers the degrees of Bachelor, Master, and Doctor of Oriental Learning on candidates who have gone through a course of training analogous to that prescribed for the examinations for the degrees in Arts, but through the medium not of English but of Urdu.

(2) It confers oriental literary titles on successful candidates in examinations which it holds in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

(3) It conducts proficiency and high proficiency examinations in vernacular languages.

(4) It grants native titles to students of Muhammadan and Hindu law and medicine.

(5) It conducts various school examinations.

(6) It maintains an Oriental College and a Law College, and it may maintain 'such other schools and colleges as the Senate may from time to time direct'.

(7) The Senate advises on educational matters generally.¹

† In 1887, another special Act of Incorporation established the fifth Indian University at Allahabad. The story of its establishment is best told in the words of R. Nathan :—

The question of establishing a university for Upper India was raised as far back as 1869, and in 1870, the Government of the North-Western Provinces submitted proposals for the establishment of a central college at Allahabad as the nucleus of a university for resident under-graduates. The Government of India sanctioned the establishment of the college, but without committing itself to any opinion as to the desirability of founding a university. The Secretary of State expressed the hope that the college might hereafter be extended into a university for the United Provinces and the Punjab.

Sir William Muir, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, having invited the co-operation of the Chiefs and Feudatories, opened the Central College in a hired building on the 1st July 1872. The foundation stone of the Muir College was laid by Lord Northbrook in 1873, and the College was opened by Lord Dufferin in 1886. In the meantime the Punjab had secured a university for itself, and in 1884 the Education Commission suggested that the time had come to establish a university in the United Provinces. The suggestion was well received. It was felt that Calcutta was too far distant, and that the regulations of that university were not altogether suitable to the development of higher education in Northern India. In especial, the Calcutta curriculum was considered defective in that it took too little notice of those purely oriental studies which had formerly flourished in the United Provinces. It was further hoped that the establishment of a local university would stimulate educational progress. An Act was accordingly passed in the Council of the Governor-General in the year 1887 incorporating the University of Allahabad. The Local Government carefully considered the exact form the University should take, and in especial whether in addition to prescribing courses and conducting examinations it should maintain a staff of professors and even of private teachers, after the pattern of the Universities of Germany. While recognising the great value of a university of this type the Lieutenant-Governor considered that, at all events at first, the University should confine its operations to the direction of the methods and aims of instruction ; adapting them to the needs, circumstances, provisions and predilections of the country, which is gradually recovering its place in the intellectual progress of India. The Act imposes no limitations on the scope and activity of the University, but hitherto Allahabad has conformed to the practice of the three original Universities and confined itself to conferring degrees on candidates who pass its examinations after following a prescribed course of study in an institution affiliated to it.¹

† 5. **Collegiate Education (1854-1902).** It will be seen from the foregoing account that, during the period under review, all the five universities in India were merely affiliating and examining bodies. They did no direct teaching work but contented themselves by testing the students educated in affiliated colleges. No adequate idea of university education between 1854 and 1902 can, therefore, be had from the history of the universities alone ; it will have to be supplemented by an

account of the development of collegiate education in the same period.

6. **Collegiate Education Prior to 1857.** Although the universities were established as late as in 1857, educational institutions which called themselves *colleges* were in existence for about seventy years previously. An idea of the colleges working in 1857 may be had from the following statistics :—

		Colleges of General Learning.	Colleges of Medicine.	Colleges of Engi- neering (Civil).
<i>Bengal</i>				
Conducted by Government	..	7	1	..
.. .. Missionaries	..	7	..	..
Total	..	14	1	..
<i>Bombay</i>				
Conducted by Government	..	2	1	..
.. .. Missionaries	..	..	..	..
Total	..	2	1	..
<i>North-Western Province</i>				
Conducted by Government	..	4	..	1
.. .. Missionaries	..	..	..	..
Total	..	4	..	1
<i>Madras</i>				
Conducted by Government	..	1	1	..
.. .. Missionaries	..	2	..	..
Total	..	3	1	..
<i>Grand Total for whole of India</i>		23	3	1

The earliest colleges of this period such as the Calcutta Madrasa or the Benares Sanskrit College were established by Government and were generally modelled on the ancient educational institutions of the Muslims and Hindus. Colleges imparting instruction in Western knowledge were first established by missionaries. Government soon followed their example and began to establish colleges of modern type, especially after the controversy between the Anglicists and the Classicists had come to an end. The only college organised by a Committee with whose management Indians were associated was, as we have

however, merged later in the Presidency College established in 1854 by Lord Dalhousie, and hence in 1857, there was not a single college managed by Indians themselves. It must be pointed out, however, that Indians had given munificent donations for establishment of colleges—notably in connection with the Elphinstone Institution, Bombay, and the colleges at Agra and Delhi.

It must be remembered that these early institutions for imparting higher education were quite different from the colleges of today. Many of the colleges grew out of schools teaching English and contained classes “in which the alphabet was taught under the same roof with classes reading Shakespeare, the Calculus, Smith’s *Wealth of Nations*, and the *Ramayana*”.¹ The word *collège* seems then to have been used rather loosely to denote “an institution where a high type of instruction is given”.

7. Growth of Collegiate Education between 1857 and 1882.

Colleges in the modern sense of the word may be said to have started to function after 1857 when the universities came to be established. Henceforward, they could only admit such students as had passed the entrance examination held by the universities to which they were affiliated and impart instruction according to such courses only as had been prescribed by the universities. In short, colleges now became an integral part of the universities themselves and provided instruction in higher branches of learning on their behalf.

The development of colleges was fairly rapid during the twenty-five years between the establishment of the universities and the appointment of the Indian Education Commission. This was partly due to the rapid development of secondary education and partly to the liberal encouragement given by Government. At the first matriculation examinations of the universities, only 219 candidates were declared to have passed.² But in 1881-82, as many as 7,429 pupils appeared for the matriculation examination from British India only and 2,778 of these were declared to have passed. In those days a very large number of the candidates who passed the matriculation sought admission to universities, mainly owing to the material advantages that

¹ Report of the Indian Education Commission, p. 18.

were then attainable by holders of university degrees. Consequently, the number of colleges as well as their attendance increased considerably between 1857 and 1882. The following statistics of the latter year may be contrasted with those of 1857 given in the earlier section :—

Province.			Conducted by Government.	Aided.	Unaided.	Total.
<i>Bengal</i>						
English	..	..	12	5	4	21
Oriental	..	..	6	..	..	6
<i>Bombay</i>						
English	..	..	3	2	1	6
Oriental	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Madras</i>						
English	..	..	10	11	3	24
Oriental	..	..	1	..	..	1
<i>North-Western Province</i>						
English	..	..	3	2	3	8
Oriental	..	..	1	2	..	3
<i>The Punjab</i>						
English	..	..	1	..	..	1
Oriental	..	..	..	1	..	1
<i>Central Provinces</i>						
English	..	..	1	..	..	1
Total			38	23	11	72

(These statistics are taken from p. 274 and p. 292 of the *Report of the Indian Education Commission*. They do not include colleges of professional education which were excluded from the purview of the Commission.)

Besides these, there was a college at Ajmer sending up students for the First Year Examination in Arts of the Calcutta University, and several colleges in Indian States.

Of the new colleges that sprang up during this period, three deserve special notice. The first is the Canning College, Lucknow, which was established in 1864 by the Talukdars of the Province in gratitude to the good treatment they received from Lord Canning, the then Governor-General of India, after the incidents of 1857. The cost of the college was mostly met from a tax of one-half per cent on land revenue which the Talukdars agreed to pay and an equivalent grant from Government. The College had two branches in 1882—the English branch which was affiliated

to the Calcutta University and the Oriental Branch which was affiliated to the Punjab University. This college was the beginning of the Lucknow University of to-day.

The second college that deserves special notice is the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College which was established at Aligarh in 1875 mainly owing to the efforts of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. In 1881-82, the College had 171 students in residence of whom 16 were Hindus. This college developed later into the Muslim University of Aligarh.

The third important college that deserves special notice is the Oriental College at Lahore which was first established by Government in 1870 and later transferred to the Punjab University. The essential point in which it differed from other Oriental and English colleges was that, while cultivating the study of oriental languages, it also gave instruction in higher European knowledge and science through the medium of modern Indian languages. For this purpose, Urdu and Hindi translations of European works were published in such subjects as algebra, Euclid, trigonometry, the elements of statics, history (ancient and modern), geography, psychology, political economy, chemistry, physics, descriptive astronomy, hydrostatics, dynamics, logic (deductive and inductive), etc. Although the idea of establishing an Urdu university for the Punjab never materialised, this college may be taken as the forerunner of the Osmania University.

An important feature of this period that deserves notice is the entry of Indian private enterprise into the field of the direct management of collegiate institutions. Even in 1881-82, Indians conducted five aided colleges—two in the North-Western Provinces, and three in Madras. The two colleges in the North-Western Province were the Canning College, Lucknow, and the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, which have been just referred to. The three colleges in Madras were the Pachaiyappa's College and the Hindu Colleges at Vizagapatam and Tinnevely. The Pachaiyappa's College arose out of a school established in 1842 from the funds derived from a bequest for pious uses made by Pachaiyappa, a wealthy Hindu gentleman; the Vizianagram College was established as a school in 1857 by His Highness the Maharaja of Vizianagram; and the Tinnevely College was established in 1861. It should be remembered, however, that the principals of these colleges were generally Europeans and that

Indians were then considered unfit to become the Principals of first-class colleges.

8. Recommendations of the Indian Education Commission.

The report of the Indian Education Commission did little to improve university education. The Government Resolution appointing the Commission observed that it would "not be necessary for the Commission to enquire into the general working of the Indian universities, which are controlled by corporations comprising representatives of all classes interested in collegiate education" and that a fair estimate of the results of their operation could always be formed independently of any special inquiry. The Commission was also precluded from studying professional colleges because that "would expand unduly" the task before it. The Commission could not, therefore, study the problem of collegiate education in a comprehensive manner and hence its recommendations on this subject are not so important as those on secondary or primary education.

The following are the main recommendations of the Indian Education Commission on the subject of collegiate education :—

(a) That the rate of aid to each college be determined by the strength of the staff, the expenditure on its maintenance, the efficiency of the institution, and the wants of the locality.

(b) That provision be made for special grants to aided colleges, whenever necessary, for the supply and renewal of buildings, furniture, libraries and other apparatus of instruction.

(c) That Indian graduates, especially those who have also graduated in European universities, be more largely employed than they have hitherto been in the colleges maintained by Government.

(d) That in order to encourage diversity of culture, both on the literary and on the physical side, it is desirable, in all the larger colleges, Government and aided, to make provision for more than one of the alternative courses laid down by the universities.

(e) That an attempt be made to prepare a moral text-book, based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion, such as may be taught in all Government and non-Government colleges.

(f) That the Principal or one of the Professors in each Government and aided college deliver to each of the college classes in every session a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen.

(g) That while it is desirable to affirm the principle that fees at the highest rate consistent with the undiminished spread of education should be levied in every college aided by the state, no aided college should be required to levy fees at the same rate as that charged in a neighbouring Government college.

(h) That no college, Government or aided, be allowed to receive more than

(i) That the Local Governments be invited to consider the advisability of establishing scholarships for distinguished graduates to enable them to proceed to Europe for the purpose of practically studying some branch of mechanical industry.

The first recommendation marked the discontinuance of the system of payment by results in so far as grants to colleges were concerned. This system of grant-in-aid was applicable to colleges in the Province of Bombay only and with the acceptance of this recommendation by the Bombay Government the system disappeared from the collegiate stage by about 1886-87. On the other recommendations of the Commission, the following passage from the report of the Calcutta University Commission forms a good commentary :—

But they could not discuss this question (*i.e.* of collegiate education) fully, or make recommendations on it, because this would have been to invade the province of the university. They could not discuss the relation of collegiate courses of study to the practical needs of the students and of the community. They could not discuss the value or appropriateness of these courses of study in themselves. They collected a great mass of statistics about colleges and their work. They spoke with a lukewarm enthusiasm about the effects of the system upon the students. They made certain proposals designed to remedy the defects which they perceived; they urged, for example, that a "moral text-book" should be compiled, and that the principal or one of the professors in every college should deliver to every class a course of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen. They commended the benefits of properly organised residential facilities, but made no suggestions for their expansion. But although they fixed their hopes upon the "system of instruction becoming more thorough and more scientific", they had no measures to recommend whereby it could be made so; for that would have been to trench upon the sphere of the university.¹

9. Growth of Colleges between 1882 and 1902. The recommendations of the Commission regarding collegiate education itself were not, therefore, of great importance. But its recommendations on other matters reacted indirectly on the development of collegiate education in two ways :—

(a) Firstly, the recommendations led to a great expansion of secondary education. But as there was no provision of varied courses at the upper secondary stage, most of the pupils in secondary schools prepared themselves for the Matriculation examination. Moreover, a very large percentage of those who passed the Matriculation joined the colleges partly owing to the fact that the more lucrative posts under Government were open only to holders of university degrees, and partly from a lack of alternative openings. Consequently, the number of students

seeking admission to colleges increased substantially year after year.

(b) Secondly, the recommendations of the Commission created a background in which Indian private enterprise could thrive. As we have seen, missionary institutions dominated the private effort in collegiate education in 1882. But the situation began to alter after the report of the Commission. Missionary institutions made only a slight progress; and new institutions managed by Indians came into the field in large numbers. Even in 1901-02, Arts colleges in British India conducted by Indians numbered 42 as against 37 conducted by Missions.

It is hardly a matter for surprise, therefore, if this period witnessed a very rapid increase in the number of colleges of general education. In 1882, the total number of colleges affiliated to Indian universities was 68 only—49 of the first grade and 19 of the second. In the next decade, 1882-91, sixty-one new colleges were affiliated, 30 of the first grade and 31 of the second. In the decade 1892-1902, fifty more colleges were affiliated, 10 of the first grade and 40 of the second grade. In 1901-02, therefore, the total number of Arts colleges affiliated to Indian universities was 179 of which 136 were in British India, 32 in Indian States, 9 in Ceylon and 2 in Burma. These 179 colleges were distributed as under :—

<i>University</i>	<i>Colleges</i>
1. Calcutta	20 in Calcutta City. 26 in the Province of Bengal. 4 in the United Provinces. 3 in the Central Provinces. 2 in Burma. 9 in Ceylon. 1 in Rajputana. 4 in Central India. 2 in Assam.
Total 71 (These include 6 colleges also affiliated to the Allahabad University).	
2. Madras	10 in Madras City. 32 in Madras Province. 5 in Travancore State. 4 in Mysore State. 2 in Hyderabad State. 1 in Pudukottai State. 1 in Cochin State.

<i>University</i>	<i>Colleges</i>
3. Bombay	3 in Bombay City. 2 at Poona. 1 at Ahmedabad. 1 in Sind. 4 in Indian States (one each in Kolhapur, Baroda, Bhavnagar and Junagadh).
Total 11	
4. Punjab	5 at Lahore. 4 in the Punjab Province. 2 at Delhi. 1 at Peshawar. 3 in Indian States (one each in Patiala, Bhawalpur and Kapurthala).
Total 15	
5. Allahabad	3 at Allahabad. 4 at Lucknow. 3 at Agra. 16 in the United Provinces. 3 in Rajputana. 2 in Central India. 1 in Central Provinces.
Total 32	

Of the 138 colleges in British India (excluding Burma), 11 were meant primarily for the education of Europeans and 12 for the education of women. The remaining 115 were managed as under :—

24 by Government.	
6 by Committees of semi-official character.	
5 by Municipalities.	
38 by Missions.	
42 by Indians.	
Total 115	

In 1901-02, the total number of colleges in India¹ was 191 of which 145 were Arts Colleges and 46 were Professional Colleges. (Some of these institutions were not affiliated to any Indian university.) The following tables give some details about the students of these colleges and the expenditure incurred on them :—

¹Including Burma and some Indian States.

Number of Scholars in Colleges on the 31st March, 1902 in the several Provinces of British India classified according to sex, race or creed.

				Europeans and Eurasians.	Indian Christians.	Hindus.		Muham- madans.	Others.	Total.
						Brahmins.	Non- Brahmins.			
<i>Arts Colleges.</i>										
English	{ Male	..	..	175	450	6,686	7,964	1,259	437	16,971
	{ Female	..	..	102	32	3	23	....	17	177
Oriental	{ Male	..	..	....	....	407	8	88	....	503
	{ Female	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i>										
Law	{ Male	..	..	13	35	1,026	1,437	190	66	2,767
	{ Female	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Medicine	{ Male	..	..	155	103	255	647	65	165	1,390
	{ Female	..	..	35	17	....	2	....	22	76
Engineering	{ Male	..	..	110	15	244	407	64	25	865
	{ Female	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Teaching	{ Male	..	..	1	16	73	65	24	....	179
	{ Female	..	..	11	....	....	....	....	....	11
Agriculture	{ Male	..	..	....	1	40	27	2	....	70
	{ Female	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Total				602	669	8,734	10,580	1,692	732	23,009

Expenditure on University Education
(1901-02)

	Provincial Revenues.	Local Funds.	Municipal Funds.	Fees.	All other sources.		Total.
					Private.	Public.	
<i>Arts Colleges.</i>	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
English	8,95,556	7,932	19,609	9,73,501	6,20,696	45,654	25,62,948
Oriental	28,573	157	74	262	9,013	100	38,179
<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i>							
Law	5,317	....	....	1,07,733	5,248	2,213	1,20,511
Medicine	2,79,287	2,979	3,262	1,34,994	3,341	....	4,23,863
Engineering	4,48,383	....	....	50,470	5,264	....	5,04,117
Teaching	84,951	325	78	550	843	....	86,747
Agriculture	56,092	....	....	572	5,693	....	62,357
Total	17,98,159	11,393	23,023	12,68,082	6,50,098	47,967	37,98,722

(These statistics are taken from the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India* 1897-1902, Vol. II, General Tables III, IIIA and IV.)

It will be seen from the above statistics that the largest expansion had taken place in Arts colleges. These were mostly of the type of the Hindu Vidyalaya of Hare, *i.e.*, colleges which mainly taught a literary course and imparted a more or less sound knowledge in subjects like English literature or history, but which provided very few facilities for the study of scientific subjects. The professional colleges, it will be seen, were a small minority. The most popular professional course appears to be that of *Law* which had as many as 2,767 students. Next in order come the *Medical* colleges with 1,466 students followed by *Engineering* colleges with 865 students. These three professions account practically for ninety per cent of students who were receiving professional education. On the whole, therefore, it will be evident that the collegiate education of 1901-02 was predominantly literary education and that, even among the professions, the black-coated professions of the lawyer and the doctor were the most popular ones. India was, at this time, an economically backward country. She needed an extensive development of her industries and, to that end, a large scale expansion of industrial and technical education. But the above statistics show that the higher education in India had developed, between 1854 and 1902, *not* according to the requirements of the nation, but according to the needs of Government and the tastes of the upper classes.

One or two other points indicated by the above statistics may be mentioned here. The Hindus naturally formed the largest bulk of the students in colleges, but it is also worth noting that the Brahmins who are a minority in the population as a whole formed about one-third of the total number of students enrolled. The collegiate education was, therefore, still dominated by the upper classes, although the Downward Filtration Theory had been abandoned as early as 1854. Moreover, it will also be noticed that, of the total expenditure of Rs. 37.98 lakhs on university education, nearly half or Rs. 17.98 lakhs came from Provincial Revenues and about one-third or Rs. 12.68 came from fees.

10. Defects of Collegiate Education (1854-1902). The system of collegiate education in India developed some major defects between 1854 and 1902, and by the end of the century these had already begun to cause great concern to Government

defects, there was hardly any controversy. For example, reference has been made above to the lop-sided development of liberal education and to the neglect of professional education in general and of industrial and technical education in particular. To these may be added the uneven spread of higher education among different communities of the Hindu society or among the followers of different religions. The complete absence of women students from the Muslim community and the extremely small number of Hindu girls studying in colleges was another serious defect. These were defects regarding which all sides were agreed and no controversy existed, either about the nature of the evil or the means to remove it.

But there were some other defects in respect of which opinion was keenly divided. Conflicts particularly arose between the official and the non-official points of view and became wider and deeper as a nationalist public opinion began to be formed in India, especially after the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Among these controversies, special mention must be made of (a) the violent and protracted disputes regarding the study of the modern Indian languages at the university stage, (b) the experiments to impart higher professional education through the modern Indian languages, and (c) the reactions to the rapid expansion of collegiate education, especially under private Indian management, that had taken place since 1854 and particularly after 1882.

(a) *Neglect of the Modern Indian Languages at the University Stage*: A serious defect of university education of this period which led to a heated controversy was the neglect of modern Indian languages. It will be recalled that the Despatch of 1854 suggested that, "it would greatly encourage the cultivation of the vernacular language of India, that professorship should be founded for those languages" in the universities which were then proposed to be established. The natural expectation, therefore, was that the universities would establish professorships of modern Indian languages and bring about their development in such a way that they could be adopted as media of instruction at all stages at a very early date. But unfortunately, these hopes were never realised. As stated already, the new universities were purely examining bodies and had no powers to

it was still possible for them to institute examinations in modern Indian languages so that they might be taught in affiliated colleges at least. This step was taken in the beginning, but very soon the wind began to blow in the contrary direction and, except in Madras, the modern Indian languages came to be either totally excluded from the university courses or were allowed to occupy only a very subordinate place in them. This becomes clear from the Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902. From the analysis of the university courses given by the Commission at pp. 21-24 of its report, it is seen that :—

(i) At the *Entrance Examination*, one of the four compulsory subjects was *Second Language* which was defined as ‘(a) an Oriental or European classical language, or (b) an Indian or Continental European vernacular language’. In Allahabad and Punjab universities, the option of a *vernacular* language was not given and in the Punjab, a candidate could take a fifth optional subject which might be a *vernacular* language, elementary science, or a second classical language.

(ii) At the *Intermediate Examination*, a second language defined as ‘an eastern or western classical or modern European language’ was compulsory. Madras University alone added the option of a modern Indian language.

(iii) At the *B.A. Examination*, again Madras was the only university where the modern Indian languages were included as an option to a classical language.

It would, therefore, be clear that, except in Madras, the study of modern Indian languages was neglected in the ordinary courses of the university. The other exception to the general rule was the Punjab University which conducted some special examinations in the modern Indian languages. As the Commission observed :

The Punjab University occupies a peculiar position in that it recognises University teaching through the medium of the vernaculars as part of its system. It confers the degrees of Bachelor or Master of Oriental Learning on candidates who have gone through a course of training analogous to that prescribed for the B.A. and M.A. courses on the English side, through the medium not of English but of the vernacular (Urdu). This system has not so far borne encouraging fruit, partly through neglect and partly through the absence of proper text-books and the inherent difficulty of obtaining the services of lecturers competent to convey western learning to their pupils in the vernacular. The preparation of

It is hardly necessary to trace the history of this neglect of modern Indian languages in *every* Indian university, and it will serve our purpose to study it, by way of an illustration, in the University of Bombay. According to the first regulations of this university, a modern Indian language could be taken up as a subject from the Matriculation to the B.A. examination. In 1862, however, Sir Alexander Grant, the then Director of Public Instruction, moved in the Senate that all modern Indian languages should be removed from *all* university examinations except the Matriculation (where also their study was optional and *not* compulsory). In support of his resolution, Sir Alexander Grant argued that (i) the books available in Marathi (or any other modern Indian language) were of so low a standard that to prescribe them for the B.A. examination was like prescribing *Jack the Giant-killer* for the Graduate's examination at Cambridge or Oxford; (ii) that it is hardly worthwhile to study the old poets who have written in these languages for university examinations; (iii) that it is no duty of the university to develop modern Indian languages, and that (iv) their omission from university courses could make it possible to give greater attention to the study of classical languages. Sir A. Grant's proposal was accepted by the university and modern Indian languages were removed from all university examinations except the Matriculation where they were permitted to remain on an optional basis.

The result of this decision of the University was disastrous. The secondary schools of the period mainly concentrated their efforts on the preparation of students for the Matriculation. As the study of the modern Indian languages was only optional at the Matriculation, the schools generally neglected them in Standards IV-VII and some of them even went so far as to omit their study right from Standard I. The colleges, of course, did not teach these languages at all, because they found no place in the university courses. The net result, therefore, was that the study of modern Indian languages was greatly neglected by the new intelligentsia that was coming out of the schools and colleges of this period.

Several attempts were made to reintroduce the study of the modern Indian languages in University courses. The earliest of these was made by Sir J. B. Peile, the then Director of Public Instruction, in 1870. A good deal of public agitation was

organised in 1887 with the same objective by institutions like the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, the Gujarati Vernacular Society, the Kanarese Association, the Anjuman-i-Aap-Baab, etc. In 1892, the Secretary of State for India also suggested that the University should reconsider the policy. But on every occasion, the old decision was upheld and the reintroduction of the modern Indian languages in the university courses was strongly opposed.

The credit of scoring the first victory in this connection goes to the late Justice M. G. Ranade, a prominent social worker of Maharashtra and one of the great national leaders of India during the nineteenth century. It was mainly due to his efforts that the modern Indian languages were introduced at the M.A. examination only in 1901.

The above account of the controversy on this subject in the University of Bombay shows how the study of the modern Indian languages was generally neglected by Indian universities during the nineteenth century in clear contradiction of the directions of the Despatch of 1854. This was one of the important reasons which led to the slow development of Indian languages and to the creation of a cultural gulf between the intelligentsia educated in the universities and the masses.

(b) *Medium of Instruction in Junior Courses of University Level:* The problem of the medium of instruction at the collegiate stage did not arise at all during the period, when the officers of the department who also dominated the universities were of the opinion that the modern Indian languages did not even deserve to be studied as a subject during the university course. It goes without saying that there was no room for a proposal to adopt the modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the collegiate stage. One development of this period, however, deserves special notice. As already stated in Chapter III, there were medical schools in Bombay and Bengal where instruction was given through the modern Indian languages. These courses were of an inferior standard as compared to the degree courses conducted in English in the medical colleges and were meant to recruit officers to the subordinate ranks of the medical department. They, however, served the very useful purpose of having been the cause of producing good medical books in modern Indian

subjects and the standard of instruction imparted in the subordinate Medical class where instruction was given through Marathi (and later on in Gujarati) was very high. In order to popularize the course, Shri Jagannath Shankershet and others instituted a number of scholarships and prizes for those who would go in for it. But owing to the general neglect of modern Indian languages which was so conspicuous a feature of this period, these attempts to give a medical education of a high standard through Marathi or Gujarati generally came to be condemned by the officers of the Department, and the Medical courses teaching through the mother-tongue were discontinued by about 1880. A great experiment of still greater potential significance was thus allowed to go to waste. If these early experiments had been carefully developed, the problem of medium of instruction at university stage would have been satisfactorily solved long ago in India.

(c) *Rapid Expansion of Collegiate Education, Especially under Private Indian Enterprise (1882-1902)*: Another defect in the development of collegiate education in this period was that the quality of education had been lowered in the course of the rapid expansion that had taken place between 1882 and 1902. But this development was not viewed from the same angle by different educationists. Some educationists considered that this expansion was an evil because they believed that it was being secured at the cost of efficiency which, to them, was more important than mere numbers. This class of thinkers consisted mostly of Government officials and missionaries whose view can best be stated in the following words of the Calcutta University Commission:—

Indeed, their (*i.e.* of the Indian Education Commission) main policy, that of reducing Government expenditure in this sphere, and encouraging local and private effort, was essentially irreconcilable with any large scheme for deepening and strengthening the intellectual vitality of the colleges. Extensive, not intensive, growth was the necessary result of the policy which they recommended; and most of the new colleges which were stimulated into existence by their policy during the following twenty years were necessarily weak, understaffed and incapable of affording the individual attention to the needs of the student, or of providing the varied courses of study, practical as well as literary, which were necessary for the healthy development of Bengal. The main feature of the twenty years following 1882 was to be the rapid creation of colleges which depended mainly or wholly upon fees, and thrived as coaching institutions, rather than as places of learning.¹

On the other hand, there was a group of educationists, consisting mostly of Indians, who thought that expansion was

far more important than efficiency in the early stages of a nation's struggle for advance. This view may best be stated in the following words of G. K. Gokhale :—

Let not Government imagine that unless the education imparted by colleges is the highest which is at the present day possible, it is likely to prove useless and even pernicious ; and secondly, let not the achievements of our graduates in the intellectual field be accepted as the sole, or even the most important, test to determine the utility of this education. I think, my Lord,—and this is a matter of deep conviction with me—that, in the present circumstances of India, all Western education is valuable and useful. If it is the highest that under the circumstances is possible, so much the better. But even if it is not the highest, it must not on that account be rejected. I believe that the life of a people—whether in the political or social or industrial or intellectual field—is an organic whole, and no striking progress in any particular field is to be looked for, unless there be room for the free movement of the energies of the people in all fields. To my mind, the greatest work of Western education in the present state of India is not so much the encouragement of learning as the liberation of the Indian mind from the thralldom of old-world ideas, and the assimilation of all that is highest and best in the life and thought and character of the West. For this purpose not only the highest but *all* Western education is useful.¹

By 1901-02, therefore, university and collegiate education in India presented a motley picture. On the one hand, there had been considerable expansion of collegiate education and it was creating a veritable renaissance in all walks of Indian life. On the other hand, the efficiency of the new colleges was not very high and serious defects like utter neglect of modern Indian languages, lopsided expansion of liberal education, etc. had also been developed. As we shall see in Chapter IX, this unhappy position led to serious controversies between officials and non-officials when Lord Curzon started his drive to reform education, especially because the two sides could not agree, either regarding the nature of the evils or regarding the means to overcome them.

11. Secondary Education (1854-1902). The history of secondary education between 1854 and 1902 is similar to that of collegiate education and shows the same motley picture of expansion on the one hand and the development of serious defects on the other. When the Despatch of 1854 was received, schools teaching English were just under way. Detailed statistics are not available, but it may be stated that the total number of schools teaching English was very small and the pupils studying in them numbered a few thousand only. During the next thirty years, the number of secondary schools increased considerably. The demand for English education was now spreading, chiefly because of the

fact that the capacity to speak, read and write English opened the door to lucrative employment under Government. This demand was met, not only by the new schools opened by Government and missionary bodies, but also by the efforts of educated Indians themselves who now began to enter the field of educational activities and to start private secondary schools. Then came the report of the Indian Education Commission in 1883 which laid great stress on the encouragement of private enterprise generally in all branches of educational activities, but particularly in the field of secondary education. This view was accepted by the Provincial Governments with the result that, during the next twenty years, the total number of secondary schools in British India alone increased to 5,124 with an enrolment of 590,129 scholars in 1901-02. It is also interesting to note that most of these new schools were private institutions conducted by Indians themselves.

This growth in the numbers of schools and pupils was, however, not an unmixed blessing. Owing to mistakes of commission and omission, the system of secondary education in India took a wrong direction in several matters and developed defects of a serious type. Amongst the more important of these defects may be mentioned the domination of the Matriculation, the large amount of time which had to be devoted to the study of the English language, the lack of a varied syllabus at the upper secondary stage for training pupils for different walks of life and inadequate arrangements for the training of teachers. By 1921, the questions regarding the removal of these defects and the reorganization of secondary education had already come to dominate educational discussions.

We shall now turn to the detailed study of these developments.

12. Expansion of Secondary Education (1854-82). Soon after the receipt of the Despatch of 1854, an era of rapid multiplication of secondary schools set in. The lead in this movement was naturally taken by the newly created Departments of Public Instruction whose task was greatly facilitated by the growing demand for English education and the larger grants placed at their disposal by the Government of India. Between 1854 and 1870, therefore, there was a large increase in the number of secondary schools directly conducted by Government. In the latter years, there was a slight change in Government policy. Successive

reviews of the progress of education in India which were undertaken by Government in the period 1865-70, emphasized the need of extending elementary education among the masses, with the result that the force of Government effort for the spread of secondary education slackened to some extent. But in spite of this slackening, the number of Government secondary schools in 1882 was 1,363 (with 44,605 pupils)¹ as against 169 (with 18,335 pupils) in 1855.

There is, however, no need to regret this slackening of effort on the part of Government. (The Despatch of 1854, it will be recalled, laid great stress on the system of grant-in-aid. Every Provincial Government, therefore, framed rules of grant-in-aid and made considerable budget provision for assisting private enterprise. Consequently, private secondary schools were opened and began to multiply at a very rapid rate and, within a few years, more than made up for the slackening in Government effort.

One feature of this period deserves special notice. In the early years following Wood's Despatch, private enterprise in secondary education was mostly confined to the Missionaries. But within a few years, Indians themselves entered the field in such large numbers that by 1882, the schools under Indian management constituted the bulk of private enterprise. The following statistics for the year 1881-82, taken from the Report of the Indian Education Commission (General Table No. 5) will be found interesting from this point of view :—

Statement showing the number of private secondary schools in 1881-82

Province.	Under Indian Managers.		Under other than Indian Managers.	
	No. of English Schools.	Amount of grants paid.	No. of English Schools.	Amount of grants paid.
		Rs.		Rs.
Madras	698	88,284	418	85,289
Bombay	13	14,653	40	37,343
Bengal	582	1,98,911	23	16,420
N.-W. Province & Oudh ..	17	18,643	104	78,571
Punjab	2	1,522	118	51,471
Central Provinces	4	4,053	9	11,126
Assam	25	10,771	45	6,657
Total	1,341	3,36,837	757	2,86,877

N.B.—The figures of English schools given here include, in some Provinces, the primary depart-

It will be seen that, in Bengal, most of the aided English schools were conducted by Indians themselves. In Madras, Indian private enterprise had just got the better of missionary activities which, in that Province, had spread far more widely than in any other. It was well under way in Bombay and was just beginning to develop in the other Provinces. But it is to be noted that, even at this early date, the English schools conducted by Indians were nearly twice as many as those conducted by all other non-government agencies put together.

13. The Recommendations of the Indian Education Commission Regarding Expansion of Secondary Education. When the Indian Education Commission was appointed in 1882, it had to make recommendations on two important matters connected with the expansion of secondary education. *Firstly*, it had to suggest ways and means for securing a still more rapid expansion of secondary education. The rate of increase of secondary schools and pupils had, no doubt, been rapid in the period between 1854 and 1882. But the taste for English education had so materially increased during the same period that a faster expansion of secondary education was generally felt to be necessary. *Secondly*, the Commission had to recommend the best agency for expansion of secondary education. At this period, educational opinion was strongly divided on this subject. One view held that Government ought to multiply the number of secondary schools directly under its control because these schools were far more efficient than private ones. On the other hand, there was a large section of opinion which recommended on various grounds that private enterprise—particularly Indian private enterprise—should be encouraged as an effective means of expanding secondary education. In the first place, the schools conducted by private enterprise charged lower fees and were consequently more able to spread education among the poorer sections of the community. *Secondly*, the grant-in-aid given to these institutions was far less than the expenditure required for maintenance of a secondary school directly under the control of Government. It was, therefore, argued that a private institution was to be preferred to a Government institution as a means of spreading secondary education among the people in a *short* period and at a *comparatively low*

The Commission held the view that Government ought to withdraw from the field of direct management of secondary schools and encourage private enterprise as largely as possible. It was of opinion that the relation of the State to primary was different from that to secondary education. It was a duty of the State to provide primary education, recourse being had to statutory compulsion if the people showed unwillingness to be educated. Consequently, it was the duty of the State to provide primary schools, not only in places where the people asked for them, but in all places where they were necessary. Secondary education, on the other hand, did not have such a paramount claim upon the State. Government was not under an obligation to provide it directly although it was bound to encourage all such efforts as the people would make to educate themselves. *The Commission, therefore, recommended that secondary education should, as far as possible, be provided on the grant-in-aid basis and Government should withdraw as early as possible, from the direct management of secondary schools.*

This fundamental recommendation—entirely in keeping with the Despatch of 1854—raised the following issues:—

- (a) What was to be the future of secondary schools already conducted by Government?
- (b) What was to be done in places where the people were not sufficiently advanced or wealthy to maintain secondary schools on the grant-in-aid basis?

With regard to the first question, the Commission recommended that the goal of Government effort should be to transfer gradually all Government secondary schools to a suitable non-Government agency, provided that adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency were forthcoming. With regard to the second question, the Commission held that the above recommendation did not prohibit the “establishment by Government, in exceptional cases, of secondary schools in places where they may be required in the interests of the people, and where the people themselves may not be advanced or wealthy enough to establish such schools for themselves with a grant-in-aid”. But the Commission emphasised that the duty of Government was restricted only to the establishment of one efficient high school, Government or aided, in each district and that Government

education in that district to the private effort of the people themselves.

¶ 14. **Expansion of Secondary Education between 1882 and 1902.** The action taken on the above recommendations of the Commission may be briefly described. To begin with, the Provincial Governments in India accepted the recommendations of the Commission regarding *expansion* and *encouragement of private enterprise*. Consequently, the twenty years following the report of the Commission saw a very rapid expansion of secondary education, especially through private schools. The following statistics will be found interesting from this point of view :—

	1881-82.	1901-02.
1. No. of Secondary Schools	3,916	5,124
2. No. of Pupils in Secondary Schools	214,077	590,129

Vide Report of the Indian Education Commission, p. 193.

It has to be remembered that these statistics of secondary education have certain defects. For instance, the term secondary education is not interpreted in the same sense in all provinces. In Bombay and Madras, the pupils in upper primary classes are shown under "primary education" while those in Northern India are shown under "secondary education". Secondly, these figures also include, in some cases, the pupils in primary departments of high schools. These defects cannot be remedied now. But for purposes of comparison, they can be ignored and the above statistics taken as showing, in a general way, the progress of secondary education between 1882 and 1902. It will be seen from the above statistics, therefore, that the expansion of secondary education was very rapid, and that the number of pupils under instruction was more than doubled in the twenty years between 1882 and 1902.

¶ 15. **Defects of Secondary Education (1854-82).** This expansion of secondary education was not an unmixed blessing. Very early in this period, the system of secondary education developed serious defects among which may be mentioned (a) the neglect of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction, (b) lack of trained teachers, and (c) absence of vocational courses at the

in spite of the several attempts made to remove them. We shall now deal with the history of this aspect of the problem.

16. Neglect of the Mother-Tongue as a Medium of Instruction. The Despatch of 1854 had visualised secondary schools teaching through the mother-tongue, in addition to those that taught through the medium of English. This aspect of the recommendations of the Despatch is so important that the words of the Despatch itself will bear quotation :—

We include in this class of institutions those, which, like the zillah schools of Bengal, the district Government Anglo-Vernacular Schools of Bombay, and such as have been established by the Raja of Burdwan and other private gentlemen in different parts of India, use the English language as the chief medium of instruction ; as well as others of an inferior order, such as the tehseelee schools in the North-Western Provinces, and the Government Vernacular Schools in the Bombay Presidency, whose object is, however imperfectly it has been as yet carried out, to convey the highest class of instruction which can now be taught through the medium of the vernacular language.

We include these Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular schools in the same class, because we are unwilling to maintain the broad line of separation which at present exists between schools in which the media for imparting instruction differ. The knowledge conveyed is no doubt, at the present time, much higher in the Anglo-Vernacular than in the Vernacular schools ; but the difference will become less marked, and the latter more efficient, as the gradual enrichment of the vernacular languages in works of education allows their schemes of study to be enlarged, and as a more numerous class of schoolmasters is raised up, able to impart a superior education.

Had these sentiments been steadily kept in view by later administrators, there would have grown up a system of high schools teaching through the modern Indian languages and, in course of time, even universities teaching through them could have come into existence. But unfortunately, the policy of the Education Department at this time was apparently not favourable to the cultivation of the modern languages of India ; and instead of trying to *eliminate* the difference that existed between Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular schools as the Despatch expected them to do, the Departments introduced reforms that tended to *widen* this difference. This will be clearly seen from the provincial schemes of secondary and primary education (as they existed in 1882) which have been noticed below :—

(i) In *Madras*, the primary course was spread over seven standards in which English could be taught as a subject from Standard III onwards. A pupil could join an English school after passing Standard II and had to study for seven years to complete the High School course. During the first three years of this course, English was taught as a subject and it was used as a medium of instruction

(ii) In *Bombay*, the primary course was spread over six years. *No English was taught in the primary course.* A pupil could join a secondary school after passing primary fourth standard. The secondary course was spread over seven years, in the first three of which English was taught as a subject and then used as a medium of instruction during the next four years.

(iii) In the *Central Provinces*, the primary course was spread over *five* years. It consisted of *six* standards, of which the first two occupied only half a year each. A pupil could join a secondary school after Standard III, *i.e.*, two years' education. The secondary course lasted for *six* years (four years in a middle school and two in a high school) and English was the medium of instruction *usually* in middle schools and *necessarily* in high schools.

(iv) In *Bengal and Assam*, the primary, the middle, and the high school courses were all *parallel and independent* and not *consecutive* as in the provinces discussed so far. A pupil could at once join any of these schools from the very beginning but not pass from one to the other. The primary course was spread over five years, middle course over seven, and high school over nine years. In primary schools, no English was taught. Middle schools were of two types—English and non-English. In the former of these, English was taught as a subject in the upper classes. In the high schools English was taught from the lowest class and was generally used as a medium of instruction.

(v) In the *N.-W. Provinces and Oudh*, the primary course was spread over *seven* years, and the high school course was spread over *nine* years. In the high schools, English was taught for five years as a subject and then used as a medium of instruction. Both the courses were parallel and independent.

(vi) In the *Punjab*, the scheme of studies was as under :—

		<i>Non-English Department</i>	<i>English Department</i>
High School	{	V	V
		IV	IV
Middle School	{	III	III
		II	II
		I	I
Primary School, Upper Division	{	V	V
		IV	IV
Primary School, Lower Division	{		III
			II
			I

No English was taught in the lower division of Primary schools. In the higher classes of English schools, English was taught as a language, in addition to a course of study which was common to both classes of schools ; and in primary section mathematics and some other subjects were taught instead of English.

A careful analysis of the above facts will show that—

(a) the study of English as a language was begun (except in *Bombay*) when the pupil was not properly grounded in his own mother-tongue.

(b) English was taught *as a subject* (except in most high schools of *Bengal*) *before* it was used *as a medium of instruction*. But the period of its study as a subject was too short to give the pupil a mastery over the language which is essential for its successful use as a medium of instruction. In fact, the Indian Education

Commission pointed out that English was used as a medium of instruction, not because the pupil had mastered it as a subject, but because the school managers were eager to give the pupil the largest possible opportunities of reading, speaking, and writing English so that he might obtain a command over the language itself.

(c) In the high school stage, English was invariably used as a medium of instruction.

(d) Except in the Punjab, the highest education that could be obtained through the mother-tongue was limited to the middle stage, and the idea of high schools teaching through the mother-tongue seemed to have been given up. Even in the Punjab, there was only one high school teaching through the mother-tongue (at Jalandar) and three other high schools had primary sections. But the fact that there were only four high schools imparting instruction through the mother-tongue as against 181 teaching through English shows how the system had drifted far from the ideals of Wood's Despatch.

In short, the conclusion becomes inevitable that the more important object of the secondary course of 1882 was to spread *a knowledge of English* and *not* to spread *European knowledge of a less high order* through English as well as through the mother-tongue as laid down in the Despatch of 1854.

// This question came before the Indian Education Commission for consideration. Unfortunately, the recommendations of the Commission regarding the problem of medium of instruction were extremely disappointing. It said nothing regarding the use of the mother-tongue as the medium at the high school stage, and evidently favoured the use of English. The only problem that it considered was that of the medium of instruction at the *middle school stage*, and even here, it came to no definite conclusion. We may well quote the words of the Commission itself :—

It is different, however, with the course and the pupils in middle schools. The question cannot be argued on the assumption that every pupil in a middle school goes on in due course to a high school ; the reverse is notoriously the case. In Bengal, for example, it is known that the great majority of the pupils of middle English schools complete their education therein. Hence it becomes of the utmost importance to consider whether, to such pupils, the use of English or of the vernacular is most advantageous as the medium of instruction. For them, at any rate, it would appear that the employment of the vernacular is preferable. A boy would in such a case receive a sound vernacular education suited to his

in addition. To a boy so educated even an elementary knowledge of English is of unquestionable value, not only by reason of the mental training which its acquisition has involved, but also in regard to his business or other relations with the outer world. It may be added that the experience of the Education Department in Bengal offers a remarkable contrast with that of officers in the Central Provinces, as described in the passage quoted at the beginning of this paragraph. That which led the Bengal Department first of all to consider the feasibility of the change was the marked superiority, at the Entrance Examination, of those pupils who had joined the high school with vernacular, compared with those who came with English scholarships. In Calcutta, again, where the freest choice is open, both to pupils in selecting a school, and to managers in determining what constitution will make their school most popular, it is found that all the great middle schools of the city are purely vernacular; and that a large majority of the pupils in the Hindu school, excluding those who have been educated therein from the beginning, come from vernacular and not from English schools. We have dwelt at some length on the example of Bengal,* because it is in that Province that the question has been most fully and frequently discussed, and the widest experience of opposite systems gained. We do not put forward any definite recommendation on this subject, but at the same time we commend its consideration, in the light of the observations above made, both to Local Governments and Departments, and in an equal degree to the managers of aided and unaided secondary schools. It is a question in the decision of which much must depend on local circumstances and hence the freest scope in dealing with it should be left to the managers of schools, whatever be the view which the Department in any Province may be disposed to adopt.¹

Mainly owing to these halting recommendations, there was hardly any achievement, between 1882 and 1902, on the issue of adopting the modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the secondary stage. The idea of developing high schools teaching through the medium of the mother-tongue was definitely abandoned and by 1902, the highest education which a child could obtain through its mother-tongue was limited to the middle-school stage only in *all* the Provinces of British India. The Indian Education Commission did not make any definite recommendation which would have decreased the dominance of English or helped the modern Indian languages to come into their own. Consequently, the dominance of English in the secondary course continued to grow; and by 1902, the teaching of English came to be regarded as the *prime object* of the secondary course. The study of the Indian languages was consequently neglected; the study of English was very frequently begun even before the pupil had obtained a good knowledge of his mother-tongue; and English was used as a medium of instruction so early in the secondary course that most of the time of the pupils had to be devoted to overcoming the difficulties created by the medium of

instruction and examination rather than in mastering the liberal subjects in the curriculum.

17. Training of Secondary Teachers. Although the Educational Despatch of 1854 emphasised the importance of training teachers, no satisfactory measures were taken to train secondary teachers in the thirty years following the Despatch. Prior to the report of the Indian Education Commission, there were, in the whole of India, only two training institutions for secondary (English) school teachers—one at Madras (established in 1856) and the other at Lahore (established in 1880)./ The training school at Madras consisted, in 1882, of 8 graduates, 3 who had passed the first year examination in Arts, and 18 matriculates. The College at Lahore admitted 30 students of any qualification higher than that of a first year examination in Arts. There was no practising school and in spite of the difference in attainments of the students, they were all treated as one class and put through the same course. It is, therefore, easy to see that only a very small number of teachers in secondary schools could have been *trained* even in the restricted sense that the above picture of the then training institutions suggests.

Although the necessity and importance of training teachers in secondary schools is now accepted on all hands, it is interesting to know that the question was still the subject of a controversy in England when the Indian Education Commission was appointed. One section of educationists advocated the practice of French normal schools which aimed "at giving the pupil thorough instruction much more in the subjects which he is intended to teach, and in those allied subjects which will enable him to teach them with greater fullness, insight and power, than in the methods of teaching them and the professional art of the teacher". The other section recommended the adoption of the German practice wherein great emphasis was laid on the study of the principles and practice of teaching.

It was but natural that the echoes of this controversy should be heard in India, and that Indian educationists also should be divided in their opinion on the subject. One section held that there was no need to train secondary teachers. It was argued that "the best way to teach a man to teach arithmetic, is to teach him arithmetic: and if he knows arithmetic, and you want to

way of expenditure of your extra tuition upon him will be to teach him algebra, rather than to talk to him about teaching arithmetic"; that an untrained teacher who has enthusiasm "in his work will in many cases acquire in the course of it, either by natural aptitude or by appropriate reading, an insight into the methods which lead to success in teaching"; that a year or two of service under an experienced headmaster would be more advantageous than study at a normal school; and that such knowledge of the theory and practice of teaching as was imparted in normal schools might be more easily had from books. This last objection was incidentally strengthened by the fact that, at that time, the normal schools for secondary teachers in India generally had no practising schools attached to them. The other section argued that without a grounding in the general principles of teaching, no amount of the knowledge of the subject alone can help a teacher of secondary schools to "engage and keep the attention of a whole class, to correct and check the wandering or listless scholar, to put together in their due order the materials of a lesson, and to select those illustrations which give life to instruction and arouse the interest of the pupil"; that those who argue that "a young man who has sat under good professors for four years must have learned by force of example all that a normal school can teach as to the methods of instruction and class management" seemed to forget "that there is, or ought to be, a wide difference in the methods adopted in a class of school-boys and those pursued with young men at college"; and that normal training was a definite asset to every teacher although it could not be a substitute for natural aptitude or enthusiasm.¹

In such an unsettled state of affairs, it is not surprising that the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission were too tame to be really progressive. It recommended—

(a) that an examination in the principles and practice of teaching be instituted, success in which should thereafter be a condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school, Government or aided;

(b) that graduates wishing to attend a course of instruction in a normal school in the principles and practice of teaching be required to undergo a shorter course of training than others.

As may be easily imagined, progress in training secondary teachers was very slow in the twenty years following the report of the Indian Education Commission. In 1901-02, there were six training colleges (as against two in 1882) at Saidapet, Rajamahendry, Kurseong, Allahabad, Lahore and Jubbulpore. Every province in India had organised a certificate examination for teachers while the Madras University had instituted the L.T. degree. Besides the six colleges mentioned above, there were a number of schools for the training of secondary teachers. By 1902, Bombay was the only major province that had not organised a training institution for secondary teachers.

✓ 18. **Absence of Vocational Courses.** The Despatch of 1854 explicitly stated that the instruction in secondary schools should be "practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life", and desired that the new schools which it proposed to establish should "provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life". This clearly shows that the Despatch contemplated the provision of vocational or pre-vocational instruction at the secondary stage.

But this salutary advice was neglected by later administrators. Even as late as 1882, the Indian Education Commission found that it was only in the Province of Bombay that some provision was made for vocational education by the grant of a few scholarships of Rs. 4 per month to children of agriculturists in order to encourage them to attend model farms connected with high schools, for instruction in practical agriculture. Barring this solitary exception, the high schools throughout India had been regarded "not only or chiefly as schools for secondary instruction, intended for pupils whose instruction will terminate at that stage, but in a much greater degree—it may almost be said exclusively—as preparatory schools for those who are to become students of the university".¹

This unhappy result was due to three causes. In the *first* place, most of the pupils of the secondary schools of those days belonged to the educationally advanced classes of society whose main object was to obtain employment under Government

because it secured, at one stroke, a black-coated profession, a status in society, and economic improvement. They flocked to the secondary schools, not with a view to being trained for the *various stations in life*—but with the definite objective of passing the Matriculation which, in those days, opened the door to service under Government. To the more ambitious of these, the passing of the Matriculation meant an entrance to the University from where they could get into higher and more lucrative posts under Government. Hence these classes of society came to attach an exaggerated importance to the Matriculation examination and to a proficiency in English. This demand for the Matriculation certificate was bound to be reflected in the work of secondary schools—all the more so because the bulk of secondary schools came, in the course of time, to be managed by the educationally advanced classes themselves. *Secondly*, Government itself had not taken any steps to provide vocational education in secondary schools. In those days, the schools conducted by Government were considered to be *model* institutions and usually set the standard for private entrepreneurs to follow; and as Government schools made no provision for vocational courses, it was hardly to be wondered if private schools did not do so. *Thirdly*, most of the newer schools that came into existence did not have adequate financial resources at the start, and hence they usually confined their work to the course of liberal education leading to the Matriculation because it required the least equipment and expenditure. One need not, therefore, be surprised if the average secondary school of 1882 meant merely a place for preparing candidates for the Matriculation examination.

The Indian Education Commission, therefore, gave considerable attention to the provision of vocational courses at the upper secondary stage with a view to preparing pupils for various walks of life. It recommended a bifurcation of the secondary course and said:—

We, therefore, recommend that in the upper classes of high schools there be two divisions; one leading to the Entrance examination of the Universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or non-literary pursuits. (p. 221.)

The real difficulty was to make these alternative courses popular. Some suggested the recognition of these courses by

declaring them eligible for grants-in-aid, by instituting examinations to test the progress of pupils and giving certificates to those who pass"; still others suggested that success in these courses should be regarded as a preferential qualification for employment under Government. The Commission, however, was not prepared to accept any of these suggestions as the real solution of the problem. It said:—

The success of these schools will, however, practically depend upon the market value of the education which they give. It is because we believe that a practical or commercial education of a high standard would in time acquire a real and independent market value, irrespective of any adventitious aids, such as the recognition of the certificate as qualifying for a Government appointment, that we have advocated the establishment of this class of schools. It is in the last resort not to the University, nor to the Department, nor in any exclusive way to Government as the dispenser of patronage, that these schools must look for support. They will stand or fall according to the view which the employers of educated labour throughout the country may take of their capacity to give a suitable training to youths intended for practical occupations. In this point of view, much might be done to ensure the public acceptance of the standard if the Railway Companies, the Banks, and other commercial associations or firms were consulted as to the kind of education which in their opinion would be most useful to the class of men they require.¹

But this idealistic attitude had to be given up for two practical considerations. Firstly, opportunities of service under the employers of educated labour mentioned by the Commission were neither so extensive nor so paying as those under Government; and secondly, the strong sentiment for Government service created in the intelligentsia during the previous fifty years had to be taken note of. The Commission, therefore, made the following recommendation:—

At the same time, it is impossible to ignore the high value which the opinion of the country sets upon any certificate recognised as qualifying for admission to the public service. The Madras Provincial Committee quotes, as an accurate reflex of native opinion, a reply given by one of the witnesses to the effect that no education will be appreciated unless it looks to an examination qualifying for Government employment. We are, therefore, of opinion that recognition of this kind—not in an exclusive way, but merely to the same extent that is desirable in the case of equivalent standards of instruction—should be accorded to the alternative standard that we propose to establish. . . . *We therefore recommend that when the proposed bifurcation in secondary schools is carried out, the certificate of having passed by the final standard, or if necessary by any lower standard, of either of the proposed alternative courses, be accepted as a sufficient general test of fitness for the public service.* It will be understood that this Recommendation refers as a general rule rather to subordinate appointments, than to those offices of responsibility and emolument in which a high degree of intelligence is required, and for which a liberal education has been commonly thought necessary.²

¹ Report, p. 221.

² Ibid. pp. 221-2.

The following brief notes on provincial events will show the action taken on the above recommendations of the Indian Education Commission between 1882-1902 :—

(i) The Madras Government organised, in 1889, an *upper secondary course* of two years which consisted of two parts—a compulsory part which included English, a second language, mathematics, history and geography, and an optional part which required the candidate to study any two subjects from an elaborate technical examination scheme. At the end of the course, an examination was held by the Commissioner for Government Examinations. Until 1902, only 49 candidates had passed the examination. It may be noted that this examination did not lead to admission to a university.

(ii) In Bombay, the *School Final Examination* was instituted in 1889. It was conducted by the University, but a candidate passing it was not entitled to an admission to the University. The course was of two years. In 1901-02, 1,162 pupils appeared for this examination while 3,634 appeared for the Matriculation. This popularity of the Bombay examination was due to the fact that Government recognised this examination but did not recognise the Matriculation as a qualification for the lower grades of public service.

(iii) The Bengal Government organised *Engineering and Commercial courses*. The Engineering course was simply a method of permitting boys who wished to enter an Engineering College to study some of the subjects of the college course in the school and thus enable them to shorten the period of studies at the college itself. The curriculum of the commercial course included Mathematics, Modern English, History and Geography, Drawing and Practical Geography, and a Modern Indian language. The course was introduced as late as in 1901-02.

(iv) The Allahabad University conducted, both for the Central and the United Provinces, a *School Final Examination* which also admitted the students to the University. The candidates appearing for the examination had to study English, Geography, History, Mathematics, and a Modern Indian language as compulsory subjects and any two of the following subjects :—

- (1) Drawing ;
- (2) Elementary Physics and Chemistry ;
- (3) Agriculture and Surveying ;
- (4) Book-keeping ;
- (5) Political Economy.

In 1901-02, it was reported that the number of candidates going in for the examination was very small and showed little tendency to rise.

(v) The Punjab University organised an entrance examination in Science as a parallel course to the Matriculation. The passing of this examination entitled the student to admission to the University. The University also organised a *Clerical and Commercial Examination* which included English, Dictation and Caligraphy, Precis-writing and Correspondence, General and Commercial Geography, and Book-keeping and Commercial Arithmetic as compulsory subjects and one of the following as an optional subject :—

- (1) Urdu ;
- (2) Native system of accounts ;
- (3) Shorthand writing.

The clerical and commercial examination did not admit to the University. In 1901-02, only 22 candidates appeared for the entrance examination and only

Taking India as a whole, we find that in 1901-02, no less than 23,000 candidates appeared for the Matriculation examination; but the total number of candidates appearing for all the other alternative examinations was only about 2,000 of which about 1,200 belonged to Bombay Province (where many candidates took both the examinations). It is quite evident, therefore, that the alternative courses did not become popular and that the Matriculation examination dominated the field of secondary education almost as exclusively in 1902 as it did in 1882.

In 1902, therefore, the system of secondary education in India presented a strange mixture of good and evil. On the one hand, there had been considerable expansion—particularly of Indian enterprise. On the other hand, there was a good deal of inefficiency and there were serious defects such as the lack of vocational education and the use of English as a medium of instruction. The similarity between this picture and that of collegiate education in 1901-02 is too close to need comments and led to precisely similar controversies in the early years of the twentieth century. The history of these later developments, however, will be dealt with in Chapter IX.

19. Effects of the New Education (1854-1902). We have so far briefly traced the history of the development of university and secondary education in India between 1854 and 1902. The most distinctive achievement of the British educationists in India was the creation of this new system of education whose object was to spread Western literature and science and which adopted English as a medium of instruction at all stages except the lower secondary, where it was taught as a subject. It was through the portals of this educational system that the Indian mind made its first acquaintance with the West and it is this educational system that is mainly, if not exclusively, responsible for the modern renaissance in all walks of Indian life.

One of the most important results of the new education was *the birth of a new literature and press* in the modern Indian languages. As stated already, the pioneer work in this direction was done by the missionaries. It was they who started the first printing press in India and established the first newspaper. They studied the modern Indian languages, compiled dictionaries, wrote their grammars, and translated the Bible into them. But

languages. Their two main objects were (a) to create aids for the study of these languages by European missionaries, and (b) to translate the Bible and allied literature into them. As soon as both these objectives were realised, they had no further incentive to attempt the creation of a new literature for the people. The officials of the Company and, later on, the Education Departments took up this work and although they came into the field *after* the missionaries, they did a far greater and more valuable service to the cause. It was under this official patronage that the first attempts to write and publish books of a secular character in modern Indian languages were made. In keeping with the aims of the new educational system, the earliest books published were translations of well-known English books or treatises on subjects like history, algebra, geometry, etc., that were being taught in the new system of schools. Prior to 1854, it was the Committees, Boards, or Councils which were in charge of education or the special *School Book* societies organised for the purpose that prepared and published new books in modern Indian languages and received aid from the Company to do so. After 1855, the work was continued, on a larger scale than before, by Government Book-depots that came to be organised under the Education Departments. A little later, private Indian enterprise came into the field. Some of the men educated in the new system of education felt that books of the type that are found in the English language ought also to be available in modern Indian languages. They, therefore, formed societies for creating such literature in the modern Indian languages or wrote and published books in their individual capacity. They also conducted newspapers with the main object of spreading Western knowledge and bringing about social reforms. As this non-official agency began to develop, the work of Government Book-depots came to be gradually restricted to the preparation and publication of text-books for schools, and the task of producing a new genuine literature in modern Indian languages and of building up an Indian press was almost exclusively taken up by enthusiastic and nationally minded individuals educated in the new system of secondary schools and colleges. They did their task admirably well, especially in view of the almost complete neglect of the study of these languages in the new educational

of India had evolved a fair amount of new literature and the Indian press had developed to a fairly high degree of efficiency.

In *social and religious matters* also, the new education was creating valuable changes. The early hopes that Indians educated in Western knowledge would espouse Christianity in large numbers were soon proved to be wrong; but the new education did lead to the creation of a movement whose object was to reform Indian society. This was particularly noticeable within the Hindu fold because it was the Hindu society that needed most reform and it was the Hindus that came most largely under the influence of the new education. Within the Hindu community, therefore, we find movements for the liquidation of the caste-system; for the acceptance of widow-remarriage and divorce among the higher castes; for raising the ages of marriage and consent; for the removal of dietary restrictions based on caste; for the abolition of untouchability; and for the amelioration of the economic condition of the Harijans. Moreover, there also arose strong movements for religious reform. Among these, reference has already been made to the work of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, and the founding of the Brahmo Samaj. Far more powerful than this was the movement of the Arya-Samaj founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati. The object of this reform was to rejuvenate the Hindu society on the pattern of the Vedic Aryan culture. There was to be no caste-system and all persons belonging to the new sect were to be elevated to the status of *Aryans* and were to enjoy equal social and religious privileges. This was a movement which aimed at welding the whole of the Hindu society into a powerful and homogeneous mass and spread largely in the Punjab and the U.P. The Ramakrishna Mission, started in Bengal in 1897 under the leadership of Swami Vivekanand, was another reformist movement of great importance. A detailed study of the socio-religious history of this period is obviously beyond the scope of this book; but what has already been said above is enough to indicate the various waves of social and religious reform that arose out of the new system of education.

Even greater was the effect of the new education on the *political life* of the country. In the early years of the new educational system the attention of educated individuals was drawn

was really urgent and partly because it did not encounter any opposition from Government. A large majority of the educated men of this period were servants of Government and they found it more convenient to undertake programmes of social reform than to organise political agitation as such. Social and religious reform, therefore, became the principal channel through which the educated intelligentsia tried to serve the country. But very soon, a band of younger men began to come up who felt that mere social and religious work can never solve the problems before the country and that the only way to bring about a regeneration of India was through a political control of Government. This rising group of men could not see eye-to-eye with several official policies and openly criticised them in no equivocal manner. They had no illusions about the blessings of British Rule and although they admitted the several good things that Britain had done for India, they could not ignore the growing poverty of the people and the economic exploitation of their country under British imperialism. They, therefore, raised a voice of protest against the *superior airs* or *chill courtesies of reserve* which Englishmen assumed in their dealings with Indians; the exclusive British monopoly of all higher posts under Government; the economic drain on the country; the growing poverty among the people; the failure to develop the industrial resources of the nation; the slow development of education—primary and higher; and such other ills. It is out of these protests that a political agitation slowly grew up in course of time and led to the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The following quotation from the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* shows how, even at this early time (*i.e.*, about 1880), a section of educated Indians were revolting against British Rule :—

POLITICAL GEOMETRY

CHAPTER 1ST DEFINITIONS.

1. A political point is that which is visible to the Government but invisible to the people.
2. A line of policy is length without breadth of views.
3. Political figure is that which is enclosed on one side by ambition and another by hypocrisy.
4. A political circle is a plain figure contained by one line of policy, and is such that a certain point within this figure keeps the circumference firm and united.
5. And this point is called interest.
6. A political triangle is a wedge which is usually introduced at the beginning of any new impost.

7. Parallel lines are lines of policy, which though they never meet, always tend to the same direction.

CHAPTER 2ND POSTULATES.

1. Let it be granted that any tax may be imposed upon any sect or class of the people without their permission.

2. Let it be granted that any measure may be introduced or withdrawn at the pleasure of the Government.

3. Let it be granted that any promise may be made or broken provided there be a nominal pretext at hand.

4. Let it be granted that a deficit may be shown when there is a surplus.

CHAPTER 3RD AXIOMS.

1. Might is always right.

2. England governs India for the good of the latter.

3. Things which have a black cover have also a black interior.

4. Things which have a white cover have also a white interior.

5. Black can never be white neither white be black.

6. The promise or opinion of one individual is equal to the promise or opinion of the whole nation.

PROP. 1ST PROBLEM.

Given a permanently settled Revenue on land to draw a road cess from it.¹

This band of political agitators had to overcome innumerable difficulties and opposition from several quarters. The older generation of Indian leaders opposed it on the ground that social reform must precede and have priority over political reform; the opposition from Government was always there and the officials generally tried to treat these political agitators with contempt and described them as persons who were *ungrateful* for the services that England had rendered to India, or were educated *above their stations* in life, or were *discontented* because of their inability to secure a Government job. But in spite of this ridicule and opposition and beneath the surface of a general attitude of loyalty, satisfaction and peace, a serious type of political agitation was smouldering right from about 1880 and at the opening of the twentieth century, was almost ready to burst out in a storm.

It is often asserted that this political agitation was a direct and exclusive result of the modern system of education. This is going a bit too far and ignoring the laws of history. No nation can continue to govern another for a long time without creating opposition and discontent. Hence, even if the British people had made no attempt to educate Indians a political agitation

against British Rule was bound to start, sooner or later. But having stressed the view that the political agitation in India could have originated even in the absence of the new system of education, it cannot be gainsaid that this agitation was strengthened materially by the new education. Men and women who had read English history could not but be inspired by the ideals of democracy and self-rule and they began to plead that India was for Indians and that *good* government, even assuming that it did exist, was no substitute for self-government. It was the new system of education, therefore, that gave educated Indians an insight into Western political life, created or strengthened their love of liberty and showed them the way in which to organise a fight against their foreign rulers.

Another great achievement of this period was *the change brought about in the Western attitude to Eastern religion, philosophy and literature*. Prior to 1813, the average Englishman believed, on the basis of missionary propaganda, that all Eastern religions were false and that all literatures in the Eastern classical languages were utterly useless—an attitude that is so typically expressed by Charles Grant. More or less the same view continued to be held till 1854 as the Minutes of Macaulay, Bentinck and Auckland will show. It is true that there was a rival view in the field held by such eminent persons as Warren Hastings, Minto, Wilson, Prinsep and other orientalists who believed that Eastern philosophy, religion and literature deserved a careful study. But they were a small minority. Macaulay would have eliminated them altogether; but could not. Auckland continued them on sufferance in a limited field, but at least left them in peace; and the Despatch of 1854 grudgingly admitted that some advantages do spring from a study of Eastern classical languages. It admitted, for instance, that a study of these languages did have a place on historical, antiquarian or legal grounds. But all the same, it still believed that “the system of science and philosophy which forms the learning of the East abounds with grave errors”. This hostile attitude, however, began to give way soon after 1854.

An epoch-making event in the new movement was the publication, in 1801-02, of a French translation of the *Upanishads*. This had been prepared by a French scholar, A. Duperron, from

Dara Shikoh, the eldest brother of Aurangzeb. It fell into the hands of Schopenhauer, the great German philosopher, who was deeply stirred by it. He wrote :—

That incomparable book stirs the spirit to the very depths of the soul. From every sentence deep, original, and sublime thoughts arise, and the whole is pervaded by a high and holy and earnest spirit. Indian air surrounds us, and original thoughts of kindred spirits. And oh, how thoroughly is the mind here washed clean of all early engrafted Jewish superstitions, and of all philosophy that cringes before these superstitions! In the whole world there is no study, except that of the originals, so beneficial and so elevating as that of the *Oupnekhat*. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death!¹

With Schopenhauer begins the influence of Eastern philosophy on the West—a movement which gathered strength with the passage of years and which has, if anything, become stronger at present than ever in the past.

About this very time, another great Sanskrit scholar, Sir William Jones, was translating Sanskrit works into English and popularising them. His translation of Kalidas's *Shakuntala* was a masterpiece of literary art. He also laid the foundation of comparative philology. He was a great admirer of Sanskrit and once observed :—

The Sanskrit Language, whatever be its antiquity, is of wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either. Yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of the verbs and the forms of the grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologer could examine them all without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the *Gothick* and the *Celtick*, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit; and ~~Old~~ Persian might be added to the same family.²

But by far the greatest service in popularising the Eastern classical languages was done by the greatest of all Orientalists of the Nineteenth century, Max Müller. His great work was the translation of the *Vedas*—a task at which he laboured for 30 years in spite of poverty and neglect. As Rawlinson observes :—

He had done for the Vedas what the Alexandrian scholar did for the text of Homer. But he effected far more than this. He brought about a revolution in thought which may well be compared to that accomplished by Charles Darwin in the physical world. The study of the Vedas led him to the twin sciences of comparative philology and comparative religion.... It rudely dispelled the belief that Hebrew was the primitive language of mankind and that the diversity of tongues on earth was the result of the divine punishment inflicted on the builders of the Tower of Babel, and it led to an entire reorientation of our views of the

origin of religious ideas. But Max Müller did more than this. Throughout his life he strove, often with indifferent success, to combat the narrow and bigoted views of missionaries and others about Hinduism, and to make English people feel something of the greatness of the majestic civilization of ancient India. His life of the Hindu saint Ramakrishna was one of his many attempts to interpret the East to the West. Another was a little book entitled *India, What can it teach us?* which might well be put into the hands of Indian administrators today. He also edited *The Sacred Books of the East*, translated by various scholars, in fifty volumes, and published by the Oxford University Press. This great work enabled the western world to have a first-hand account of the Hindu, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, Muslim, and Chinese scriptures!¹

The work of these Western scholars was soon greatly strengthened by the newly created Indian universities. Although these bodies neglected the modern Indian languages they gave every encouragement to the classical ones. Consequently, a critical and scientific study of the classical languages became a distinct feature of collegiate education in the Victorian Era. It led to a better appreciation of ancient culture, removed the misconceptions about ancient history and religion which had been made common in the earlier period by ignorant officials or missionaries, and created an Indian band of Oriental scholars among whom may be mentioned the names of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, K. T. Telang and others. These pioneers carried the torch still further and, if English education was trying to interpret the West to the East, these orientalists were trying to interpret the East, not only to the West, but to the East itself in a light and context that had not been known before. It is, therefore, the work of these oriental scholars in Indian universities that was gradually bringing about a *synthesis* of Eastern and Western cultures. The orthodox Hindu or Muslim who refused to learn anything of the West was no longer in the forefront; in the same way, the missionary who wanted to substitute Eastern culture by the Western was also relegated to a subordinate position. And the new Indian Universities which taught English and the classical languages together were creating a generation in whom the synthesis of both the cultures had begun to take place. The emphasis was still on the West no doubt; but the East had no longer to wait outside as an *untouchable*—she was admitted straight into the innermost shrine.

With the achievement of this synthesis, some of the evils of the new education began to disappear. In the early years of

the new education, the attempt to Westernise the content dominated exclusively. Consequently, the students were generally unable to digest the new exotic culture and showed signs of a deep cultural unsettling. They blindly imitated Englishmen in dress, manners, and outward social behaviour; they drank wine and ate beef rather proudly in the belief that they were copying Western virtues; they thought it beneath their dignity to talk or write in an Indian language and used English as often as possible; and most of all, they developed a contempt for all Eastern or ancient ideas. Some of them became converts to Christianity; several more became atheists or agnostics; and some joined the Brahmo or Prarthana Samajes. It was this erratic behaviour of the early educated youths that frightened many an orthodox parent and hindered the progress of the new system of education. But as the emphasis on Westernisation decreased, as Eastern culture came to be better appreciated, and as a synthesis of the two cultures began to be worked out to an ever-increasing extent, the cultural disturbances of the new educational system became less and less pronounced. It is true that the new education freed the Indian mind from the thralldom of old-world ideas; but it now began to be more evident that all that is new is not good, nor all that is old is bad. Discrimination began to be exercised and while absorbing several new ideas from the West, an attempt began to be made to preserve all that is good in the East as well. It is out of this synthesis that the new leadership in Indian national life was born in this period—a leadership that included such great names as those of Pandit Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, Keshub Chandra Sen, Swami Vivekananda, Justice M. G. Ranade, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and others.

Turning to the other side of the shield, we find that the main defects of this new education were two: In the first place, it was not intended to contribute and did not contribute to the economic and industrial development of India. Secondly, it was restricted to a small percentage of the population only. The paucity of funds and the adoption of English as the medium of instruction implied that this education could never be given to the masses. It, therefore, led to the creation of a new class or small intelligentsia that did not have much in common with the masses. More-

secondary schools and colleges were all located in towns and partly because the nature of their subsequent employment compelled most educated men to live in towns only. Thirdly, it consisted mostly of persons drawn from the upper castes or the well-to-do classes of society. In other words, the new system of education led to the division of the Indian society into two distinct groups—a small minority of highly educated men and women, an educated aristocracy which was distinctly urban and upper-class in character, and a large majority of almost illiterate people who lived in rural areas and belonged to the lower castes. It is out of this schism that most of the evils of modern Indian education arose and, unfortunately, the schism still remains unbridged.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PRIMARY EDUCATION

(1854-1902)

In the preceding chapter, we traced the development of the system of higher education in India between 1854 and 1902. In the course of this chapter, we shall study the development of primary education in India in the same period. This can be conveniently done under the following five heads :—

- (a) Events of the period 1854-59 ;
- (b) The Despatch of 1859 ;
- (c) Events of the period 1859-82 ;
- (d) Recommendations of the Indian Education Commission, 1882-83 ; and
- (e) Events of the period 1882-1902.

2. Events of the Period 1854-59. (Prior to 1854, the educational policy of Government was dominated by financial stringency and the elementary education of the masses could not have thrived so long as this situation did not alter. The Despatch of 1854, however, turned a new page in the history of primary education ; for it desired the more active measures of Government to be directed towards conveying “ useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life ”, to the great mass of the people who were “ utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts ”. Although this did not mean that Government assumed full responsibility for mass education, it marked a step forward and showed that Government had at last become alive to its necessity. Secondly, the Despatch directed that “ the indigenous schools should, by wise encouragement, be made capable of imparting correct elementary knowledge to the great mass of the people ”. In this connection, the Despatch also drew the attention of the Provincial Governments to the scheme introduced by Mr. Thomason in the North-Western Province) an account of which has already been given in Chapter IV. (It will, therefore, be seen that although the Despatch of 1854 emphasized the importance of the expansion

Government schools in large numbers for the extension of primary education. On the other hand, it expected that the *indigenous* schools would be given grants-in-aid and *improved* under a system of Government inspection.)

The events of the next five years, however, show that the instructions of the Despatch were not followed by the newly created Departments of Public Instruction. The Downward Filtration Theory died hard and (in spite of the clear directions of the Despatch of 1854, the attempts of the Departments were directed to the spread of secondary rather than of primary education; the additional funds that came in for education were largely eaten up by the heavy cost of departmental establishments¹ and the spread of English education); and the Education Departments did not take kindly to the indigenous schools which, from their point of view, were extremely inefficient institutions. (Consequently, the achievements of this period in elementary education are of no importance,) although some of its experiments and the growth of expenditure on education from Government funds deserve special notice.

(a) *Grant-in-aid to Primary Schools*: The Despatch of 1854 had emphasized the adoption of the grant-in-aid system, and accordingly, every provincial government framed rules of grant-in-aid which were applicable to all kinds of educational institutions.) But in Madras, grants under the rules were mostly made to schools of a higher class and in the North-Western Provinces the official grant-in-aid system was applied, until 1857, only to a few schools affording higher education. (The Bengal rules were more suited to colleges and secondary schools than to primary institutions. Two particular features of these rules—these were common to all the Provincial Rules—that created difficulties in practical working, deserve particular mention; the first was the insistence on the payment of a monthly fee—a condition that had been imposed in accordance with the following paragraph of the (Despatch of 1854) ✓

54. It has been found by experience, in this and in other countries, that not only is an entirely gratuitous education valued far less by those who receive it than one for which some payment, however small, is made, but that the payment induces a more regular attendance and greater exertion on the part of the pupils; and for this reason, as well as because school fees themselves,

¹ The Secretary of State for India observed that the authorized cost of the administration of the education departments was £53,800 in 1856-57 while the total expenditure on education in that year

insignificant as they may be in each individual instance, will in the aggregate, when applied to the support of a better class of masters, become of very considerable importance, we desire that grants-in-aid shall, as a general principle, be made to such schools only (with the exception of normal schools) as require some fee, however small, from their scholars.

(It is true that the idea of charging a fee in primary schools was not, in itself, unjustifiable especially at a time when the idea of compulsory education had not yet dawned) it is also true that the fee actually levied was not heavy. But the traditions of the indigenous schools were different. They collected their fees in cash or kind—more often in the latter form—at a time and in a manner which suited the condition of the parents. (The poverty of the people also prevented them from having ready cash at all times.) It is, therefore, not to be wondered that the people often found it inconvenient or impossible to pay *monthly* fees in *cash*.

(Secondly, the grant-in-aid system demanded that the people should make some contributions towards the cost of the schools in addition to the fees paid by the pupils.) This subscription was neither willingly paid nor easily collected, partly because of poverty and partly because the system of mass instruction devised by Government was not popular. The following extract from the Despatch of 1859 will show how the grant-in-aid rules of Bengal worked:—

But while the European managers of schools have freely accepted grants-in-aid from Government and equal readiness has been shown by the native community to seek assistance in the formation of schools where instruction in English may be afforded, no great alacrity appears to have been shown by the natives in making the necessary local efforts for securing the aid of Government under the grant-in-aid rules for the promotion of vernacular education. It was attempted, as already observed, by Mr. Pratt, in the Southern Bengal Division, to secure the requisite local co-operation, and by dint of great exertion a considerable number of schools was established. But little value was attached by the general population in all the Bengal districts, to any education which was not likely, in the opinion of the people, to lead to a Government appointment, and in many of the districts to any education whatever; and Mr. Pratt was in consequence forced to the conclusion that the grant-in-aid system, as carried out under the existing rules, could not be made the basis of any extended system of popular education, these rules being regarded by him as "out of place in a country where the value of education is utterly unfelt by the mass of the people, based as they are on the supposition that the people of this country are so desirous of an improved description of instruction that they will actually pay not only schooling-fees, but contributions from their private resources". The following remarks of Mr. Woodrow are sufficient to show the concurrence of that gentleman in Mr. Pratt's conclusions: "The poorest classes do not want schools at all, because they are too poor to pay schooling-fees and subscriptions, and because the labour of the children is required to enable them to live. The middle and

English schools. Yet the rules in force presume the highest appreciation of education, because based on the supposition that the people everywhere pay not only schooling-fees, but subscriptions for schools. In fact, we expect the peasantry and shopkeepers of Bengal to make sacrifices for education which the same classes in England often refuse to make.¹

It will be easily seen from the foregoing account that hardly any attempt was made in this period to evolve a system of grant-in-aid that would be suitable for the indigenous schools.

(b) *(Partially Self-supporting System :* In the Province of Bombay, a system known as “partially self-supporting system” was introduced and it was claimed by the Bombay Government that it was the same as the grant-in-aid system proposed by the Despatch of 1854.) According to this system, the Board of Education (and after 1855, the Education Department) undertook to establish a primary school in any town or village if the people agreed to the following conditions :—

First : To pay half the salary of the master.

Second : To provide and keep in repair a suitable school-house, and ordinary school furniture.

Third : To defray all contingent expenses.

Fourth : Each boy to pay a monthly fee of one anna, to be expended on school purposes by the School Committee, in communication with the Superintendent of School.

Fifth : Each boy to provide himself with the requisite class books.

It is easy to see that a school under this system is not an *aided* school in the proper sense of the word. It is a Government school to which the people gave aid to the extent of more than half the expenditure.

This scheme was announced under a notification dated 16th May, 1854, and a number of such schools were opened in the following three years. (Very soon it became difficult to collect the subscription from the people, as the schools did not become popular with them. Firstly, the masses preferred to send their children to the indigenous schools where they obtained such knowledge of the three R's as was immediately useful in later life. They had no fancy for the ambitious curriculum of these schools.² Secondly, the higher and middle classes also had no sympathy for this type of school. What they wanted was not knowledge but service under Government and hence they sent their children preferably to English schools.) Consequently, the subscriptions for these schools—generally promised in a moment

of enthusiasm by a few leading persons or under pressure from a zealous officer¹—soon began to fall into arrears and the following report of an Educational Inspector of Gujarat will throw light on the position of some, at least, of these schools :—

Ootursunda is a very rich village in the Kaira Collectorate, with a population of 3,477, and yields a revenue to Government of about Rs. 9,000 per annum. It has a partially self-supporting school, for which it is bound to pay Rs. 150 per annum. The master is popular, and the number of pupils varies, according to season and circumstances, from 40 to 80 children. The people were well satisfied with the school and willing to pay the trifle required for its support. But there was a dispute between the leading men as to the mode in which it should be levied, to terminate which I was lately obliged to go to the place myself. I found three parties, one of which desired a house-tax, another an enhancement of the land assessment, and a third the levy of a duty on certain articles. After two days of fruitless talk, I, on the third, succeeded in obtaining the adoption of the first and most practicable measure.

This was only introductory to the great trouble of getting hold of every householder in the village to obtain from him his trifling contribution at the rate of four annas per annum. Some were busy, ploughing or sowing, others were going to neighbouring villages to sell their produce. Each had to be called away from his business, and to lose half a day at least. In the middle a fresh difficulty occurred. The Brahmins in a body declined to pay on the ground of their social supremacy. The other castes objected loudly, and the question remained open for three days. At length, it was settled by a very oriental expedient—that of drawing lots. Four different sums of money were written on pieces of paper and it was agreed that the caste should pay the sum written on the one drawn. As luck would have it, the lowest came out, and the caste got off with one-fifth of what it ought to have paid, the balance falling, of course, on the rest of the village. At length the whole of the money thus due was collected, but at what cost? The Mamlutdar, the District Deputy Collector, and I had done little else for six days, and the villagers were thoroughly worried with being troubled and taken away from their work, the cultivators for half the day at least—the headman the whole time; so that I believe that the whole population would, at that time, have readily signed a petition for the abolition of the School.²

(The system was, therefore, doomed to failure and it would not have been possible to extend mass education on a large scale on these principles.) In the meanwhile, however, the Government of India came to the conclusion that the partially self-supporting system was not essentially the same as the grant-in-aid system contemplated by the Despatch of 1854 and directed that no new schools of this type should be opened without their sanction. The experiment, therefore, came to a sudden end in 1858.

(c) *Improvement of Indigenous Schools*: Turning to the second recommendation of the Despatch of 1854, viz., the

¹ Vide para. 7 of Lord Ellenborough's Despatch, quoted in the next para.

encouragement of indigenous schools to impart "correct elementary knowledge to the great mass of the people", we find that very few measures were taken towards this end during the period under review. In Madras and Bombay the indigenous schools were almost ignored. In the North-Western Province, Mr. Thomason's plan was tried for a time but was soon abandoned in favour of the *halkabandi* schools (described on p. 128 *supra*) which became extremely popular. In Bengal, the *circle system* was introduced in 1855, under which "improvement was aimed at by employing and paying certain State pandits, each of whom was attached to a circle of three or four village schools under their own gurus or masters. The gurus received grants equal to those earned by their pupils, every one of whom on attaining a certain standard was rewarded according to his progress".¹ The Court of Directors found that the scheme worked well and ordered that it should be extended to other parts of Bengal. But even after this extension, in 1860-61, the number of schools brought under this system was only 172 with 7,731 pupils.)

3. Despatch of Lord Ellenborough, 1858. Even while these schemes of mass education were just being organised, the events of 1857 threw the country into considerable disorder and elicited the following panicky instructions from Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, in a letter dated 28th April 1858 :—

2. In 1854-55, a year only partially affected by the new scheme. the charge was just within ten lacs (9,99,898).

3. In 1855-56 it had increased to seventeen lacs and a quarter (17,25,664).

4. In 1856-57 the estimated charge was rather above twenty-one lacs and a half (21,64,050) making an increase in two years of eleven lacs and a half.

5. This is rather a serious addition in so short a time to the expenditure of a borrowing State, especially when it is considered that this charge is one of a rapidly progressive character.

6. In all the North-Western Provinces, and in Bihar, the schools will generally have been suspended through the mutinies ; and I can have no hesitation in recommending that, where this shall have been the case, the aid of Government should not again be afforded, unless there should be an unmistakable desire on the part of the principal land-owners and of the people that the connexion between the Government and the school should be renewed.

7. I cannot but fear that the subscriptions, and the adhesion to our new system of education, which have been termed voluntary, have but in too many cases been only the result of a desire to stand well with the zealous officers of the Government who had to introduce and advocate the plan.

8. It ought to be made quite clear to the people that our Government does not desire to assist in the education of a single child not brought to the school with the full, voluntary, unsolicited consent of its parents; and that whoever offers a subscription to a school is at liberty to withdraw it at any time, and will not be the worse thought of for doing so.

9. To send a female child to any school at which any man whatever can be present is so entirely at variance with native feelings, that it is hardly credible that the attendance of any such children can have been really voluntary on the part of the parents.

10. There is throughout India, especially amongst the higher classes, a strong prejudice in favour of domestic education.

11. I believe we rarely, if ever, induce parents above the lower class to send their children to our schools, and we should practically, if we succeeded in extending education as we desire, give a high degree of mental cultivation to the labouring class, while we left the more wealthy in ignorance.

12. This result would not tend to create a healthy state of society. Our Government could not offer to the most educated of the lower class the means of gratifying the ambition we should excite.

13. We should create a very discontented body of poor persons, having through the superior education we had given to them, a great power over the mass of the people.

14. Education and civilization may descend from the higher to the inferior classes, and so communicated may impart new vigour to the community, but they will never ascend from the lower classes to those above them; they can only, if imparted solely to the lower classes, lead to general convulsion, of which foreigners would be the first victims.

15. If we desire to diffuse education, let us endeavour to give it to the higher classes first.

If these orders had been accepted, the Downward Filtration Theory would have been revived in full vigour and the more liberal policy of mass education outlined by the Despatch of 1854 would have been side-tracked. But fortunately, this letter did not create any adverse effect and as we shall see in the next paragraph, the Despatch of 1859 arrived to change the course of events.

4. Despatch of 1859. This Despatch from the Secretary of State had to solve two main difficulties, *viz.*, applicability of the then existing rules of grant-in-aid to primary schools and the lack of adequate resources for the spread of education in general and of primary education in particular.

The account of the working of Provincial rules of grant-in-aid given in the last section will show that the system had hardly been given a fair trial. In the first place, the rules themselves were defective in so far as they had not been framed with special reference to the working of the indigenous schools. Secondly,

had been in operation for a very short period. It would, therefore, have been a fairer decision if the Secretary of State had ordered an investigation into the working of the rules regarding indigenous schools and, on the results of such investigation, had recommended a suitable revision of the rules. But unfortunately, as will be seen from the following extract, he took a different view and suggested that the grant-in-aid system be abolished altogether :—

The difficulties experienced by the officers of the Department of Education in establishing a general system of popular schools on the basis of the existing rules for the administration of grants-in-aid has been already referred to. But apart from the difficulty, and in primary cases the impossibility, of obtaining the local support required for the establishment of a school under the grant-in-aid system, it cannot be denied that the mere requisitions made for the purpose by the officers of the Education Department may have a tendency, not only to create a prejudice against Education, but also to render the Government itself unpopular. And, besides the unpopularity likely to arise from the demands on the poorer members of the community, made in the way either of persuasion or authority, there can be no doubt that the dignity of the Government is compromised by its officers appearing in the light of importunate and often unsuccessful applicants for pecuniary contributions, for objects which the Government is confessedly very anxious to promote.

On the whole, Her Majesty's Government can entertain little doubt that *the grant-in-aid system, as hitherto in force, is unsuited to the supply of Vernacular Education to the masses of the population ; and it appears to them, so far as they have been able to form an opinion, that the means of elementary education should be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government*, according to some one of the plans in operation in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, or by such modification of those schemes as may commend itself to the several local Governments as best suited to the circumstances of different localities.¹

This decision of the Secretary of State was hasty and much to be regretted. His recommendations, however, regarding the ways and means of financing primary education marked a great advance. He agreed with the view advocated in Bombay and suggested the impost of local taxes in order to meet the additional cost of the expansion of education. He said :—

Assuming that the task of providing the means of elementary Vernacular Education for those who are unable to procure it for themselves is to be undertaken by the State, they are strongly of opinion that the officers of the Department of Education should be relieved from the onerous and invidious task of soliciting contributions for the support of these schools from classes whose means for the most part are extremely limited, and whose appreciation of the advantages of Education does not dispose them to make sacrifices for obtaining it.

As regards the source from which the funds for Elementary Education should be obtained, it has been on different occasions proposed by officers connected with Education that, in order to avoid the difficulties experienced in obtaining

voluntary local support, an Education Rate should be imposed, from which the cost of all schools throughout the country should be defrayed. And other officers who have considered India to be as yet unprepared for such a measure, have regarded other arrangements as merely temporary and palliative, and the levy of a compulsory rate as the only really effective step to be taken for permanently supplying the deficiency.

The appropriation of a fixed proportion of the annual value of the land to the purpose of providing such means of education for the population immediately connected with the land, seems, *per se*, unobjectionable, and the application of a percentage for the construction and maintenance of roads appears to afford a suitable precedent for such an impost. In the North-Western Provinces the principle has already been acted on, though the plan has there been subjected to the important modification that the Government shares the burden with the landholder, and that the consent of the latter shall be a necessary condition to the introduction of the arrangement in any locality. The several existing inspectors of schools in Bengal are of opinion that an Education Rate might without difficulty be introduced into that Presidency, and it seems not improbable that the levy of such a rate under the direct authority of the Government would be acquiesced in with far more readiness and with less dislike than a nominally voluntary rate proposed by the local officers.¹

Perhaps the explanation of these recommendations of the Despatches of 1854 and 1859 which generally contradict each other on the subject of elementary education, and the subsequent controversies that raged round them till about 1870, may be traced to the contemporary controversies in England. At this time, elementary education in England was mostly provided by denominational schools supported, to a certain extent, by Parliamentary grants. But opinion was keenly divided regarding the future of elementary education. One section held the view that voluntary effort—which meant mostly the denominational schools—was the best agency for the spread of elementary education, and that Parliament should do no more than give financial assistance to voluntary schools. This section opposed all attempts to introduce a State system of education because of the fear that, in State schools, there would be no freedom to the various sects to teach the principles of their religion. On the other hand, the opposite section held the view that the system of voluntary schools was defective; that the voluntary agencies were hiding fundamental defects under a show of activity; that the voluntary schools had not succeeded in bringing all children into schools; and that universal education could not be realised with the help of a voluntary agency alone. This section recommended the imposition of local taxes for education and the

establishment of a system of public schools maintained and controlled by *ad hoc* bodies consisting of the representatives of the people. The controversy between these two sections of public opinion dominated the field of elementary education in England between the years 1846 and 1870 and was only partially closed by the Education Act of 1870 which empowered Government, under certain conditions, to establish School Boards with powers to levy local taxes for the establishment and maintenance of public schools and to compel attendance of children between 5 and 13 years of age.

It was inevitable that the effects of this controversy should be felt on Indian educational policy also ; and one is driven to the conclusion that the recommendations of the Despatch of 1859 as well as those of 1854 were more a result of the controversies in England than of the experience gained in India or of a careful study of what was best suited to Indian conditions.

5. Events of the Period 1859-82. This Despatch naturally led to some controversies in India where opinion had not yet crystallised. While some preferred to abide by the recommendations of 1854, others chose to follow the lead given by the Despatch of 1859. The conflict of opinion centred mainly round three points : the attitude to indigenous schools ; the levy of local taxes ; and the claims of primary education to receive a grant-in-aid from Government Revenues. It is not necessary here to go into the protracted discussions that followed, especially as no common conclusion was arrived at and as each Province was allowed to develop on its own lines. But the following narrative of the main events of the period between the Despatch of 1859 and the appointment of the Indian Education Commission in 1882 will assist materially in understanding the *raison d'être* of the recommendations of the Commission.

(a) *Indigenous Schools*: The Despatch of 1859 led to a keen dispute regarding the agency to be adopted for the spread of primary education. Some argued that the agency of the indigenous schools should be adopted *in toto* but that Government may, if necessary, maintain only a few schools as model institutions. Others argued that elementary education should be spread as widely as possible through schools directly controlled by Government. There were also some who preferred a

however, each Province was allowed to develop on its own lines. The following account of Provincial developments will show how the indigenous schools fared in each province during the period under review.

(i) *Madras*: "Partly in consequence of too exclusive attention to higher education, and partly from the want of adequate funds, the duty of diffusing primary education among the masses was neglected by Government until 1868."¹ In that year, Government revised its educational code and introduced the system of payment by results for primary schools. The policy adopted in Madras was to rely mainly on private effort and to open departmental schools only when private effort was not forthcoming. Available resources were mostly used in encouraging indigenous schools as well as those conducted by missionaries with the result that the spread of education was very rapid. The following statistics² speak for themselves:—

Year.	No. of Schools.		No. of Pupils in	
	Depart- mental.	Aided and inspected.	Departmental schools.	Aided and in- spected schools.
1855-56	83	....	2,093	....
1870-71	98	3,352	5,463	84,239
1881-82	1,263	13,223	46,975	313,668

In 1882 the number of unaided indigenous schools known to the Department was stated to be 2,828 with 54,064 pupils.

(ii) *Bombay*: In Bombay, the Education Department relied almost exclusively on its own schools for the spread of primary education and hence the indigenous schools were neglected from the beginning. Prior to 1870, hardly any attempt had been made to assist indigenous schools. In that year, Mr. Peile, the then Director of Public Instruction, framed a special set of rules for assisting indigenous schools; but the extent of the assistance actually afforded may be gauged from the fact that even in 1881-82, only 73 indigenous schools were in receipt of aid although the Department was aware of the existence of as many

¹ *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 29.

Ibid., p. 83.

as 3,954 indigenous schools which gave education to 78,205 pupils.¹ It may also be noted that the Education Commission came to the conclusion that the Bombay Education Department had followed a policy of deliberate inactivity with regard to the practical encouragement of aided schools.

(iii) *Bengal* : (In Bengal, on the other hand, the system of primary education had been entirely built up on the indigenous schools.) A reference has already been made to the Circle system which was tried in Bengal between 1856-62 for the improvement of indigenous schools. While this was kept going, Government introduced, in 1862, *the Normal School System*, according to which the teacher of an indigenous school, or "his relative or probable successor, was sent to a Normal School with a stipend of Rs. 5 a month, under a written engagement with the village that after a year's training he would be received as the teacher with a guaranteed income of not less than Rs. 5. The course of studies at the training school included reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as accounts and mensuration up to the full indigenous standard. Elementary geography and history and the art of teaching were also taught".² The object of the system was mainly to improve the quality of instruction in indigenous schools by training their teachers and the small financial assistance promised was merely intended to induce the teachers to undergo the training course. But lack of funds came in the way of the extension of either of these systems to a large number of indigenous schools, and in 1870-71 only 2,430 schools had been brought under either of them.

In 1872, Sir George Campbell sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. 4,00,000 for the spread of mass education through the indigenous schools. He proposed that indigenous schools should be inspected by the Department, and assisted by stipends to teachers of not more than Rs. 5 per mensem or not less than Rs. 2 per mensem. The amount of the stipend was small but it was believed that the villagers would continue to assist the teacher as they used to do in the past and that the stipend paid by Government would be an additional remuneration to the teachers.) The object of Campbell's scheme was stated in the following words :—

The Lieutenant-Governor's wish is that the money now granted should be used to encourage and develop in rural villages proper indigenous education,

¹ *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 67.

—that is, reading, writing, and arithmetic, in the real indigenous language and character of each Province, . . . Arithmetic and writing are the main subjects in which the people desire instruction, and many books will not be used ; those that are used will be of the simplest and cheapest description. . . . It is quite clear that if rural schools are to be popular among ordinary villagers, the teachers must be of the old gurumahasay class, or must come from the same social and intellectual stratum. What is wanted is to teach ordinary village boys enough to enable them to take care of their own interests in their own station of life, as petty shopkeepers, small landholders, ryots, handicraftsmen, weavers, village headmen, boatmen, fishermen and what not. It is beyond all things desirable not to impart at village schools that kind of teaching which in a transition state of society, might induce boys to think themselves above manual labour or ordinary village work. To the really able boys at pathsalas opportunities for advancement will be offered by a chain of scholarships, the gainers of which can pass through the several grades of schools up to a university degree.¹

(This system worked well and a large number of indigenous schools came to be aided by the Department. But very soon, a complaint began to be received that as soon as Government paid a stipend, the villagers reduced their contributions by a proportionate amount. In order to prevent this evil, the system of payment by results was first adopted in the Midnapur district and gradually extended till it practically superseded the stipend system. Payment by results was, on the whole, cheaper than the system of stipends, where a definite lower limit had been imposed. Moreover, Government increased the grant to primary education from Rs. 4,00,000 to more than Rs. 5,00,000. Consequently, a very large number of indigenous schools could be assisted by the Department.) The following statistics of 1881-82 speak for themselves :—

1. Number of Departmental Schools	.. .. .	28
2. Number of pupils in Departmental Schools	.. .. .	916
3. Number of Aided Schools	.. .. .	47,374
4. Number of pupils in Aided Schools	.. .. .	835,435
5. Number of Unaided Indigenous Schools known to the Department	.. .. .	3,265
6. Number of pupils in the above	.. .. .	49,238
7. Number of Unaided but Inspected Schools	.. .. .	4,376
8. Number of pupils in the above	.. .. .	62,038

The one defect of the system, however, was the small amount of aid afforded. In 1881-82, this was only Rs. 11 a year per school.

The history of the indigenous schools in these three Provinces has been given in detail because the other Provinces followed one or other of these models with slight variations. As in Bombay, the North-Western Province also relied mainly on the Halkabandi schools, which have been already described, and did not make any attempts to incorporate the indigenous schools. In 1881-82, an enquiry revealed that there were as many as 6,712, unaided indigenous schools in the Province with 61,634 pupils ; but the number of aided primary schools in that year was only 243 with 15,019 pupils. Coorg also followed Bombay and supplied primary schools through the direct agency of the Department without making any effort to stimulate private enterprise or to incorporate the indigenous schools in its educational organization. The Punjab followed the model of the North-Western Province. In 1881-82, the number of aided primary schools in the Punjab was only 278 with 14,616 pupils whereas an enquiry showed that there were as many as 13,109 indigenous schools in the Province with 135,384 pupils. The Central Provinces followed Bengal and actively encouraged indigenous schools. But there was no strong system of indigenous schools in the Province and hence it had to open a large number of departmental schools. In 1881-82, the Province had 894 departmental schools with 55,745 pupils and 368 aided schools with 18,786 pupils. Berar followed the same policy as in Bombay and generally relied on departmental schools ; but it made greater attempts to encourage indigenous schools. In 1881-82, it had 467 departmental schools with 27,844 pupils, 209 aided schools with 4,212 pupils and 207 unaided schools with 2,672 pupils. Assam was a part of Bengal till 1874 and hence its primary system was also built up on the basis of indigenous schools. In 1881-82, there were in Assam only 7 Government schools with 187 pupils, 1,256 aided schools with 35,643 pupils and 497 indigenous schools with 9,733 pupils.

✓(b) *Finance* : We now turn to the next point of conflict, viz., the ways and means in which primary education was financed.

(The Despatch of 1859 had suggested that local rates should be imposed to meet the cost of mass education.) This idea was slightly modified by the Government of India which was of opinion that local rates should be imposed, not only for education,

was then a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India and who was described by Howell as "the great exponent of the principle of local rates", observed as under in his budget speech for 1860-61 :—

If this great empire is ever to have the roads, the schools, the local police and the other instruments of civilization which a flourishing country ought to possess, it is simply impossible that the Imperial Government can find either the money or the management.¹

Accordingly, (local rates were generally imposed in all provinces to meet several objects of local expenditure including education.) In rural areas, the land revenue supplied a very good basis for the assessment of local rates, and consequently, the local taxes in rural areas took the form of a cess on land revenue, except in Bengal where the existence of the permanent land revenue settlement introduced by Lord Cornwallis presented an obstacle. In town areas, the usual form of a local rate was a tax on houses and this was imposed and collected through municipalities which came to be established in all provinces during this period. The cess on land revenue was generally intended for roads and education, while the municipalities were entrusted with several duties which included even a payment for the police force.

The work of imposing local rates for education was carried out in all provinces except Bengal in the decade 1861-71. Reference has already been made to the 1 per cent cess on land revenue collected in the North-Western Province for educational purposes. The Punjab was the next to follow this example. It levied a cess of 1 per cent on land revenue as early as 1856-57 although at that time it was not levied in all places. The levy of the cess was made general in 1864. The Province of Oudh imposed a cess of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on land revenue in 1861 and earmarked one per cent out of it for education. The Central Provinces followed the example of the North-Western Province and levied the cess at one per cent in 1862-63. Two years later, the cess was raised to two per cent as the amount realised from the one per cent cess was not adequate to meet the requirements. Bombay introduced a cess of one anna on every rupee of land revenue ($6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent) in 1863 and generalised its levy by the Bombay Local Funds Act of 1869. One-third of the cess was earmarked for education.

A similar local fund cess was imposed in Sind in 1865. But only half of it was given to all local purposes and the other half was retained by Government as a set-off against expenditure incurred by it for local purposes such as canal clearances, public buildings, etc. Berar imposed a local fund cess of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and earmarked one-fifth of it for education. Madras passed a Local Funds Act in 1871 and imposed a cess at a rate not exceeding one anna on land revenue but did not prescribe any definite proportion of it to be paid to education. A local cess was introduced in Assam in 1879 but in Bengal, no cess on land revenue was imposed even up to 1882.

The levy of these local fund cesses was very warmly welcomed by the Education Departments. The demand for educational institutions was growing rapidly and the expenditure on education was mounting up. In those days, all additional expenditure had to be sanctioned by the Government of India, and it was, therefore, extremely difficult to obtain additional allotments for education. At this juncture, the levy of the local fund cess came as a great windfall. The following passage from the Report of the Bombay Provincial Committee of the Indian Education Commission describes how the Department looked upon the cess at this time :—

From that year (*i.e.*, 1865) primary education was no longer dependent on a capricious assignment of public funds which might increase or decrease according to the accidental favour or disfavour with which the claims of the masses were regarded by higher authority or the oscillations of Indian administration. The education of the masses was now finally secured by a permanent income which could not be diverted from that branch of instruction without breach of faith and consequently without illegality. It was possible therefore not merely to extend largely primary education, but to lay down a far-sighted and definite course of policy which would not be imperilled by unforeseen financial contingencies or fluctuations of revenue.¹

On the other hand, the Municipal Acts of the various provinces did not give equally happy results, the main cause of the failure being the absence of any statutory provision to the effect that a prescribed percentage of the total income of municipalities must be spent upon education. The law *permitted* the municipalities to incur expenditure on education but did not *oblige* them to do so. Consequently, the municipalities did not make as great contributions to education as they ought to. How inadequate was the attention which municipalities paid to education

generally can be seen from the following statistics¹ given by the Indian Education Commission :—

<i>Province.</i>	<i>Percentage of expenditure on education to the total income of Municipalities.</i>
Madras	4.09
Bombay	1.17
Bengal	0.48
North-Western Province and Oudh	1.77
Punjab	5.29
Central Provinces	3.01
Assam	0.39
Berar	1.33

In contrast with the above figures, most of the new schools that were being established came to be located in *towns* because it was to these places that public awakening was then confined. As the municipalities did not make adequate contributions to education, the money to support these schools mostly came, not from the taxes raised in the area of the towns, but from local cesses raised in villages. This evil was particularly felt in Bombay. The following statistics² of Primary Schools within the municipal areas of the Bombay Province in 1883-84 will give an insight into the problem :—

1. Number of Municipalities in the Province	121
2. Number of Schools maintained in the Municipal areas and shown on the budget of the Local Fund Cess	480
3. Number of pupils in schools mentioned in item 2	61,867
4. Fees of pupils in item 3	Rs. 51,708
5. Local Fund Cess collected in Municipal areas	Rs. 15,483
6. Municipal grant to schools mentioned in item 2	Rs. 24,031
7. Miscellaneous receipts	Rs. 699
8. Provincial grant due to Municipal areas calculated on a population basis	Rs. 25,899
9. Total assets of schools within Municipal areas (items 4, 5, 6, 7, 8)	Rs. 1,17,820
10. Total expenditure incurred from Local Fund Cess on schools in item 2	Rs. 2,75,958
11. Net loss to the Local Fund Cess on account of schools within Municipal areas (item 10 minus item 9)	Rs. 1,58,138

On this subject, the Indian Education Commission observed as under :—

But the complaint has been made that the local fund is properly a rural fund and it should be spent on the villages which contribute it, and not in the towns which only contribute a very small proportion of the cess. Several witnesses of great experience have urged that there should be a redistribution of

¹ Report, p. 158.

² J. P. Naik : *History of Local Fund Cess (appropriated to education) in the Province of Bombay*,

the financial burden of supporting primary schools, which would set free for rural education funds paid by rural Districts and now appropriated by Municipalities. Their view is supported at considerable length by the Bombay Provincial Committee. Other witnesses have in the same sense argued that the time has arrived when Municipal Boards must be compelled to make more adequate provision for primary education out of the funds at their disposal.¹

Several intricate problems were connected with the levy and the administration of these local funds for education—both District and Municipal. It will be beyond the scope of this book to go into them in detail. But the following analysis of the system of financing primary education, as it then prevailed, will be helpful to understand the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission :—

(i) In Bombay and Madras, the local fund cess was entirely at the disposal of the local boards for expenditure on objects within their purview. But in the Provinces of Northern India, the local funds were also subject to certain deductions on account of works for extension of irrigation or prevention of famine.

(ii) In Bombay and Madras, the income from the local fund cess was regarded as a *fund*—distinct from the revenue of the Provincial Government. Hence, if any unspent balances remained in any year, they could be utilized by the Boards in subsequent years. But in the Provinces of Northern India, the local fund was looked upon as Government revenue placed at the disposal of the boards for local expenditure. Hence, if any amount remained unspent during any year, it lapsed to the Provincial Government.

(iii) In Bombay, there was a *District Educational Fund* in each district consisting of Government grant, one-third part of the local fund income, contributions of municipalities within the district, etc. This was a very advantageous system which ensured that all sums allocated to education should be spent on education only. Under this system, unspent balances of any year were available for expenditure on educational objects only during subsequent years and could not be diverted to other objects within the sphere of local boards.

(iv) In Bombay, a definite proportion of the local fund cess, *viz.*, one-third, was assigned for education. But in Madras it was not so assigned with the result that education got a much smaller part of the local fund income than it ought to have had.

The Indian Education Commission made the following observations on the subject :—

In the nine years which followed the introduction of the Local Funds Act IV of 1871, education received on the average 9 per cent of the local fund income derived from rates and taxes only, while of the whole local fund income it received only a little more than 6 per cent. According to the wording of section 36 of Act IV of 1871 which assigns to ' the road fund ' or public works division of the budget not less than two-thirds of the land cess, together with the net proceeds of all tolls, the assignment to education cannot be called illegal ; but it was certainly expected, when the Act was passed, that it would provide 8½ lakhs for education ; whereas in 1881-82 the actual expenditure charged to local funds was not 5½ lakhs.¹

(v) The object to which the local funds were to be applied was also a disputed point. Some argued that it could and should be applied to higher education. Others held the view that the elementary education of the masses had the first claim upon the local funds. In Bombay, the following orders were issued on the subject :—

1. As a general rule, Local Fund for educational purposes should be restricted, in the first instance, to the support of primary, *i.e.*, vernacular education in any district, town or village, or other easily ascertained division.

2. Under the above head should be understood salaries of village school-masters and general charges connected with village schools, building and repairs of village school-houses, and allowances to Masters under training for primary schools.

3. When the actual requirements of a district as regards primary schools have been supplied as far as possible, but not before, the Local Funds Committee may be at liberty to make assignments to other than primary education, as, for instance, the building of Taluka school-houses providing the salaries for Anglo-Vernacular teachers, etc.

4. Until the requirements of a district, town, or village, as regards both primary and Anglo-Vernacular education have been met, Local Committees shall not be at liberty to make assignments to higher or to special education. . . .

6. Besides providing funds, as far as possible, for primary education, it shall be the duty of Local Funds Committees to undertake the building and repairs of village school-houses.

12. A quota, to be fixed by the Revenue Commissioners should be paid by each Local Fund Committee for the maintenance of extra clerks in the establishments of the Educational Department, rendered necessary for the keeping of accounts, etc.²

(vi) (The unit of area which should be considered fit to be entrusted with the management of primary education was also a point in dispute. Some argued that a small unit secures perfect local knowledge and interest and conduces to efficiency. Others preferred a bigger unit such as a district. The practice in the several provinces was not uniform and in 1882, the question was still open.)

¹ Report, p. 152.

(vii) (Perhaps the most disputed point referred to the grant which was payable by Government in support of local funds devoted to education.) One view maintained that the local fund cess was just like contributions from the people and was consequently entitled to receive a grant-in-aid from Government. The other view held that the local fund cess was really a tax and hence had no claims to receive a grant-in-aid from Government. The orders of the Government of India itself were conflicting. On some occasions the view had been held that the education of the masses had a claim on Government revenues because the Despatch of 1854 had laid down that the attempts of Government should be directed to the education of the great mass of the people who were utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts. On other occasions, the view had been held that "the State had never undertaken to provide for the education of the people",¹ and that the education of the masses must be supported by local funds. The controversy was finally closed by the Circular No. 60, dated 11-2-1871 from the Government of India :—

2. The Governor-General-in-Council, therefore, considers it desirable to explain on what principle it will be permissible to assign from the sums allotted for educational purposes, grants-in-aid to schools for primary education, and it will rest with the Local Governments, under the new system of financial control, to determine in what localities and to what extent such grants shall from time to time be made.

3. It has been repeatedly declared by the Secretary of State that it is a primary duty to assign funds for the education of those who are least able to help themselves, and that the education of the masses, therefore, has the greatest claim on the State funds. The Government of India desires to maintain this view, but the Grant-in-aid Rules have in practice been found so unsuitable to primary schools, that except in special cases, such grants-in-aid are seldom sanctioned from the General Revenues. It has, moreover, been repeatedly affirmed that we must look to local exertion and to local cesses to supply the funds required for the maintenance of primary schools.

4. These standing orders may seem inconsistent, but they really are not so. The fact is that primary education must be supported both by imperial funds and by local rates. It is not by any means the policy of the Government of India to deny to primary schools assistance from Imperial Revenues ; but, on the other hand, no sum that could be spared from those revenues would suffice for the work, and local rates must be raised to effect any sensible impression on the masses. This does not lessen the obligation of Government to contribute as liberally as other demands allow, to supplement the sums raised by local effort. The true policy will be to distribute the imperial funds, so far as such funds are available, in proportion to the amount raised by the people from each district.

5. The amount at present allotted for primary education under the several local administrations is small, and it is not expected that the local Governments

will in any case diminish it. On the other hand, they will have full liberty to increase the allotment, either from retrenchments in other services, or from savings in other branches of education, and it is permissible to assign, from the Provincial grant, funds in aid of schools mainly supported by contributions from local cesses or municipal rates. A rule, however, should be laid down that the State contribution is not to exceed one-half of the aggregate contributions from all other sources, or one-third of the total expenditure on education in the school concerned.

6. There will be no objection to special exception being made in the case of poor and backward districts, where the population is large, and the rate, owing to the poverty of the people, is insufficient to give the required quota. In such districts, in the interests of civilization and peace, some special efforts have to be made for the extension of primary education, without reference to local contributions.

7. It will also be within the discretion of the local Government to assign from the funds for Provincial services building grants for school houses in aid of contributions from the proceeds of local rates, but with the same limitation as to the proportion of the Government grant, and subject to any further rules that may be in force in the Public Works Department.

The Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, went into ecstasies over these orders and called them "the charter of the educational rights of the local boards".¹ He construed the expression *not to exceed* occurring in the last sentence of para. 5 to mean *shall be equal to*. He soon realised that he was legally wrong and that the stony hearts in the Finance Department would not be moved by his arguments in support of the moral claims of local funds.

✓ The following statistics of expenditure on primary education in 1881-82 will be found very interesting :—

(All figures in thousands of Rupees)

Province.	Provin- cial Funds.	Local Board & Munici- pal Funds.	Fees.	Other sources.	Total.
Madras	1,68	5,02	3,68	2,87	13,25
Bombay	3,46	7,87	1,54	63	13,50
Bengal	5,97	13	10,77	4,45	21,32
N.-W. F. Province & Oudh ..	2,16	5,44	55	84	8,99
Punjab	97	3,45	62	84	5,88
Central Provinces	1,00	1,45	22	33	3,00
Assam	24	57	17	20	1,18
Coorg	4	7	1	..	12
Berar ²	1,25	88	26	1	2,40
Total	16,77	24,88	17,82	10,17	69,64

(Taken from the *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, pp. 166-7.)

The figures speak for themselves and show not only the wide variations in contributions from local funds, but also the variations in Government grants to the local funds.

(c) (*Training of Teachers*: The Despatch of 1859 observed that "the institution of training schools does not seem to have been carried out to the extent contemplated by the Court of Directors". This admonition from the Secretary of State naturally led to a quickening of effort in favour of the training of teachers and by 1882, each province had established several training institutions for primary teachers.

The events of the period can be studied under two heads: training of primary teachers in provinces where the majority of primary schools were conducted by the Department—such as Bombay or the Central Provinces—and that in provinces where the majority of schools were conducted by private agencies—such as Bengal and Madras. It is evident that the problem was essentially different in the two systems. In the case of departmental schools, the teachers were selected persons; they had a fair amount of general education; and they were willing to undergo training because better prospects were held out to trained teachers. On the other hand, the teachers of the aided indigenous schools were a motley crowd over whose choice the Department had hardly any control; their general education was ordinarily poor; and they were mostly unwilling to undergo training—especially a long course of training—because it did not lead to improved conditions of service.) The training problems of these two groups of teachers had, therefore, to be dealt with on different lines.

(i) *Bombay*: In 1881-82, there were seven training colleges for men teachers and two for women teachers (two of these colleges were in Indian States). The total number of teachers under training was 553 as against 9,314 in employment. The full training course was of three years. The percentage of trained headmasters was 46 and that of assistant masters was fourteen.

(ii) *Central Provinces*: In 1881-82, there were four training institutions—three for men and one for women—with an enrolment of 188. The percentage of trained teachers was 87 in

(iii) In *Bengal*, most of the primary schools were aided indigenous schools and hence the problem of training primary teachers was essentially different from that in Bombay or the Central Provinces. Reference has already been made to the *circle system* and the *Normal school system*. The latter continued to expand steadily and in 1872-73, there were 26 normal schools in Bengal. In 1874, Sir George Campbell introduced a comprehensive scheme for training almost all indigenous school teachers in the normal schools established or proposed to be established at the district or sub-divisional headquarters. Accordingly, the opening of 46 additional normal schools at a cost of Rs. 1,64 thousand was sanctioned in the same year.

But very soon, the policy of Government was materially altered. As the Indian Education Commission points out:—

After a year's trial of this scheme, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Richard Temple, found reason for believing that it was unduly expensive. In fact the utility of normal schools, except as a means of providing trained teachers for the better section of the *pathsalas*, had already begun to be doubted. A phrase in common use about this time in the mouths of District Officers was that to raise the indigenous schools much above their traditional level would be 'to improve them off the face of the earth'. The complaint also began to be heard that the indigenous *gurus* were strongly averse to leaving their villages and coming in, if only for three or six months, to the Normal school. Thus the new Normal schools were declared to be both costly and ineffective. The best *gurus* were considered able to teach the simple standard required of them without going to a Normal school; the worst were regarded as incapable of improvement by any process. The gradual substitution of better educated, if untrained, men was urged on grounds alike of economy and efficiency, especially if accompanied by a system of payment by results. . . . The results of this new policy may be summarily shown. From 1874 to 1876, the number of Government Normal schools was 41. It fell to 31 in 1877, to 24 in 1878, and to 17 in 1879. In 1881-82 there were 8 Normal schools for training superior vernacular and 10 for training village teachers, including the *guru* departments of first grade schools. There is, therefore, no question that the new policy sanctioned by the Government of Bengal has been carried out in a deliberate manner. That policy proposed the gradual substitution of young men taught in middle and lower vernacular schools as teachers of primary schools, and consequently, in considering the effect which the system has had in improving the primary education of the country, the Bengal Department claims to take into account not only the teachers trained in Normal schools, but those taught in departmental schools of the classes named. Under this definition of trained teachers it appears that, besides 3,358 teachers trained in Normal schools, 4,118 have been taught in middle schools, and 1,601 in upper primary schools. There are, therefore, altogether 9,077 teachers in aided schools out of a total of 47,402 who are qualified according to the standard of qualification now accepted in Bengal, to teach the full primary course . . . the figures show how great is the task that still lies before the Department in Bengal in its endeavours to bring the general body of primary schools up to the standard even of the lower primary examination. It proposes to effect this, not by imposing teachers

be left to the village, but by gradually infusing among the villagers a desire for the better standard and by so improving the position and prospects of the teacher that men with higher qualifications for the work may be gradually attracted to it.¹

(iv) In *Madras*, the primary schools were mostly aided indigenous schools as in Bengal; but it is remarkable that this province had 32 training schools with an enrolment of 927. The annual output of trained teachers was estimated at about 500 and about 25 per cent of the teachers held certificates of training. Despite this favourable position as compared to Bengal, the Madras Provincial Committee of the Indian Education Commission stressed the need of training more teachers and recommended an increase in expenditure and a multiplication of training institutions, while the Bengal Committee observed that "the training of teachers from outside must necessarily be out of place in a system of primary schools growing out of an old organization which is slowly changing under the new influences brought to bear on it".²

Taking India as a whole there were, in 1881-82, 106 Normal schools with an enrolment of 3,886 primary teachers, maintained at a total cost of about Rs. 4 lakhs.³

(d) *Expansion*: Expansion of primary education depends on two factors—the extent of the funds provided and the cost of the agency employed. The foregoing survey of events has shown that the educational systems of the several provinces of India varied considerably in both the matters, and consequently, expansion of primary education also showed great variations.) In Bengal, for instance, the local fund cess had not been imposed, but a large Government grant coupled with the adoption of the agency of indigenous schools helped the Province to achieve considerable expansion. In Bombay, on the other hand, the funds available for education were the largest; but owing to an almost exclusive reliance on the costlier agency of departmental schools the expansion was not so great as it might otherwise have been. In the Punjab, the agency of departmental schools was adopted although the funds were limited. Consequently, the expansion of primary education was much less than in either of the two provinces mentioned above. The following statistics taken from the report of the Indian Education Commission show the extent

¹ *Report*, pp. 130-1.

² *Ibid.*, para. 180.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 184.

of expansion achieved in each province of British India in the year 1881-82 :—

Province.	Population.	No. of Pupils in Primary Schools, (excluding indigenous schools not incorporated in the Departmental system).
Madras	3,08,35,775	3,60,643
Bombay	1,64,60,668	3,32,688
Bengal	6,81,21,160	8,98,389
North-Western Province & Oudh ..	4,40,73,530	2,13,238
Punjab	1,88,20,840	1,02,867
Central Provinces	98,33,655	77,737
Assam	48,79,795	38,182
Coorg	1,77,787	3,069
Berar	26,71,917	34,728
Total ..	19,58,75,127	20,61,541

These figures show what a great amount of work had yet to be achieved. The following extract from the report of the Commission gives a good picture of the situation. The extreme educational backwardness of India at that time will be realised all the more if it is remembered that the percentages given in the extract are calculated on the 26,43,978 pupils in *all* educational institutions and not on the 20,61,541 pupils in primary schools only :—

In the area to which our enquiries are confined, containing 859,844 square miles, with 552,379 villages and towns, inhabited by 202,604,080 persons, there were only 112,218 schools and 2,643,978 Indian children or adults at school in 1881-82. The proportion of pupils both male and female, to the population of school-going age, calculated in accordance with the principles described in Chapter II,¹ is shown below :—

Province.	Percentage of males.	Percentage of females.
Madras	17·78	1·48
Bombay { British Districts	24·96	1·85
{ Native States	17·85	0·93
Bengal	20·82	0·80
North-Western Provinces & Oudh ..	8·25	0·28
Punjab	12·11	0·72
Central Provinces	10·49	0·44
Assam	14·61	0·46
Coorg	22·44	2·86
Hyderabad Assigned Districts ..	17·10	0·22
Total for India ..	16·28	0·84

These figures exclude the attendance in schools for Europeans and Eurasians, and in unattached institutions for professional or technical education; they include

that in all other institutions known to the Department in 1881-82. The most advanced Province of India still fails to reach 75 per cent of its male children of the school-going age and 98 per cent of its female children of that age; while in one province, with its total population of both sexes exceeding 44 millions, nearly 92 boys in every hundred are growing up in ignorance, and female education has hardly begun to make any progress. The census returns are equally conclusive in showing the magnitude of the work that remains before education in India can be placed upon a national basis. Taking the male population of Ajmer and of the nine provinces with which our Report deals, which exceeds 103 millions, about 94½ millions are wholly illiterate; while of the female population, numbering about 99,700,000 no less than 99½ millions are returned as unable to read or write.¹

✓ **6. The Indian Education Commission.** In view of the slow progress of primary education in the period from 1854 to 1882, it was but natural that Government should direct the Indian Education Commission to pay special attention to the subject of primary education. The resolution of Government appointing the Commission observed as under :—

It is the desire of the Governor-General-in-Council that the Commission should specially bear in mind the great importance which the Government attaches to the subject of primary education. The development of elementary education was one of the main objects contemplated by the Despatch of 1854. Attention was specially directed in that Despatch to the question 'how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, might be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts'; and it was desired that 'the active measures of Government should be more especially directed for the future to this object.' Although the matter was thus prominently and at the outset pressed upon the attention of the Indian administrations, there can, His Excellency in Council believes, be very little doubt that, owing to a variety of circumstances, more progress has up to the present time been made in high and middle than in primary education. The Government of India is not disposed in any way to regret this advance. It would be altogether contrary to its policy to check or hinder in any degree the further progress of high or middle education. But the Government holds that the different branches of public instruction should, if possible, move forward together, and with more equal step than hitherto, and the principal object, therefore, of the enquiry of the Commission should be 'the present state of elementary education throughout the empire, and the means by which this can everywhere be extended and improved'.

Consequently, the subject of primary education figures prominently in the report of the Indian Education Commission and some of its most important recommendations refer to the spread of elementary education among the people. They can be conveniently divided under the following six heads :—

- (a) Policy ;
- (b) Legislation and administration ;

- (c) Encouragement of indigenous schools ;
- (d) School administration ;
- (e) Training of Teachers ; and
- (f) Finance.

7. Policy. Regarding the policy of Government towards primary education, the Commission recommended :—

(a) That primary education be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will fit them for their position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the university.

(b) That while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore.

(c) That the principle laid down in Lord Hardinge's Resolution dated 11th October 1844, be re-affirmed, *i.e.*, that in selecting persons to fill the lowest offices under Government preference be always given to candidates who can read and write.

(d) That primary education be extended in backward districts, especially in those inhabited mainly by aboriginal races, by the instrumentality of the Department pending the creation of school-boards, or by specially liberal grants-in-aid to those who are willing to set up and maintain schools.

8. Legislation and Administration. Following the method adopted in England where, under the Education Acts of 1870 and 1876, the whole country was divided into a large number of school-districts for each of which a local committee with powers to levy taxes, to provide schools, and to compel attendance of children of a given age, had been established, the Indian Education Commission recommended that the control of primary education should be made over to District and Municipal Boards. Its recommendations on this subject are given below. No comment is needed except to state that the idea of compulsory attendance of school children which had already been adopted in England is here conspicuous by its absence:—

(a) That an attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for, and extension of, primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province.

(b) That the area of any municipal or rural unit of local self-government that may now or hereafter exist be declared to be a school-district, and school-boards be established for the management and control of schools placed under their jurisdiction in each such district.

(c) That the duties of municipal and local boards in controlling or assisting

(d) That the control of each school-board over all schools within the said school-district be subject to the following provisions :—

- (i) that it be open to the local government to exclude any school or any class of schools, other than schools of primary instruction for boys, from the control of such school-board ;
- (ii) that any school which is situated in the said school-district and which receives no assistance either from the board or the Department, continue, if the managers so desire it, to be independent of the control of the school-board ;
- (iii) that the managers of any institution which receives aid either from the board or the Department continue to exercise in regard to such institution full powers of management subject to such limitations as the local government may from time to time impose as a condition of receiving aid ;
- (iv) that the school-board may delegate to any body appointed by itself or subordinate to it any duties in regard to any school or class of institutions under its control which it thinks fit so to delegate.

(e) That the local government declare from time to time what funds constituting a school-fund shall be vested in any school-board for educational purposes, and what proportion of such school-fund shall be assigned to any class of education.

(f) That it be the duty of every school-board :—

- (i) to prepare an annual budget of its income and expenditure ;
- (ii) to determine what schools shall be wholly maintained at the cost of the school-fund, what schools are eligible for grants-in-aid, and which of them shall receive aid ;
- (iii) to keep a register of all schools, whether maintained at the cost of public funds, or aided or unaided, which are situated in its school-district ;
- (iv) to construct and repair school-houses or to grant aid towards their construction or repair ;
- (v) generally to carry out any other of the objects indicated in the various recommendations of the Commission, which in the opinion of the local government can best be secured by legislative enactment, or by rules made under the Act.

(g) That the appointment, reduction of salary, or dismissal, of teachers in schools maintained by the board be left to the school-board ; provided that the said board shall be guided in its appointments by any rules as to qualifications which may be laid down from time to time by the Department ; and provided that an appeal shall lie to the Department against any order of dismissal or reduction of salary.

(h) That the first appointment of schoolmasters in municipal or local board schools be left to the town or district boards, with the proviso that the masters be certificated or approved by the Department, and their subsequent promotion or removal be regulated by the boards, subject to the approval of the Department.

(i) That an appeal lie to the Department against any order of a board in regard to such matters as a local government shall specify.

(j) That every school-board be required to submit to the local government

be prescribed by the local government ; and thereon the local government declare whether the existing supply of schools of any class, of which the supervision has been entrusted to such board, is sufficient to secure adequate proportionate provision for the education of all classes of the community ; and in the event of the said Government declaring that the supply is insufficient, to determine from what sources and in what manner the necessary provision of schools shall be made.

(k) That it be incumbent upon every local government or administration to frame a code of rules for regulating the conduct of education by municipal and local boards in the provinces subject to such local government or administration.

(l) That municipal and local boards administering funds in aid of primary schools adopt the rules prescribed by the Department for aiding such schools, and introduce no change therein without the sanction of the Department.

9. Encouragement of Indigenous Schools. On the subject of indigenous schools, the Commission was of opinion that these schools deserved encouragement and incorporation in the official system of education. It will be recalled that the indigenous schools were most neglected in Bombay and hence the observations of the Commission on the policy of the Bombay Education Department give a good idea of the value which the Commission set on the indigenous schools. It observed:—

The policy of inactivity in regard to the practical encouragement of indigenous schools in the Bombay Presidency has been so deliberate, that we have given at length the arguments which have induced the Department to adopt it. Admitting, however, the comparative inferiority of indigenous institutions, we consider that efforts should now be made to encourage them. They have survived a severe competition, and have thus proved that they possess both vitality and popularity. Numerous examples furnished by the history of education in Madras, as well as in Bengal, prove the possibility of adapting the indigenous system to modern requirements, and while the cess schools of Bombay will supply a valuable model, the indigenous schools, if recognised and assisted as we shall presently propose, may be expected to improve their method and fill a useful position in the State system of national education.¹

The Commission, therefore, recommended:—

(a) That an indigenous school be defined as one established or conducted by natives of India on native methods.

(b) That all indigenous schools, whether high or low, be recognised and encouraged, if they serve any purpose of secular education whatsoever.

(c) That where indigenous schools exist, the principle of aiding and improving them be recognised as an important means of extending elementary education.

(d) That boards be required to give elementary indigenous schools free play and development, and to establish fresh schools of their own only where the preferable alternative of aiding suitable indigenous schools cannot be adopted.

At the same time, the Commission was aware of the fact that the indigenous schools which were largely conducted by persons

of certain advanced castes may not, unless special measures were adopted to that end, foster the educational development of all castes and communities and hence recommended:—

(a) That aided indigenous schools, not registered as special schools, be understood to be open to all classes and castes of the community, special aid being, if necessary, assignable on account of low-caste pupils.

(b) That such a proportion between special and other elementary indigenous schools be maintained in each town and district as to ensure a proportionate provision for the education of all classes.

The Commission held the view that the District and Municipal Boards consisting of Indians would be more sympathetic to the indigenous schools than the Education Department had been. Its observations on this subject are very interesting:—

The agency for assisting indigenous schools will necessarily be the agency of control. We attach great importance to the connection of all agencies of primary education with the various schemes of self-government now under consideration. Local boards, whether municipal or rural, are likely to sympathise with the indigenous system where it is valued by the people. In their hands improvement will not involve destruction. They will know what vernacular the village or town population prefer, and what subjects of instruction are practically useful. These boards will generally be entrusted with the control of elementary education in departmental schools, and their attitude towards indigenous schools may be expected to cast light on the vexed question of the relative popularity of the two systems. We therefore recommend that, *where municipal and local boards exist, the registration, supervision and encouragement of indigenous elementary schools, whether aided or unaided, be entrusted to them, provided that such boards shall not interfere in any way with any schools which do not desire to receive aid or to be subject to the supervision of the boards.* This will not only secure the public recognition of such indigenous schools by local bodies entrusted with power, but will also enable the boards themselves to take a wide survey of the field of indigenous agency. The pressure of public opinion, as well as their natural instincts, will, it may be hoped, lead local boards in the direction of popular sentiment. If such boards are entrusted with the control of primary education as well as with the funds to supply it, they will doubtless give indigenous schools fair play; and, when they become efficient, a preference over the more expensive institutions maintained wholly by municipal or rural boards. We therefore recommend that *the aid given to indigenous elementary schools be a charge against the funds at the disposal of municipal and local boards, where such exist, and that every indigenous school, which is registered for aid, receive from such boards the grants to which it is entitled under the rules.* It is not desirable to interfere with the discretion of boards in the exercise of the large powers which have been, or are about to be, conferred on them. At the same time it is necessary to provide a sufficient check upon their proceedings in order to ensure a proper observance of the conditions of aid and of the principles of administration which have been suggested. We therefore recommend that *one of the local inspecting officers be an ex-officio member of the municipal or district local board.* The association of the inspecting officer with the local board has not only been advocated by several native witnesses whose opinion is entitled to consideration, but it also seems to be the best mode of minimising interference from outside, while giving the boards timely and suitable advice in the discharge of

their responsible functions. In order that the educational officers may sufficiently acquainted with the facts to enable them to render such advice, we recommend that *the officers of the Education Department keep a list of all elementary indigenous schools and assist the boards in selecting the schools to be registered for aid and in securing a proportionate provision of education for all classes of the community.*¹

Turning to the question of grants to indigenous schools, the Commission recommended the adoption of the system of payment by results. This was not a happy recommendation. A better system would have been that of *capitation grants*—a system that has always led to quick expansion and is invaluable when the main objective of the policy is a rapid advance to universal education. But the Commission could not see its way to adopt it in India. It was pointed out in Chapter V that the Commission recommended that the system of payment by results should be abandoned in so far as *collegiate education* was concerned, and that the Commission did not advise either the complete acceptance or the complete rejection of the system in so far as grants to *secondary schools* were concerned. But the Commission was definitely of the opinion that the system of payment by results was the best method of assisting *indigenous schools* and recommended its universal adoption. The decision was not a happy one. It led to the domination of the system in all the provincial rules of grant-in-aid to primary schools till a new lead was given by Lord Curzon in the early years of this century.

Lastly, the Commission suggested that an attempt should be made to improve the teaching in indigenous schools, gradually and steadily, and with this end in view, made the following recommendations:—

(a) That a steady and gradual improvement of indigenous schools be aimed at, with as little immediate interference with their personnel or curriculum as possible.

(b) That special encouragement be afforded to indigenous schoolmasters to undergo training, and to bring their relatives and probable successors under regular training.

(c) That the standards of examination be arranged to suit each province, with the view of preserving all that is valued by the people in the indigenous system, and of encouraging by special grants the gradual introduction of useful subjects of instruction.

10. School Administration. The following recommendations of the Commission on this subject speak for themselves:—

(a) That the upper primary and lower primary examinations be not made compulsory in any province.

¹ Report, pp. 76-8.

(b) That examinations by inspecting officers be conducted as far as possible *in situ*, and all primary schools receiving aid be invariably inspected *in situ*.

(c) That schoolhouses and furniture be of the simplest and most economical kind.

(d) That the standards of primary examinations in each province be revised with a view to simplification, and to the larger introduction of practical subjects, such as native methods of arithmetic, accounts and mensuration, the elements of natural and physical science, and their application to agriculture, health, and the industrial arts; but that no attempt be made to secure general uniformity throughout India.

(e) That care be taken not to interfere with the freedom of managers of aided schools in the choice of text-books.

(f) That promotion from class to class be not necessarily made to depend on the results of one fixed standard of examinations uniform throughout the province.

(g) That physical development be promoted by the encouragement of native games, gymnastics, school-drill, and other exercises suited to the circumstances of each class of school.

(h) That all inspecting officers and teachers be directed to see that the teaching and discipline of every school are such as to exert a right influence on the manners, the conduct, and the character of the children, and that, for the guidance of the masters, a special manual be prepared.

(i) That as much elasticity as possible be permitted both as regards the hours of the day and the seasons of the year during which the attendance of scholars is required, especially in agricultural villages and in backward districts.

(j) That the vernacular, in which instruction shall be imparted in any primary school, maintained by any municipal or local board, be determined by the school committee of management, subject to revision by the municipal or local board; provided that if there be any dissenting minority in the community, who represent a number of pupils sufficient to form one or more separate classes or schools, it shall be incumbent on the Department to provide for the establishment of such classes or schools, and it shall be incumbent on such municipal or local board to assign to such classes or schools a fair proportion of the whole assignable funds.

11. Training of Teachers. On the subject of training of primary teachers, the Commission made the following recommendations:—

We are unanimous in attaching the greatest importance to the continued and more systematic prosecution of the policy laid down in the Home Despatches, and until 1875 acted upon without question. It seems to us a matter of the greatest importance not merely that Normal schools should be established at a few centres, but that they should be widely distributed throughout the country. In considering indigenous education we laid stress on the necessity of affording special encouragement to indigenous schoolmasters to bring their relatives and successors under training. But if this policy is to be successful, special facilities must be created. Accordingly we recommend *that the supply of Normal schools, whether Government or aided, be so localised as to provide for the local requirements of all primary schools, whether Government or aided, within the division under each Inspector.* We attach considerable importance to the personal interest which

order that proper financial provision may be made for the extension of such institutions, we recommend *that the first charges on provincial funds assigned for primary education be the cost of its direction and inspection, and the provision of an adequate supply of Normal schools.* We have laid emphasis on the local requirements of schools, and on the policy of localising training schools. It is in our opinion very desirable that the village schoolmaster should be a local resident and not a foreigner. In the Hyderabad Assigned Districts the want of proper Normal schools compelled the Department for many years to rely upon a supply of teachers drawn from Bombay. The disadvantages of such a plan are obvious. It is evident that by giving to the people of a district the prospect of employment, the popularity of the Department is in some measure secured. Again, it is desirable by every means to secure local interest and support in the village school, and the villagers may be expected to co-operate more readily with a member of their own community. The success of an indigenous school has often been mainly due to the fact that the master was a member of the village community. In this respect the Departmental schools may with advantage follow the example of indigenous institutions.¹

These fundamental recommendations have held the field ever since and the history of the training of primary teachers in India after 1882 may conveniently be traced against the background of these recommendations.

12. Finance. On the most important subject of finance, the Commission made the following recommendations:—

(a) That primary education be declared to be that part of the whole system of public instruction, which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on provincial revenues.

(b) That in all board-schools, a certain proportion of pupils be admissible as free students on the ground of poverty; and in the case of special schools, established for the benefit of poorer classes a general or larger exemption from payment of fees be allowed under proper authority for special reasons.

(c) That, subject to the exemption of a certain proportion of free students on account of poverty, fees, whether in money or kind, be levied in all aided schools; but the proceeds be left entirely at the disposal of the school-managers.

(d) That the Municipal School Fund consist of—

- (i) a fair proportion of municipal revenues, to be fixed in each case by the local government;
- (ii) the fees levied in schools wholly maintained at the cost of the municipal school fund;
- (iii) any assignment that may be made to the municipal school fund from the local fund;
- (iv) any assignment from provincial fund;
- (v) any other funds that may be entrusted to the municipality for the promotion of education; and
- (vi) any unexpended balance of the school fund from previous years.

(e) That the Local Board's School Fund consist of—

- (i) a distinct share of the general local fund, which share shall not be less than a minimum proportion to be prescribed for each province;

- (ii) the fees levied in schools wholly maintained at the cost of the school fund ;
- (iii) any contribution that may be assigned by municipal boards ;
- (iv) any assignment made from provincial funds ;
- (v) any other funds that may be entrusted to the local boards for the promotion of education ; and
- (vi) any unexpended balance of the school fund from previous years.

(f) That the general control over primary school expenditure be vested in the school boards, whether municipal or local, which may now exist or may hereafter be created for self-government in each province.

(g) That the cost of maintaining or aiding primary schools in each school district, and the construction and repair of board schoolhouses, be charged against the municipal or local board school fund so created.

A reference to the analysis of the system of financing primary education as it existed between 1859 and 1882 given in section 5 (b) above will show that many defects of the system were eliminated by these recommendations of the Indian Education Commission. To begin with, the idea of having a *fund* for primary education was a distinct advance ; *secondly*, the separation of the Municipal Fund for education from the Rural Fund for the purpose prevented the parasitic growth of the education of towns on the taxes paid by the inhabitants of villages ; *thirdly*, the principle that primary education has an almost exclusive claim on local funds was firmly enunciated ; and *lastly*, the duty of Government to aid the local funds was reiterated.

But the picture has its dark side also. For example, the Commission did not define the expression " a large claim on provincial revenues " which occurs in recommendation (a) quoted above. It may mean anything or nothing. The vagueness of this recommendation was justified by the Commission on two grounds : *firstly*, it was argued that conditions varied so greatly from province to province that it was impossible to lay down any hard and fast rule. For instance, Government grant to primary education in Bengal, where no cess had been imposed, must naturally be assessed on different principles from the grant in Bombay where a very large revenue could be obtained by the local cesses. *Secondly*, the Commission thought that it was not called upon to consider the financial aspects of its proposals. It said :—

We do not consider that we are called upon to suggest measures for increasing the ways and means of education. We have stated the opinions of witnesses in regard to municipal obligations, and to the treatment of education at the hands of local boards. We have also explained the responsibilities and powers conferred on local governments under the scheme of decentralization as

now developed. The tables given in this chapter will show that various funds contribute more liberally in some provinces than in others to the cost of education, and the liberality of one part of India may afford an example to local governments or to local boards elsewhere. We believe that still greater efforts are generally demanded.¹

Nevertheless, it is possible to understand the general trend of the opinion of the Commission by a careful analysis of Chapters IV and XII of its Report. It may be stated briefly as under :—

(a) The main responsibility for the spread of primary education rests upon the local funds and the provincial Government plays only a subordinate role by giving suitable grant-in-aid to local funds.

(b) Local funds, even when raised by legislative sanction, are really equivalent to funds raised by the people themselves and are, therefore, entitled to claim a grant-in-aid from Government.

(c) The levy of the local funds does not diminish, but rather increases, the obligation of the State to help those who are least able to help themselves and yet come forward to supply local resources for their education.

(d) The ideal to be kept in view by the provincial governments in aiding local funds is enunciated in the letter from the Government of India, No. 63, Home Department, dated 11th February 1871, that is, Government grant to local funds should be at the rate of half the local assets or one-third of the total expenditure.

A little calculation will show the utter inadequacy of the above proposals of the Commission. The population of British India was then about 2,000 lakhs. At 15 per cent the number of children of school-going age would be 300 lakhs. At that time the cost per pupil in a departmental school was Rs. 4-6-5 of which Government bore Re. 0-15-4, Local Funds bore Rs. 2-9-11 and Municipal Funds bore Re. 0-4-6, while the cost in an aided school was Rs. 3-7-1 of which Government and Local Funds bore Rs. 1-2-0. Even assuming that all children would be educated in aided schools only, the total cost to Government and Local Funds on account of universal education would have been about Rs. 337 lakhs. As stated before, the total expenditure on primary education in 1882 was Rs. 16.77 lakhs from Provincial Revenues and Rs. 24.88 lakhs from Local Funds. Under the proposals of the Commission, the increase in expenditure on primary education from Government Funds would have been more than 500 per cent—from Rs. 17 lakhs to Rs. 112 lakhs, and that in the expenditure from Local Funds would have been about 800 per cent—from Rs. 25 lakhs to Rs. 224 lakhs. Obviously the question was of immense importance and the ways

and means of raising these huge sums—from the standpoint of that period—ought to have received a much closer attention at the hands of the Commission and its recommendations ought to have been far more definite than to say that “still greater efforts are generally demanded” or that “the liberality of one part of India may afford an example to local Governments or Local Boards elsewhere.” This disregard of the financial implications of the problem robs the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission of a large part of their utility.

13. **Events of the Period of 1882 to 1902.** Some of the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission were immediately accepted by Government. Special reference must be made to the scheme of Local Self-Government which was introduced by Lord Ripon. Henceforward, the history of primary education in India is indissolubly connected with the growth of Local Self-Government.) A detailed study of the problem is beyond the scope of this book; but the following brief notes will be of assistance for an understanding of the future history of primary education.

(In his famous resolution on this subject, Lord Ripon) observed that Local Self-Government was to be looked upon, not “as a means of devolution of authority in administration and decentralization of financial resources but as a means of popular education by which alone progressive communities could cope with the increasing problems of Government”, and (directed that active measures should be taken to develop local bodies in India.) His view was not received well in all quarters and some Provincial Governments pointed out that his proposals would lead to a loss of efficiency. But he affirmed that, in course of time, efficiency was bound to follow as local knowledge and local interest were brought to bear upon the problems of administration. He held the view that it was not only bad policy but sheer waste of power not to utilize the services of the growing intelligent class of public-spirited men in the country and said that local bodies must succeed—

(a) if adequate resources were made available ;

(b) if transfer of duties involving additional expenditure was simultaneously followed by transfer of additional

(c) if Government officers "set themselves to foster sedulously the small beginnings of the independent political life and came to realise that the system really opened to them fairer field for the exercise of administrative and directive energy than the more autocratic system which it superseded".

(In accordance with this policy, Local Boards or Councils and Municipal Boards or Committees or Councils were established in all the provinces of India. Primary education was declared to be an obligatory duty of these local bodies although secondary and higher education was not excluded from their activities. It was generally laid down that the first duty of the Local Boards was towards primary education. In some provinces rules were framed prescribing the minimum percentage of its income which a local body ought to devote to education and directing that no money should be spent on secondary or higher education unless the claims of primary education were adequately provided for. Rules were also framed prescribing the powers and duties of local bodies over primary education and grant-in-aid codes were drawn up.) Broadly speaking, therefore, the administrative and legislative measures recommended by the Indian Education Commission were generally carried out, and subject to rules made in that behalf, the control of primary education was transferred to local bodies. The extent of this transfer of control, it must be remembered, varied from province to province; even in the same province, it was greater in the case of the municipalities where public opinion was more developed than in the case of local boards where public awakening was not appreciable. But the important point to be noticed is that a step, however small, was definitely taken in a direction from which it was next to impossible to retract.

(Coming to the recommendations of the^{9.E} Commission regarding indigenous schools, we find that their acceptance was not universal except for the adoption of the system of payment by results.) It would appear from the comparative statistics of primary schools for 1881-82 and 1901-02 given on p. 358 that Assam had abandoned its old policy and gone in a direction contrary to that recommended by the Commission. Berar, Coorg, and the Punjab continued in their old groove. The United Provinces and Bombay showed considerable improvement. But in 1881-82 Bombay had 3,954 indigenous schools

with 78,205 pupils and the United Provinces had 6,712 schools with 61,634 pupils. Hence it must be concluded that a majority of the indigenous schools was allowed to die out in these provinces and only a minority was incorporated into the departmental system. Bengal showed a reduction in the number of aided schools and a rise in unaided schools. There were 3,265 unaided schools in 1881-82; but their number in 1901-02 was as high as 11,630. Hence, the policy of Bengal cannot be said to be fully in accord with the recommendations of the Commission, although it did not multiply departmental schools.

Comparative Statistics of Primary Schools for 1881-2 and 1901-02

Province.	1881-82		1901-02	
	No. of Departmental and Board Schools.	No. of Private Schools Aided.	No. of Departmental and Board Schools.	No. of Private Schools Aided.
Madras	1,263	7,414	2,836	11,125
Bombay	3,811	196	4,670	1,929
Bengal	28	47,374	26	36,046
North-West Frontier .. ..	.....	.....	135	17
United Provinces	5,561	243	4,598	2,463
Punjab	1,549	278	1,802	636
Central Provinces	894	368	931	864
Assam	7	1,256	1,260	1,482
Berar	467	209	640	400
Coorg	57	3	70	4

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the problem of the indigenous schools ceased to exist. In provinces where they were incorporated into the educational system, they became an integral part of the system itself and hence lost their *indigenous* character that was so well described by the Indian Education Commission. On the other hand, they died of sheer neglect or competition in provinces where they were deliberately treated as the *untouchables* in the caste system of the Education Department.

(Turning to the recommendations of the Commission on the policy regarding primary education and its finance, we find that they were not carried out by the Provincial Governments.) As shown in Chapter VI there was a rapid expansion of collegiate and secondary education during the twenty years following the report of the Commission. Most of the additional funds were, therefore, taken up by these two branches of the educational

on primary education from Government funds was Rs. 16.77 lakhs in 1881-82 and it rose only to Rs. 16.92 lakhs in 1901-02 ! The local bodies did a considerable service to the cause of mass education because their contributions to the primary education fund in 1901-02 totalled Rs. 46.1 lakhs as against Rs. 24.9 lakhs in 1881-82. But in the absence of any substantial increase in the contribution from Government, no great expansion of primary education could be achieved and the various branches of the educational system continued to march with an even more unequal step than ever before.

With regard to actual statistics of schools and literacy in 1901-02, the unsatisfactory position of primary education is thus summarised by the *Resolution on Educational Policy* dated 11th March 1902 :—

15. How, then, do matters stand in respect of the extension among the masses of primary education ? The population of British India is over two hundred and forty millions. It is commonly reckoned that fifteen per cent of the population are of school-going age. According to this standard there are more than eighteen million of boys who ought now to be at school, but of these only a little more than one-sixth are actually receiving primary education. If the statistics are arranged by provinces, it appears that out of a hundred boys of an age to go to school, the number attending primary schools of some kind ranges from between eight and nine in the Punjab and the United Provinces, to twenty-two and twenty-three in Bombay and Bengal. In the census of 1901 it was found that only one in ten of the male population, and only seven in a thousand of the female population were literate. These figures exhibit the vast dimensions of the problem, and show much remains to be done before the proportion of the population receiving elementary instruction can approach the standard recognised as indispensable in more advanced countries.

15. A General Review of the Development of Primary Education in India (1854-1902). It will be seen from the foregoing narrative that the progress of primary education was very slow in this period. This result appears paradoxical when compared with the declarations of official policy made from time to time. [The Despatch of 1854, for instance, ordered that the attention of Government should be devoted more to primary than to higher education and that the *active measures* of Government should be directed towards the education of the masses. It also promised that 'a *considerable increase of expenditure* would be sanctioned for the purpose.] The same view was reiterated in the educational surveys held between 1865-66 and 1870-71. The Indian Education Commission also held the same view and recommended that "while every branch

of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore". And, in spite of all these declarations, the progress in primary education, as shown above, continued to be slow and halting—a phenomenon which requires some explanation.)

As we look at the problem, the failure of Government to extend primary education was due to several wrong decisions on administrative and financial issues, among which the following may be mentioned :—

- (a) Failure to introduce compulsory education ;
- (b) Transfer of primary education to the control of local bodies ; and
- (c) Neglect of the indigenous schools.

(a) *Failure to Introduce Compulsory Primary Education :* Although we cannot expect the Despatch of 1854 to accept the principle of compulsory education because, at that time, it was not accepted even in England, there is hardly any justification for the official silence over the matter even so late as 1902. In England, compulsory education had been universally introduced under the Acts of 1870, 1876 and 1880. The Indian Education Commission (1882-83) at least should have raised the issue especially because several Indian witnesses before it did make a demand for compulsory education. But the Commission remained silent. An Indian Prince, Maharajah Sayajirao Gaekwar of Baroda, went so far ahead as to introduce compulsory education in one Division of his State, as an experimental measure, in 1893-94. Indian leaders like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah were already making a demand for compulsory primary education. But Government did not consider the issue at all until after 1902. The main argument advanced in favour of this policy was that the British Government was a *foreign* Government and hence could not *compel* the people to send their children to school—an action which an Indian Prince might take. It may therefore be concluded that the principle

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of compulsory education was not accepted by Government in India in the nineteenth century, mainly because of the lack of identification between Government and the people ; and in the absence of compulsion, the progress of primary education continued to be unsatisfactory.

(b) *Transfer of Primary Education to the Control of Local Bodies* :
The second reason for the slow advance of primary education was the transfer of its control to local bodies.

This transfer was due to several reasons. Firstly, there was the influence from England. As pointed out in section 8 *supra*, the transfer of primary education to the control of local bodies in India in 1884 was inspired by the Elementary Education Acts of England, 1870 and 1876. Secondly, the doctrine of State-withdrawal from direct educational enterprise which was first enunciated in 1854 and confirmed in 1882-3, also helped in the same direction. Private societies, missionary or Indian, asked for the transfer of secondary and collegiate education but none of them was prepared to bear the burden of conducting primary schools. If the State desired, therefore, to withdraw from direct enterprise in primary education, the only way to do so was to entrust it to the semi-official local bodies. Thirdly, political considerations also came in. Reference has already been made to the discontent against British Rule and the demand for self-rule that was slowly gaining ground during this period. This demand had to be met by the transfer of some responsibility to Indians, by the grant of some form of *self-government*. It was, therefore, decided that local bodies be created, that Indians be given *self-government* in their management, and that primary education be transferred to these bodies as an innocuous and sufficiently rich field for the exercise of *Indian* administrative capacity. For these and other reasons, primary education became practically a *local* subject since 1884.

Now, there is nothing intrinsically wrong in such transfer. In fact, it would have been a great asset if the original directions of Lord Ripon in his Resolution on local self-government had been adhered to by later administrators. Lord Ripon had pointed out that the experiment would succeed only (i) if adequate resources were made available ; (ii) if transfer of duties involving additional expenditure was simultaneously followed by transfer

officers " set themselves to foster sedulously the small beginnings of the independent political life and came to realise that the system really opened to them fairer field for the exercise of administrative and directive energy than the more autocratic system which it superseded ". But unfortunately these directions were forgotten very soon. Throughout this period (and even later on), the local bodies remained financially poor ; they became the Cinderellas of the official hierarchy, and had to content themselves with the crumbs that fell from the Provincial Governments just as the Provincial Governments, in their turn, had to depend on the crumbs that fell from the tables of the Imperial Government. The transfer of such a costly responsibility as that of primary education ought to have been followed simultaneously by the transfer of sufficiently large resources to enable the local bodies to discharge that responsibility. But no such steps were taken. At least liberal grants-in-aid ought to have been given to local bodies. Even this was not done and Government grant, it was laid down, *was not to exceed* one-third of the total expenditure. Moreover, the proper guidance or training that the officials were expected to give to Indians in the management of local bodies did not generally become available. On the whole, therefore, it may be concluded that the conditions laid down by Lord Ripon for the successful working of the experiment of local self-government were never fulfilled, and that primary education was transferred to organisations who had no adequate resources of their own and who were given absolutely inadequate grant-in-aid. It is to this failure to work out the experiment properly, rather than to any intrinsic error in the proposal itself, that we must attribute the adverse effect which the transfer to local control ultimately produced upon the expansion of primary education.

It is, however, worthy of note that, in spite of all their handicaps, the local bodies did substantial service to the cause of primary education. As shown already in the preceding section, their contribution to primary education rose from Rs. 24.9 lakhs in 1881-82 to Rs. 46.1 lakhs in 1901-02, while Government contribution increased, during the same period, from Rs. 16.77 lakhs to Rs. 16.92 lakhs only ! This liberality of the local bodies saved the situation considerably. But it was only an *immediate* gain. The resources of the local bodies were so inelastic and limited that they could have never hoped to introduce compulsory primary

education or even to have brought about any very large expansion of schools. They gave an initial push and tided somehow over hard times when Government funds were scanty. But with that, their contribution to the cause came practically to an end, while their continuing to be mainly responsible for primary education led to *ultimate* disadvantages and held up all major lines of progress.

(c) *Neglect of Indigenous Schools*: The third cause of the slow advance of primary education was the neglect of indigenous schools. Great results could easily have been obtained if all the funds that Government and local bodies allotted to primary education had been spent in developing indigenous schools. Instead of that, the indigenous schools were allowed to die; and a new system of schools was created, *ab initio*, to take their place. This procedure involved a great waste of national energy, which could easily have been avoided. But the general attitude of contempt that the British officials had for all indigenous things made them oblivious to the advantages of the indigenous schools, and as shown before, they practically disappeared by 1901-02 and their loss was not even compensated by the new system of schools that was created in their stead.

We cannot do better than close this review with the following masterly exposition by Shri. G. K. Gokhale. While speaking on his Resolution for compulsory education in the Imperial Legislative Council (1910), he reviewed the progress of primary education in India since 1854 and contrasted it with that in some other countries of the West and the East. He said:—

I must now invite the Council to survey briefly the progress made in this country in the matter of primary education during the last half century. It is well known that our modern educational system dates from the time of the famous Despatch of 1854. Before that Despatch was received, it has been estimated by the Education Commission of Lord Ripon's Government that primary education was in existence on a considerable scale in this country. The total estimate made by them was that about 9 lakhs of pupils were receiving instruction in indigenous schools uncontrolled by any State agency and in accordance with ancient traditions.....In 1854, the education of the whole people of India was definitely accepted as State duty....The next landmark in our educational progress is the Commission of 1882 appointed by the Government of Lord Ripon....(which) made careful inquiries and found that there were about....25 lakhs of pupils in 1882 receiving elementary instruction. That means 1·2 per cent of the whole population of India at that time. The Commission, after pointing out how great was the area that still had to be covered, made several recommendations, of which I will quote these two: 'While every

desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in still larger measure than heretofore'; (and)... 'an attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an expansion of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province'. Well, that was in 1882. A quarter of a century has elapsed since then, and what do we find today? The number of schools has risen from 85,000 to about 113,000; the number of pupils today in recognized schools both for boys and girls is about 39 lakhs. If we include in our estimate pupils who are attending unrecognized schools, we get a total of under 45 lakhs or about 1·9 per cent. of the whole population. Thus in the course of a quarter of a century the progress of primary education in this country is represented by an advance from 1·2 per cent to 1·9 per cent of the total population. My Lord, I venture to say that this is exceedingly slow and disappointing progress....The expenditure on primary education from public funds, that is, from provincial, municipal and local funds all taken together, has advanced during this period only by about 57 lakhs. It was a little over 36 lakhs then; it is over 93 lakhs just now. Now during the same period our land-revenue has advanced by 8 crores. It is now a little over 29 crores as against a little over 21 crores then. Our military expenditure during the same time has risen by about 13 crores: it was 19 crores then; it is now over 32 crores. The expenditure on civil departments has gone up by 8 crores. It is today 19 crores, I am taking the figure for 1907: it was about 11 crores then. Even the capital outlay on railways, which averaged about 4 crores in those days, it will now be noticed, has gone up to about 15 crores. The contrast suggested by these figures is obvious and I do not think that any comment is necessary.

I think, my Lord, a comparison of the progress made in this country during the last 25 years with what has been achieved in other countries during a corresponding period would be of great interest and is undoubtedly of great significance. I will take for purposes of this comparison four countries....England and Russia from the West, and....Japan and the Philippines from the East. Well, what do we find? In England compulsory education was first introduced in the year 1870....Six years afterwards another enactment was passed, and in 1880 a third enactment was passed whereby the fabric of compulsion was completed. The enactment of 1876 imposed an obligation on parents to send their children to school and it also created School Attendance Committees in those areas where there were no School Boards: and finally, in 1880, compulsion was made absolute....The statistics about attendance during that period of 12 years are of great interest....In 1871, when the population of England was 22 millions, the number of children actually attending schools was only 1,300,000. That amounted to about 43·3 per cent of the school-going population which at 15 per cent meant a little over three millions. In 1876 the number had risen to 2 millions, which was about 66 per cent of the school-going population. By 1882 the number had already gone beyond 3 millions, that is, almost every child that should have been at school was at school. The whole problem was thus solved in 12 years and the attendance at schools was carried from 43·3 to nearly 100 per cent in the period between 1870 and 1882. In 1881, England made education free.

Turning now to Japan we have an illustration of progress under other conditions. Japan has successfully applied Western methods to Eastern conditions of life, and in Japan we find that the modern educational system of the country dates, like almost everything else connected with her modern greatness,

from the year 1872. In that year a rescript was issued by the Emperor in which the following words occur: 'It is designed henceforth that education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, or a family with an ignorant member.' Ambitious words these, my Lord, as Mr. Sharp points out, but Japan has entirely fulfilled them in the course of about 30 years. Before 1872, the total proportion of her population that was at school was only about 28 per cent. By the time that the century closed the proportion had already advanced to over 90 per cent. All this was achieved by Japan during a period when at the same time she created her magnificent army and navy, which have extorted the unstinted admiration of the world. In Japan education is now practically compulsory, though they rely more upon persuasion than upon compulsion. In the earlier years of this period compulsion was not strictly enforced, but from 1890 steps have been taken to secure the attendance of every child of school-going age. In 1900, Japan made education free as far as possible.

Now, I turn to Russia. The educational problem in Russia is in many respects similar to the educational problem in this country, and yet we shall find that during the period of which I am speaking, that is, from 1880 to 1907, the progress of primary education even in Russia has been far greater than it has been in this country. As a matter of fact, the Government has not been able to do in Russia anything like what other Governments in the West have done in their countries. Even so, in the year 1880, there were just over a million pupils at school in Russia, and there were about 28,000 schools at that time. During the 25 years of which I speak the number of schools has risen to 90,000, and the number of pupils has gone up to nearly six millions. It was for 1906-1907, 570,000. Thus in 1880, according to the population at that time, about 1·2 per cent. of the total population was at school. Curiously enough, that was precisely the proportion in India at the time, 1·2 per cent of the whole population. In 1906-1907, however, the proportion had gone up in Russia to about 4·5 per cent. of the population as against 1·9 in India. In Russia, as I have already pointed out, education is not compulsory, but it is for the most part gratuitous.

Lastly, I will take the case of the Philippine Islands which are under foreign rule. As is well known, the Philippines passed under the rule of the United States, from the rule of Spain, at the close of the last century. Definite reliable statistics are available from the year 1903. In 1903 the number of schools was under 2,000, the number of pupils was about a lakh and a half (150,000). The total population of the Philippine Islands is about 7 millions. This gives for 1903 a proportion of about 2 per cent. of the whole population at school. In 1908 the schools had doubled and the numbers attending them had risen to 350,000, which give a proportion of about 5 per cent. of the whole population. Thus the population actually at school advanced from about 2 per cent. to 5 per cent. during 1903 to 1908, during which time in India it advanced only from 1·6 per cent. to 1·9 per cent. In the Philippines, education is compulsory, though the compulsion is not strictly enforced. It is also free where the teachers are paid out of public funds.¹

16. Other Achievements in Primary Education. We have so far discussed only three aspects of primary education, *viz.*, attitude to indigenous schools, finance, and expansion which were isolated for special treatment because they are the most

important aspects of the problem. It will be clear from the discussion that the record of official attempts in these respects was one of failure. We shall now turn to the *qualitative* aspects of primary education where, however, the official attempts *did* score a number of minor successes.

The main official achievements in this direction were the following :—

(a) *Construction of School Buildings*: As already stated in Chapter I, the indigenous schools had no buildings of their own. In England, where the inclemencies and uncertainties of weather are so great that a school cannot even start without a building of its own, the construction of school buildings was greatly emphasised and the first Parliamentary grants for education, it would be recalled, were given for buildings only. This emphasis was transferred to India also and the Education Departments spent large amounts in providing buildings for primary schools. The achievements were fairly satisfactory ; but financial stringency always came in the way and it was not possible to provide independent buildings for *all* the new primary schools. A great majority of them still continued to be held—as were the indigenous schools—in temples, mosques, chavdis, and such other public buildings. The one old practice of indigenous schools that definitely ceased to exist was the holding of the school in the house of the teacher himself.

(b) *Improvement in the Training and Qualifications of Teachers*: Another significant achievement of the Victorian Era was the improvement brought about in the general education and training of primary teachers. As compared to the indigenous schools, the teachers of new schools were certainly better educated. A fairly large percentage of them were also professionally trained—an idea that was unknown to the indigenous system. In local board, municipal or Government schools, they were definitely better paid, but improvement in aided schools was not equally remarkable owing to the inadequate rates of grant-in-aid. Whether they were as zealous in the performance of their duty as the indigenous teachers whose whole life depended on the progress of their pupils, it is difficult to say. But it is by no means uncommon in India to find that the quality of education in a good private school is often better than in a Government school in spite of the better staff and equipment of the latter.

There has always been a certain loss in efficiency under *departmentalisation* and, in the new primary schools, it is quite probable that the advantages of the superior attainments of teachers were set off, to some extent, by the deterioration in their zeal and enthusiasm.

(c) *Admission of Girls and Pupils of Low-castes*: In the indigenous schools, there were very few girls and hardly any Harijan pupils. But the new primary schools contained a fair sprinkling of girls and of Harijan pupils. This was a very significant and far-reaching achievement of the new system of primary schools. The details of these developments will be discussed in the next Chapter.

(d) *Use of Printed Books*: The indigenous schools, it would be recalled, used no printed books at all. The new system of education did very valuable service in preparing text-books, printing and publishing them and popularising their use in all schools. This reform, in spite of its undisputed advantages, met with some resistance in the early years; but by 1900, the use of printed books had been universalised in all primary schools.

(e) *Adoption of New Methods of Teaching*: Here, there were gains as well as losses. As shown in Chapter I, the monitorial system was introduced in England from India. A later development of this was the pupil-teacher system under which senior pupils were required to work as assistants to teachers in return for a small stipend and were later on absorbed in the profession and trained. Both these systems were in use in England for a considerable time and assisted the expansion of education by reducing its cost. They were abandoned as more funds became available and as efficient teachers could be provided without curtailing the pace of expansion. In India, on the other hand, these systems were abandoned soon after they were abandoned in England, although the prevailing financial stringency demanded their continuance. The result was an inevitable slowing down of the pace of expansion.

On the other hand, teaching in the new primary schools became more attractive generally on account of trained teachers and adoption of new techniques like kindergarten or object lessons in the lower standards. The crude and harsh mode of punishments tended to disappear and a more humane treatment of the child began to be noticeable. The school equipment also improved and assisted in raising the standard of education. While this

achievement was a definite gain, it was counterbalanced by a loss in another direction. The indigenous schools were so small in size that individual attention was given to each pupil. There were no standards and no fixed periodical examinations. Each pupil progressed at his own pace and left when he had acquired all he wanted to learn or the school had to teach. In the new schools, fixed standards were introduced; periodical examinations were held by Departmental officers for promotion from class to class. The size of classes was increased so that the individual attention paid to pupils became less and less. A certain amount of rigidity inevitably came in with these changes.

(f) *Curriculum*: As compared to the indigenous schools, the curriculum of the new primary schools showed the most remarkable changes and became both rich and varied.

Curricular changes in this period were the result of a continuous adjustment between three conflicting forces: the first of these was the ambition of the Departmental officers who wanted to imitate the developments in England where subject after subject was being added to the curriculum; the second was a limiting factor, *viz.*, the capacity of the teacher to handle the ever-expanding curriculum; and the third was the desire of the average parent who demanded an instruction analogous to that of the indigenous schools with which he was familiar. This desire required a simplification of the curriculum and an emphasis on the three R's—a demand that ran directly contrary to the official desire to enrich and to expand. Ultimately, however, the officials had things in their own way and a richer and varied curriculum came to be adopted.

This curriculum, however, varied from province to province and in each province, it had a development of its own. The history of the primary curriculum in India, therefore, will really mean a separate history for each province. But as several features of the provincial developments in this respect were similar to each other, we shall trace the history of the curriculum in the primary schools of the Province of Bombay as an illustration of the general development of the primary curriculum in India as a whole.

The earliest primary schools of the new type aimed at the spread of Western knowledge and hence their curriculum was rich. It included the following subjects: three R's (Balbodh and Modi

Trigonometry, Mensuration and the elements of Natural Philosophy. The history of England and India and ancient history were included under *History*. Besides these subjects, the pupils had to study the civil and criminal regulations, village and taluka accounts and survey rules, if they wanted a job in Government service.

The general public, however, had no sympathy for this rich curriculum and began to ask for a simple one. This demand can be well illustrated from the following report made by the Educational Inspector of the Southern Division :—

Whatever may be thought of these results in other quarters, the people themselves,—the cess-payers—seem to think their boys in our Vernacular Schools are required to learn too much. In a former report I once mentioned that one of the chief men in a large village, after sitting out the school examination, in which he seemed to take some interest, asked me to order the schoolmaster to teach only writing and ciphering, and not to use printed books or maps. This year, at another large village, which has a great deal of good land, and pays much cess, the Kulkurnee told me, that if I made the schoolmaster teach only writing and ciphering the school attendance would be trebled; that the people did not want what he called "Sirkaree vidya", that "gawtee vidya" was enough for them, and as much as their children could be expected to acquire. A village elder and spokesman at another place (a Talooka town, where the Mamlatdar was present at the school examination) made a very animated speech against much learning, and in the favour of the people's right to be as ignorant as their fathers. He said Government seemed to wish to make the people clever, and that education was doubtless a proper thing for Europe and Europeans, but that his people preferred to remain as they were. I mention these things in illustration of the general, if not universal, feeling of the people, which must be taken into account in judging of the progress of Government Vernacular Schools and in revising examination standards. I have, elsewhere reported that I do not think these standards should be lowered; but I think some compromise should be made to induce boys to attend our schools, who now attend only indigenous schools or none at all.¹

This agitation for a simpler curriculum was also supported by the developments in England where a very simple curriculum was prescribed for the elementary schools under the revised Code of 1862. The officers of the Department naturally felt that a similar and simple curriculum should also be prescribed for the primary schools in Bombay. In 1865-66, therefore, the curriculum was made very simple—it consisted of four standards only and was restricted to the three R's.

But the Departmental officers would not allow this simplicity to remain in force for any length of time and they very soon began to enrich the curriculum again. As early as 1867-68, the first revision took place—the number of standards was raised to five and the subjects of history and geography were added.

In 1870-1, the second revision took place—the number of standards was raised to six and the curriculum was correspondingly increased. In 1877-78, a third revision was carried out. In 1887-88, an Infant class was added at the bottom and in 1901-02, a Standard VII was added at the top. On each occasion, there was a thorough revision of the curriculum leading to enrichment. The general trend of all these revisions was to add subject after subject on the English model. As Shri R. V. Parulekar observes :

Let us turn to the elementary schools of England. In 1862 the first Education Code saw the light of the day, and therein the subjects prescribed for standards I to IV of the elementary schools consisted of Reading, Writing and Arithmetic only. (Needle-work was prescribed for girls.) Of course, as in our schools, the subjects were divided into four parts according to standards of increasing difficulty. If we confine ourselves to the first four standards of the English elementary schools of those days, we see that in 1868 Geography, History and Grammar were prescribed as 'optional' subjects for the IV standard with the proviso that one or two of these three might be taught in standard IV only. In 1875 they were still 'optional', but not more than two were to be taught to standard I and upwards. In 1882, Object Lessons were added to the optional subjects. It was only in 1893 that one of the three subjects, History, Geography and Grammar was made obligatory in the Primary School course at the option of the schools. In that year, Drawing was also made compulsory. It will thus be seen that during the years 1862 to 1893, a period of over thirty years, not a single subject out of all the above subjects except language and arithmetic (*i.e.* the three R's) was made obligatory in English schools. It is also important to note that only a very few schools provided instruction in these subjects before 1900 in the lower standards of the primary schools. It may be further pointed out that during a period of thirty years from 1862-92, the English primary schools had the busiest period in their history; for, while in 1862 only 5 to 6 per cent of the population of England was in schools, in 1880, this percentage had nearly trebled and in 1893 when one of the three subjects—History, Geography or Grammar—was made obligatory, England had, for nearly more than a decade, the proud privilege of having almost all school-going children (6 to 11 according to our standard) in its primary schools.

It will be both interesting and instructive to see how the Bombay educational administrators imposed the several 'optional' subjects of the English schools on the Bombay Primary Schools, making them not 'optional' as in England but obligatory. The Bombay (lower) Primary School curriculum (standards up to IV) was first framed under the Departmental Code in 1865-66, and the subjects included were exactly the same as in England at the time namely, the three R's, except this that Bombay added 'Grammar' to the IV standard. As soon as England prescribed Geography and History as 'optional' subjects for the IV standard, Bombay planted both of them almost the very same year on the II or III standards as compulsory subjects. As to Object Lessons, Bombay had them in 1887 or five years later than England (1882) but compulsorily, not at option, as was the case in England. As regards Drawing, England had it as a compulsory subject in 1893, and Bombay ten years later. Nature Study took very long to come to Bombay. In England it appeared on the scene in about 1902, in Bombay in 1919. Be it however noted that compulsory Physical Training

in the Bombay schools as a compulsory subject. It would, therefore, appear that as soon as it was discovered in Bombay that a certain subject was introduced in the schools of England, it was soon prescribed for the Bombay schools, making the curriculum compulsorily richer and richer and even far more in advance of the ordinary English elementary school curriculum of the time, at least so far as the number of subjects was concerned. Efficiency was the ideal and no one can seriously blame those who were responsible for the education of Bombay in those days for their enthusiasm in trying to bring the Bombay Primary School curriculum in line or even at a higher level than that of English schools of that time. For, in those days, the Departmental ideal was efficiency rather than expansion. Now the ideal is altered and the time has come to adjust our means to our end, that is, the task of teaching all the children that ought to be in schools. One cannot, however, help remarking that in copying wholesale the English model and superimposing it on Indian schools the educational administrators hardly took into account the very important fact that the needs of a mainly agricultural country split into numerous villages would not be the same as those of a highly urbanised and industrialised country like England. It follows, therefore, that even purely from the point of view of efficiency the curriculum laid down was not altogether suitable for the needs of the Indian masses since the greatest use of knowledge to them was the ability to read and write and to be able to understand simple monetary transactions between themselves, the landlord, the village sowkar and the Sarkar.¹

Besides a general course for Boys' Primary Schools, the Province also developed a simpler course, called Rural or Modi standards, for village schools. In 1877-78, when it first began, it had 4 standards. In 1887-88, an Infant class was added at the bottom and in 1901-02, a standard V was added at the top. The D.P.I. of the Bombay Province, in his report for 1901-02, compares the Modi course with the general course in the following words :—

As compared with this (*i.e.* general course) the boy who takes the Modi or rural standards learns only the more practically useful rules of Arithmetic, entirely omitting Decimal Fractions, nor does he learn any Euclid. He learns only those branches of account and book-keeping which he will actually need in later life. The technical terms used in formal documents are rendered familiar in his reading books. He can write simple reports in Modi and read fluently from the miscellaneous file in a Mamlatdar's office. His knowledge of History is limited to his Province, and his knowledge of Geography to India. He has been given also some idea of rudimentary science and sanitation. The scope of this course is thus severely utilitarian; but it is hoped that the introduction of object lessons and simple drawing will tend to relieve the monotony of the curriculum.²

Similarly, another simpler course was evolved for girls in 1877-78, but this topic will be considered in detail in Chapter VIII.

In 1906-07, the position of primary curricula in India was as shown in the following table. It shows the general enrichment of the curriculum achieved in the Victorian Era :—

¹ R. V. Parulekar : *Mass Education in India*, pp. 15-16.

Subjects (other than the 3 R's which were taught universally) included in the primary school curricula of different Provinces (1902-07)

Subjects.	Madras.	Bombay.	Bengal and Eastern Bengal.	United Provinces.	Punjab.	Assam.	C. P. and Berar.
Kindergarten	Kindergarten methods to be used in all subjects	Compulsory (Infants and Standard I)	Compulsory (Infants Classes)	Not prescribed	Not prescribed	Not taught	Optional
Drawing	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Not prescribed	Not taught	Not taught	Compulsory
Object lessons	Optional	Compulsory	Compulsory	Not prescribed	Compulsory	Compulsory	{ Urban—Optional Rural—Not taught
Geography	Optional	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory
History	Optional	Compulsory	Compulsory	Not taught separately	Not taught	Compulsory	Alternative to agriculture
Singing and recitation	Compulsory	Compulsory (Infants and Standard I)	Not taught	Not taught	Not taught	Not taught	Not taught
Hygiene	Optional	Compulsory	Compulsory	Not taught separately	Compulsory in 5th standard	Not taught	Not taught

Agriculture	Optional	Included in object lessons	Included in Readers; elective; alternative to Physics and Chemistry	Compulsory	Included in object lessons and special books	Included in the Reader. Compulsory	Urban—alternative to History, Rural—Compulsory
Science	Optional	Not taught, except in object lessons	Compulsory	Not taught separately	Not taught, except in object lessons	Some lessons in Readers, illustrated by object lessons	Not taught, except in object lessons which are optional.
Second language	English, Optional	Not taught	Not taught	Not taught	(Persian) in town Schools only	Not taught	Not taught
Mensuration	Compulsory	Optional	Compulsory	Not taught	Compulsory	Compulsory with geometry in upper classes	Not taught
Physical exercises	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory
Manual work for older scholars (distinct from Kindergarten occupations for infants)	Recommended as an adjunct to all subjects	Optional, as alternative to object lessons in Science	Optional	Not taught	Not taught	Not taught	{ Urban—Optional Rural—Not taught

CHAPTER EIGHT

OTHER EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS (1854-1902)

In this concluding Chapter of the history of education in India during the Victorian era, we shall deal with (a) the development of vocational education ; (b) education of women ; (c) spread of education among the Muslims ; (d) the education of the Backward Classes such as Harijans or the aboriginal and hill tribes ; and (e) spread of education in the Indian States. These are important aspects of the problem which could not be conveniently dealt with in Chapters V-VII.

2. Vocational Education and Universities. It will be seen from the account given in Chapter III, that, prior to 1857, the only serious attempts at vocational education were those in the fields of Medicine, Civil Engineering, and Law, and that all these attempts had been motivated by a desire to train subordinate officers for the needs of public administration. In 1857, the Universities were established with the faculties of Law, Medicine, and Civil Engineering, in addition to those of Arts and Science ; syllabuses of studies in these courses were drawn up ; examinations were organized ; and university degrees were also instituted.

The forty-five years between the establishment of Universities in 1857 and the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission in 1902 form an important period in the history of Vocational education. The main events of this period may be conveniently narrated under the following heads :—

- (a) Legal Education ;
- (b) Medical Education ;
- (c) Engineering Education ;
- (d) Agricultural Education ;
- (e) Commercial Education ; and
- (f) Technical and Industrial Education.

3. Legal Education. Prior to 1854, legal education had begun only in Bengal. The Despatch of 1854, therefore, laid

special emphasis on the study of law, and Professorships of law and jurisprudence were organised at Madras and Bombay respectively in 1855. After the establishment of the universities, the development of legal education was fairly rapid. This was mainly due to the establishment of the modern courts of justice which necessitated a large body of persons trained in Law both for the Bench as well as the Bar. Throughout the period under review, therefore, the legal profession was both popular and remunerative.

In 1901-02, the control of legal education was vested jointly in the hands of the Universities, the Education Departments, and the High Courts. The control of schools and colleges of law was in the hands of the Departments; the Universities prescribed the courses for their examinations; and the High Courts laid down the conditions on which a person could enter the legal profession. These conditions necessarily included a pass at a University examination, but the High Courts also held their own examinations for admission to the profession.

The institutions for legal instruction were of three types: colleges, law classes attached to arts or science colleges, and schools. In *Madras*, Government maintained a full-time law college and in the *Punjab* a similar institution was maintained by the University. These were the only law colleges in these provinces. In *Bombay*, the only institution for teaching the full course was the Government Law College at Bombay which was a *part-time* institution—lectures being held in the evening only. In *Bengal*, and the *Central* and *United Provinces*, there were no law colleges as such; but arts and science colleges were allowed to have a law department (which usually meant one lecturer or professor in law). In *Assam*, there were four law classes attached to high schools and these prepared candidates for the pleaders' examination.

The courses of legal study prescribed by the High Courts need not be considered here. In so far as university courses are concerned, in Allahabad, Calcutta and Madras, the course for the examination of the Bachelor of Laws extended over two years after graduation in Arts or Science. In Bombay, it extended over three years, but students had the option to take the first year's course concurrently with their B.A. any time after passing

courses—Licentiate in Laws and Bachelor of Laws. The first was a three years' course after the Intermediate examination and could be taken in English or in Urdu. The second course entailed study for another additional year for those who had taken the first degree and three years' study for fresh graduates.

The main problems of legal education in 1901-02 were two :—

(a) An opinion was growing up to the effect that the law classes attached to Arts and Science Colleges were not working satisfactorily. The students did not generally devote their whole attention to studies and attended the law classes mainly to get the certificate of attendance and appeared for the law examination at some future date. Very often there was a difficulty of getting specialist lecturers and the one or two persons on the staff had to lecture on all the branches of law. It was, therefore, being urged that the part-time law colleges or law classes should be abolished and replaced by full-time law colleges as in Madras.

(b) Opinion was also divided as to whether the university course in law should be of two or three years and whether it should or should not be deferred until after graduation in arts or science.

4. Medical Education. Regarding the objects of the Medical education of this period, the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1897-1902, observes :—

Students are trained in medical colleges and schools chiefly for service in the hospitals and dispensaries of the Government and of local and municipal boards. . . . Some practise privately and others find work under the large employers of labour, such as steamer companies, tea planters, and the like.¹

In 1901-02, there were four medical colleges in India—all conducted by Government—at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Lahore. The history of the first three colleges has been noted already. The college at Lahore was established in 1860 with the object of *providing education in Western medicine for the people of the Punjab*. The remaining provinces of India had no medical colleges and hence granted scholarships to their students to enable them to study at one or the other of the above colleges.

An idea of the university courses in medicine may be had from the following table :—

University.	Licentiate in Medicine.	Bachelor of Medicine.
Bombay	Five years after Matriculation.	No course.
Madras	Four years after First Year in Arts.	Five years after First Year in Arts.
Calcutta	Five years after First Year Arts.	Do.
Punjab	Do.	Five years after graduation.

Besides these colleges, there were a number of *medical schools*. These included 11 Government Schools (Madras 1, Bombay 3, Bengal 4, U.P. 1, Punjab 1, and Assam 1); one Municipal school in Madras, and 10 private schools (1 in Assam, 1 in Sind, 4 in the Punjab—which included two schools of Muslim and 1 of Hindu Medicine—and 4 in Bengal). Only four of these schools received grant-in-aid. These schools gave instruction in the less advanced courses of medicine such as those required for Apothecaries, Hospital Assistants, Sanitary Inspectors, etc.

Besides its degrees in general medicine, the Madras University also granted a degree of Licentiate in Sanitary Science to medical graduates who underwent a special course prescribed for the purpose.

In the early days of medical education in India, the medical courses did not become popular with the people owing to social and religious prejudices and it was often very difficult to obtain an adequate number of students. But by 1901-02, this prejudice had considerably broken down in the case of men students, while that against women undertaking medical education still continued. In 1901-02, there were 1,466 students in medical colleges and 2,727 in medical schools. Of these, the number of women students was only 242—76 in colleges and 166 in schools. Of these, 62 were Europeans and Eurasians, 120 were Indian

5. Engineering Education. Like legal education, Engineering education also thrived during the period under review because there were considerable opportunities of employment in the Public Works Departments of Government, under local boards and municipalities which were organized in this period, in railway companies which greatly expanded their work, and in cotton and jute mills, steamer companies, etc., which came to be established during this period.

Regarding the object of organizing engineering education during this period, the following passage from the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1897-1902*, will be found interesting :—

739. The engineering colleges and schools are conducted with a general view to the recruitment of the several branches of the Public Works Department, and their arrangements cannot, therefore, be rightly understood without a general knowledge of the manner in which that department is organized and recruited. The Public Works Department is divided broadly into the Engineering Establishment, the Upper Subordinate Establishment, and the Lower Subordinate Establishment. The Engineer Establishment is divided into two services, Imperial and Provincial, the former recruited from the college at Cooper's Hill and from the corps of Royal Engineers, and the latter recruited in India. The Provincial service draws its recruits from students of the Indian colleges who are statutory natives of India (whether of European or Indian descent), and from the Upper Subordinate Establishment. The pay and leave and pension rules of the two services are different, but in other respects there is no distinction between the members of the two divisions. The Upper Subordinate Establishment is recruited in India, and consists mainly of natives. Its members hold the chief posts on the engineering works and railways below the officers of the Superior or Engineering Service. They are divided into Overseers (3 grades), Supervisors (2 grades), and Sub-Engineers (3 grades). . . . The Lower Subordinate Establishment is composed entirely of natives, its members hold minor posts on the works and railways, and they are, in general, styled Sub-Overseers. . . Any qualified person may be appointed a Sub-Overseer but recruits are mostly drawn from the engineering colleges and schools. Many employees on the Government railways, such as the Permanent Way Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors and the Locomotive Staff, do not belong to the regular graded establishment, and these posts are also in many cases filled by passed students of the engineering colleges and schools.

In 1901-02, there were four engineering colleges (with 865 students) in India—all conducted by Government—at Roorki, Sibpur (in Bengal), Poona and Madras. The history of the Thomason College at Roorki has been given already. The Sibpur College was established in 1880. The Poona College arose out of the Engineering Class and Mechanical School opened by Government in 1854. In 1901-02, the College had science, agriculture and forestry classes in addition to an engineering department

and thus differed materially from the other engineering colleges. The Madras College arose, between 1858 and 1862, out of the Survey School which had been established in 1793.

One feature of the engineering colleges of this period deserves special notice. Government guaranteed a certain number of posts in the Provincial and Upper Subordinate Services to students who stood high in the college examinations and consequently, there was a rush of students to these colleges. This certainty of employment also made the engineering course very popular and attracted some of the most brilliant students to it.

Besides these colleges, there were 18 engineering and surveying schools in British India with 797 pupils. These were distributed as under :—

	Schools.	Pupils.
Madras	2	68
Sind	1	14
Bombay	1	263
Bengal	9	325
Punjab	2	86
C. P.	1	33
Assam	2	8
Total ..	18	797

The schools and the colleges made provision for giving instruction in Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, and Civil and Military Surveying. Some provision was also made for instruction in Sanitary Engineering.

6. Agricultural Education. In India, where about seventy per cent of the people live on the land, the subject of agricultural education is of the utmost importance. And yet, for some reason or the other, agricultural education began very late and made slow progress.

The attention of Government was first attracted to the problem by the Famine Commission who, in 1880, advised that attention should be directed to the subject of agricultural education in rural schools. No action was taken on this proposal until 1889 when Dr. Voelcker, Agricultural Chemist to the Royal

agricultural education formed an important portion of his enquiry. His report was discussed in a conference of the representatives of Provincial Governments in 1890 and several important recommendations were made to Government. After examining all these proposals, Government decided to place on record the following conclusions :—

(1) that agricultural degrees, diplomas, or certificates should be placed upon the same footing as corresponding literary or science degrees, etc., in qualifying for admission to Government appointments and more particularly those connected with land-revenue administration ;

(2) that there should be not more than four institutions giving a high class diploma, *viz.*, at Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and some place in the North-Western Provinces, and that these should be utilized by other provinces ;

(3) that the diploma should eventually be compulsory in the case of certain appointments, *e.g.*, agricultural teachers in training schools, assistants to the Director of Agriculture, etc. ;

(4) that the practical instruction of candidates for certain subordinate appointments at a school, class, or an experimental farm, should be further considered ;

(5) that a special school course leading up to the agricultural diploma, degree, or certificate, is required ;

(6) that the practice of allowing schoolmasters, either before or after appointment, to pass through a course for a few months on a Government farm is one which deserves consideration.¹

In 1901-02, there were only 5 institutions in British India (with 219 students) for imparting agricultural education, *viz.*, Agricultural Branches of the Colleges at Poona and Sibpur (noticed above under engineering education), the College of Agriculture at Saidapet (Madras), and the agricultural schools at Cawnpore and Nagpur. Bombay was the only University that gave a degree in Agriculture (L.Ag.). The course extended over three years and admission to the course was open to students who had passed the first year examination in Arts.

Some brief notes may be offered here regarding these institutions all of which were conducted by Government. The College at Saidapet arose out of an experimental farm established in 1864, and gave instruction in a three-year course at the end of which an examination was held by the Commissioner of Government Examinations. The agricultural branch of the Poona College was opened in 1879, and that of the Sibpur College in 1899. The Agricultural School at Cawnpore had three sections ; one for training *Kanungos* (revenue subordinates), one for teachers, and

one for landholders. On the same lines, the Nagpur Agricultural Schools had three sections :—

Section I.—The English classes in which students pass through a two years' course of training in agriculture, preparatory to receiving appointments in the Subordinate Revenue Department.

Section II.—The normal classes in which village schoolmasters undergo a training for six months in order to qualify themselves to teach in village schools the agricultural lessons embodied in the reading books.

Section III.—The *malguzari* class, in which the sons of landowners and others who intend to make farming their profession, undergo a course of one year's training in the vernacular in practical farming.¹

It will be noticed from the foregoing review that these early attempts at giving agricultural education to the people were not organised on proper lines. The true aim of agricultural education is to bring about an agricultural development of the country. At the university stage, it must produce research workers in agriculture ; and at the secondary and primary stage, it must produce more competent agriculturists. But throughout the period under review, the principal (if not the only) aim of agricultural education at the university and secondary level was to train officers for the superior and subordinate ranks of the Agriculture or Revenue Departments. In the primary schools, training in agriculture had hardly been introduced. The attempts to train the children of landlords in agriculture so that they can go back to their farms and put their knowledge into practice, were made only in a few instances ; and most of them succeeded but indifferently. On the whole, therefore, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that in this land of agriculturists, the organisation of agricultural education was far from satisfactory even at the end of the nineteenth century.

7. Veterinary Education. Veterinary schools and colleges were established for training students for employment in " the subordinate ranks of the Government Civil Veterinary Department, for employment by Local Boards, Municipalities, and Native States ; and for other employment and private practice."² In 1901-02, there were 4 institutions for veterinary education all of which were maintained by Government. Three of these were colleges—at Bombay, Belgatchia (near Calcutta), and Lahore—which admitted matriculated students and imparted instruction

in a three years' course. It is worthy of note that the Lahore College imparted instruction through the medium of the mother-tongue. The Bombay College was established in 1886 and the Bengal College in 1899. Besides the colleges, Government also conducted a veterinary school at Ajmere which gave instruction in a two years' course. The total number of veterinary students was 301 of whom only 81 studied through the medium of English.

8. Forestry Education. There are very extensive and rich forests in India. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, Government decided to control and develop these forest resources on a scientific basis. This necessitated the training of Indians in forestry and accordingly, schools for giving education in forestry were established.

In 1901-02, there were only two schools of Forestry education in India—the Forest School, Dehra Dun (established 1878), and the Forestry Branch of the College at Poona (noticed above under engineering education). Both these institutions were established and maintained mainly for the training of officers and subordinates of the Forest Department.

9. Art Education. In 1901-02, there were four schools of Art—all managed by Government—*viz.*, the J. J. School of Art, Bombay; the School of Art, Calcutta; the Mayo School of Art, Lahore; and the School of Art and Industry, Madras. The objects of these Schools of Art were two-fold: on the one hand, they gave a considerable amount of instruction in the fine arts as such, and trained draftsmen and teachers of drawing; on the other hand, part of their work was of an industrial character.

The early history of the Art Schools at Bombay and Madras has already been noted. The Mayo School of Art was founded in 1875 *to give instruction in the art of design with special reference to the artistic industries indigenous to the Punjab, and to the architectural and decorative styles peculiar to the province.* The School of Art at Calcutta was reorganized¹ in 1896 and consisted of two sections: one section gave instruction in drawing, painting and modelling; and the other gave instruction in drawing and design, for drawing and technical art teachers, for skilled general draftsmen, for artisans and art workmen, and for designers for art industries. In 1901-02, the total number of scholars reading in

Art Schools was 1,220—321 in Madras, 423 in Bombay, 228 in Calcutta and 248 in Lahore.

In 1893, the Secretary of State suggested that the Schools of Art should be converted into technical schools on the ground that they served no useful purpose and that there was no justification for the considerable expenditure which Government incurred on their maintenance. This led to a good deal of correspondence on the subject and even in 1901-02, no final decision had been reached regarding the true objectives of the schools of art.

10. Commercial Education. Like agricultural education, commercial education also showed but little advance during the period under review. The subject was not recognised by any university except the Punjab, where also it was recognised for a school examination only. There was no college for commercial education except in Bombay where the Byramji Jijibhai Parsi Charitable Institution conducted a *College Department for Commercial Instruction*. But a closer analysis shows that this College Department was only a school in the proper sense of the word and prepared candidates for the Senior Certificate Examination of the London Chamber of Commerce. It may be pointed out here that the London course was mostly unsuited to Bombay. For instance, it included the mercantile law, not of India, but of England; its commercial geography centred round London and not round Bombay; its arithmetical problems were expressed in sterling and not in rupees. But in the absence of an alternative examination suited to Indian conditions, the *college* had apparently to make the best of a bad job.

In 1901-02, there were 15 commercial schools in India with 1,123 pupils. These were distributed as under :—

	Schools.	Pupils.
Madras	6*	697
Bombay	3	93
Bengal	4	285
Punjab	2	48
Total ..	15	1,123

* There were only 6 Commercial Schools. But 17 other schools taught commercial subjects also.

11. Technical and Industrial Education. "Technical education" says the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education*

in India, 1902-07, "in the sense of specialized training for trade, commerce and industry, may be said to fall into three grades. At the top stand *technical institutes* having for their object to provide instruction and training in the principles of science and in their application to industrial arts, with a view to the right understanding of the foundations upon which these arts rest, and to promote their effective development. At the bottom stand *craft schools* having for their object to train artisans to follow their calling with dexterity and intelligence. Intermediate between these two are *technical schools* for the training of foremen and others, whose functions are superior to those of the artisans and who require some training in scientific principles, the working of machinery and the like, but do not receive a complete scientific training."¹ It is under these three heads that the subject of technical and industrial education in India can be conveniently studied.

The few industrial schools that existed in 1857, have already been noticed in Chapter III. During the next twenty years, very little action was taken by Government to promote industrial and technical education in India, and there was hardly any non-Government agency which could provide such education to Indians. The missionaries, who did excellent pioneering work in the field of general education, achieved very little in the field of technical and industrial education. It is true that they organized some institutions which, at this time, were known as *industrial schools*. But they were really *craft schools* which aimed at teaching some craft such as carpentry or smithy to Indian Christian children in order to enable them to earn a living. The missions organized these schools because Indian Christian children (many of whom were reared up in orphanages) were not able to obtain education in crafts in their own families, or by working as apprentices in other families, as the Hindu or Muslim children did.² These schools, therefore, must not be confused with industrial or technical schools proper whose object is to train foremen and other important workers for modern organized industries. Schools of the latter type were not organized either by Government or by the missionaries and obviously, Indians could not organize them.

¹ Para, 583.

The attention of Government was first drawn to the great urgency of developing Indian industries and a system of technical and industrial education in India, by the *Famine Commission* of 1877-78. But very little was achieved by Government in developing Indian industries or technical education. As the *Indian Industrial Commission* observed :—

In 1882, the Government of India appointed a Commission to review the existing state of education and to frame a policy for its guidance in the future. The necessity for technical education was realised ; but the Commissioners were instructed that to extend their enquiry in that direction would add unduly to the task before them. The publication, in 1884, of the report of the Royal Commission, appointed in England in 1881, focussed the attention of Government on the necessity for stimulating attempts specifically intended to develop the material resources of India and to render assistance to its artisans in the unequal struggle against the products of the factories and mills of the West, which had become greatly intensified by the cheapening of transport, caused by the improvement of marine engineering, the opening of the Suez Canal and extension of railways in India. In their resolution of the 18th June, 1888, on the subject of technical education, the Government of India pointed out that the education hitherto provided had been too exclusively literary in its bent ; that industrial training was required in view of the necessity of securing a greater variety of occupations ; and that technical education could be provided with advantage at once for industries which had already reached a comparatively advanced stage of development, such as the textile and engineering industries, though the danger of establishing a system of training for those insufficiently advanced was noted. The necessity of giving a more practical bias to general education was emphasised, and Local Governments were incited to take action in these directions. The immediate results were small ; but the necessity for science teaching in the colleges affiliated to the Universities was recognised, and the provision for the technical training of engineers was greatly improved. Chiefly through private effort in Bombay, by the amalgamation of various funds, the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute was started in 1887, to provide courses of instruction suited to the requirements of the growing Bombay mill industry. Elsewhere and especially in Madras, the provincial efforts were rendered comparatively sterile, owing to the general acceptance of the fallacious idea that it was only necessary to provide facilities for the acquisition of technical knowledge to ensure the subsequent development of industries.¹

In the meanwhile, Indian opinion was growing keen on the point and demanding a rapid development of Indian industries and technical education. To begin with, it pointed to the decay of Indian industries on one hand and to the rapid development of the industries of several other countries such as the United States and Japan on the other. As Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya wrote :—

Since 1870, other nations have made enormous progress in manufacturing industries. I would particularly mention Germany, Austria, the United States

and Japan, as their progress has specially affected India. They have each done so by devising and carrying out a system of general and technical education for their peoples, accompanied by a system of State aid and encouragement of industries. And these nations—and several others besides—most of which have built up their industries by some form of State aid or protection, have taken full advantage of the policy of free trade to which India has been subjected, to purchase raw produce from India and to flood her markets with their manufactured goods. India has thus been exposed to ever-extending commercial subjugation by these nations, without being armed and equipped to offer resistance and without being protected by any fiscal walls or ramparts. This incessant and long continued attack has affected her agricultural as well as manufacturing industries. . . . Forty or fifty years ago, Japan was far behind India both in agriculture and industries. But her Government and people, working in conjunction, have brought about a wonderful development of her industries built upon a system of technical education which included everything required to enable her to occupy her proper place among the manufacturing nations of the world.¹

Secondly, an agitation for securing State aid for the development of Indian industries and the expansion of technical education was slowly gathering strength. The history of this agitation is thus narrated by Pandit Malaviya :—

This valuable Report (*i.e.*, the report of the Famine Commission) was published in 1880, but it seems that little heed was paid to its most important recommendations. Little was done to encourage indigenous industries; less to promote technical education. In the meantime the Indian National Congress, which was organized to focus Indian public opinion and to represent the wants and wishes of the Indian public to the Government, came into existence in 1885. At its third session in 1887 it passed the following resolution :—

“That having regard to the poverty of the people, it is desirable that the Government be moved to elaborate a system of technical education, suitable to the condition of the country, to encourage indigenous manufactures by a more strict observance of the orders, already existing, in regard to utilising such manufactures for State purposes, and to employ more extensively than at present the skill and talents of the people of the country.”

At its next session, in 1888, the Congress urged the appointment of a mixed Commission to enquire into the industrial condition of the country as a preliminary to the introduction of a general system of technical education. It reiterated this request in 1891, 1892, and 1893. In 1894 it affirmed in the most emphatic manner the importance of increasing public expenditure on all branches of education, and the expediency of establishing technical schools and colleges. It repeated the same request in 1895. In 1896, when a famine had broken out in a more or less acute form throughout India, it again urged that “the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries which have practically been extinguished, and help forward the introduction of modern arts and industries.” In 1898 it again prayed “that having regard to the poverty of the people, and the

decline of indigenous industries, the Government will introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of technical instruction, and set apart more funds for a better and more successful working of the same."¹

The period of 1877 to 1901, therefore, was one of agitation and discussion rather than of achievements. In 1901-02, there were no technological institutions in India. The number of technical and industrial schools in India was 80 with an enrolment of 4,894. Of these, only 4 were managed by Government, 16 by local bodies, 3 by Indian States and 57 by private agencies—mostly by missions. The vast majority of these were *craft schools* conducted by missionaries or local boards, and only a few were technical schools proper. It will, therefore, be seen that the provision of technical and industrial education in India was extremely limited in 1901-02 and entirely out of proportion to that of liberal education.

12. General Review of Vocational Education (1854-1902). The foregoing account of vocational education as it was in 1901-02 will show several interesting features. *Firstly*, most of the vocational education in India was organized with a view to the needs of public administration. *Secondly*, private effort—which was so predominant in the field of general education—played but a small part in vocational education, and Indian private effort played a still smaller part. *Thirdly*, although there was some advance in legal, medical and engineering (civil) education, other branches of vocational education were neither properly organized nor greatly developed. It was to the removal of these defects that attempts were directed during the next period (*i.e.*, 1902-37) in the history of vocational education in India, a detailed account of which will be given in Chapter XI.

13. Education of Women (1854-82). Another important aspect of education in which considerable progress was made during the Victorian Era was the education of women. It has been pointed out in Chapter IV that Government assumed direct responsibility for the education of women only under the Despatch of 1854. The newly created Departments of Education, therefore, paid special attention to the problem and started special girls' schools, wherever possible. Between 1854 and 1882, therefore,

there was a steady expansion of education among women as the following statistics for 1882 will show :—

	No. of Institutions for Girls.				Total No. of Scholars.
	Government.	Aided.	Unaided but inspected	Unaided and <i>not</i> inspected	
Collegiate Schools	1	..	..	..	6
Secondary Schools	6	50	25	..	2,054
Primary Schools	605	1,591	398	6	82,420
Mixed Schools (Primary) ..	..	..	..	..	42,071
Normal Schools	4	11	..	..	515
Total ..	616	1,652	423	6	1,27,066

(a) *Concentration of Pupils at the Primary Stage* : The main features of this expansion deserve a careful notice. To begin with, it will be seen that the largest number of girls were reading in primary schools—as many as 124,491 girls out of a total of 127,066 under instruction (or 97.6 per cent) were in primary schools only. This concentration of pupils at the primary stage was due mainly to the fact that the public had by now come to accept the necessity of *elementary education* only in the case of girls, and was still opposed to any higher education being given to them. Higher education at this period meant English education which was pursued with the exclusive object of seeking service under Government. As the idea of women serving in Government offices was considered unthinkable at this period, the demand for the secondary or collegiate education of girls did not arise at all. The average parent continued to be against all education of women, as in the years before 1854. But a few enlightened parents, mainly living in cities and belonging to the more advanced sections of society, felt that there would be no harm (and probably a little gain) if their daughters learnt to read and write. Secondly, the low age of marriage was another cause responsible for this over-concentration of girl pupils at the primary stage. After all, the parent could afford to send his daughter to school only until her marriage ; and as the age of marriage was low—anything between 8 and 12 for the classes who were now seeking education—the schooling of a girl beyond the primary

✓ (b) *Slow Progress in Higher Education*: Another feature that attracts immediate attention is the almost complete absence of collegiate education among women and the extremely small attendance of girls in the secondary schools. In the whole of India, there was only one institution—the Bethune School at Calcutta—which had 6 girls in its college department. In the same way, even secondary education of girls could hardly be said to have advanced to any appreciable extent. The total number of girls in secondary schools for India as a whole was 2,054 of which Bengal had 1,051; Madras 389; Bombay 538; N.W.P. 68; and Punjab 8. (Even here, a very large proportion of the girls were Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, or Parsis.) It may, therefore, be said that by 1882, the necessity of the elementary education of girls had come to be generally accepted, but that their education beyond that stage had hardly begun.

✓ (c) *Training of Women Primary Teachers*: A more welcome feature is the fairly large number of women—515—reading in training colleges. The lead in this matter was taken, as usual, by the missionaries who organised a number of training colleges for women teachers, with two objects: to train women teachers for service in their own girls' schools and to train the converted girl for a useful career which would enable her to earn a fairly decent salary and lead a respectable life. But naturally, these mission institutions could not be popular with Hindus and Muslims who were unwilling to send their daughters to mission schools—particularly residential ones—where Bible-teaching was compulsory. Indian private enterprise could not start them because the conduct of such institutions required highly educated women Principals and teachers who were not then available in Indian Society. In these circumstances, it was only Government who could have organised secular training colleges for Hindu and Muslim women. But in spite of the directions of the Despatch of 1854 emphasizing the training of teachers and calling for direct patronage of Government to the education of women, no action was taken by the Education Departments to train women primary teachers.

The credit of having moved Government to do its duty in this respect goes to a large-hearted English lady—Miss Mary Carpenter. (1807-77). Her interest in India had been roused

it was not till 1866 that she could come to India to serve the cause of Indian women. Between 1866 and 1876, she paid four short visits to India and by her zeal and sincerity, succeeded in arousing public and Government interest in the education of women. She had a great reputation as a social worker in England where she did yeoman service in organising penal reform and the education of poor and delinquent children. Her advice, therefore, had great weight with the Central and Provincial Governments in India and it was mainly as a result of her exhortations that Government training colleges for women came into existence or began to expand.

Miss Carpenter had not been long in India before she discovered the most powerful cause which was responsible for the slow progress of the education of women, *viz.*, the absence of trained women teachers. This discovery led her immediately to decide her principal plan of work in India—the organisation of training colleges for women. To achieve this object, she had to persuade Government to sanction the proposal, to find competent women superintendents to take charge of the institutions and to persuade Indian gentlemen to send their womenfolk for training. The first was easy because her reputation and influence at once secured the support of Sir John Lawrence, the Governor-General, to the cause and a grant for women's training colleges was at once sanctioned. The second was more difficult ; but it is worthy of note that Miss Carpenter offered to conduct a college herself in an honorary capacity if no suitable person were available. The third was the most difficult task ; but Miss Carpenter's zeal was boundless and she succeeded in obtaining a good deal of Indian support for her scheme. She should, therefore, be regarded as the pioneer of women's training colleges which later on became so important an agency to develop the education of women. As *Lokahitwadi*, a well-known social worker in Bombay, wrote to her :—

There are no female teachers in the country. The Schools in this city have been in existence for the last fifteen years, but have not produced one girl who is able to teach. The girls leave as soon as they are of marriageable age (at latest between ten and eleven), and thus forget what they have learned. This is the great cause of failure. You have hit on a right plan. If God will bless your endeavours, the fruits of them may soon be perceived. There is a vast material in India. There are thousands of widows under the vow that they shall never remarry. It is only necessary to utilize these unfortunate widows and what

with the professed object of sending out competent teachers, no plan of female education will be successful. We are all on this side of India looking very anxiously for the success of your appeal.¹

A brief account of the *Women's Training College, Poona* (established 1870), will throw light on the typical character and work of these pioneer institutions. Of the eight women who first entered the college, some did not know even the alphabet. A training college for teachers can function properly only if there is an adequate number of feeder schools which train the would-be teachers to a prescribed minimum standard. But such institutions did not then exist in sufficient numbers and the training colleges of this period had to admit such women as were willing to enter it, without paying any attention to their educational attainments. The cart had to be put before the horse and a training college had to do the work of a school in the first instance, in order that primary schools for girls could be placed under competent teachers a little later. No entrance standard was, therefore, prescribed till 1878 and then the passing of the third primary standard was declared to be enough to qualify a student for admission to the college. Up to 1882; this college sent out 34 women teachers which works out at an average of about 3 per year, the largest number sent out in any year being 6 in 1882. Of these 34 students, six were Brahmins, eighteen Marathas, one Sonar, one Wani, one Jew and one Muslim. Further, 19 were married, 11 were widows and 4 were unmarried. The large proportion of married women deserves notice. At this time it was a policy of the Department to encourage primary teachers under training in the Male Training College in Poona to send their wives to the Female Training College. Thus the husband and the wife both became teachers and were appointed in the same place.

(d) *Prejudice against Coeducation*: Another aspect of the educational statistics of 1882 is the popular prejudice against mixed schools or coeducation. Of the 127,066 girls under instruction, only 42,071 were in mixed schools! This implies that an average parent preferred to send his daughter to a separate school, if one was available and sent her to a common school only as a last resort. Secondly, the public also had a prejudice against the employment of men teachers in girls' schools. But as women teachers were not available in sufficient numbers, old men were

× frequently employed as teachers in girls' schools—a factor which tended to lower their efficiency.

(e) *Differentiation of Curricula* : An important development of the period from 1854 to 1882 was the growing demand for a differentiation of curricula. As girls had hardly entered the secondary schools or colleges, this problem mainly affected the primary stage. The demand for a differentiation of curricula even at this early age was made on two grounds : Firstly, it was argued that a different syllabus was necessary for girls' schools because the average school-life of a girl was very much shorter than that of a boy ; and secondly, it was pointed out that subjects like needle-work which had a special utility for women ought to be included in the syllabus for girls' schools in preference to other subjects. But the attempts to carry out these demands were not very successful as the following review of the provincial syllabuses will show :—

As the subjects of instruction laid down by the Department for girls do not in general differ much from those for boys, it does not seem necessary to present a detailed account of them. They comprehend the usual amount of reading, writing and arithmetic, with some grammar, geography, and history. In *Madras*, the standards are nearly the same as for boys, with needle-work added, and with singing as an optional subject. . . . In the *Central Provinces*, while the scheme of studies is the same as for boys, an equal amount of attention is not in fact given to geography and grammar, while it is found that girls do not make so much progress in arithmetic as boys. Singing is occasionally attempted, and needle-work in several branches is attended to. In the *North-Western Provinces*, the books used for boys are in use for girls also. But great complaints are made as to their unsuitability, in respect both of subject and of language. . . . In *Bombay* there are special standards of instruction for girls' schools, which are lower than those for boys, but include needle-work in addition. . . . In the *Punjab*, the course is the same as for boys, but it is found that girls only attempt the easier portions of it. This is not surprising, inasmuch as the primary course in this Province includes Persian, and arithmetic up to its highest branches. . . . In *Bengal*, the standards have been revised in consultation with managers of girls' schools, and although the Inspectress desires to see them still further simplified, with a view to improve the teaching, the witnesses with whom this subject is a speciality do not express dissatisfaction with them. They only desire to see the revised standards brought more generally and definitely into use.¹

14. The Recommendations of the Indian Education Commission on the Subject of the Education of Women (1882-3). The Indian Education Commission studied the problem very carefully and made the following recommendations :—

(a) *Support from Public Funds* : Before enumerating our special Recommendations with regard to girls' schools, we desire to briefly review the situation

as disclosed in the foregoing paragraphs. It will have been seen that female education is still in an extremely backward condition, and that it needs to be fostered in every legitimate way. In some Provinces, the sympathies of the people do not yet run sufficiently in this direction to induce local bodies to devote to female education any of the funds at their disposal. Hence we think it expedient to recommend that *public funds of all kinds—local, municipal, and provincial—should be chargeable in an equitable proportion for the support of girls' schools as well as boys' schools*; and that the former, being in an earlier stage of development, should receive even something more than what might appear to be a strictly impartial share of encouragement. Public opinion in this matter cannot yet be accepted as the standard of what ought to be done.

(b) *Grants-in-aid*: We do not think it necessary to define the classes of girls' schools which should receive encouragement. The principle of religious neutrality prevents aid from being given for religious teaching as such, but *we see no reason why such secular teaching as is actually given, if only incidentally, in schools intended mainly for religious teaching, should not be pro tanto rewarded*. If a girl, in learning to read a religious book, acquires the power of reading the vernacular, it is at least something accomplished, and may serve as a basis for something more. *There are so many obstacles to the progress of female education that we think the conditions on which aid is granted to it should be made as easy as possible. It is, moreover, right that more liberal aid should be given for the education of those classes who cannot pay for it themselves, and whose children are often required to help in household work. For these, rules, requiring regular attendance should be easy, lest they defeat their own object. Generally, the maintenance of a girls' school is more expensive than that of a boys' school! Servants have to bring the children from their homes, and the number that can be expected to attend is smaller. Hence it is sometimes found that rates of aid even 50 per cent higher than those for boys, fail to cover the additional expenditure required. Again, the short time that girls are allowed to remain at school leads to a very large percentage of the pupils being in the lowest stages of instruction. As these need as much attention as those more advanced, it is only just that allowance should in some way be made for them.*

(c) *Differentiation of Curricula and Books*: One great objection made by the native public to the instruction of girls, is that it is of no practical use to them. Too much stress should not be laid on this, as the value of education to a woman must of necessity be unknown to those who have no experience of it. But *it ought not to be taken for granted that the instruction which is suitable for a boy must necessarily be good for an Indian girl*. In purely literary subjects, girls need not go so far as boys, and there are subjects of a practical kind to which girls might at least be introduced during their school course. It does not appear that much attention has hitherto been given to the production of books suitable for girls, and in some cases the books used have not been selected with sufficient care.

(d) *Fees and Scholarships*: We approve of the principle that education should to some extent be paid for by the recipient. But the desire for girls' education has at present to be fostered, and in many parts of the country it has yet to be created. Hence, *we would not make the taking of fees an essential condition of obtaining grants*, although we would guard against unfair competition in this respect between rival schools. *To extend the period given to the education of girls is obviously desirable, and we think that one important means of attaining this object will be the offer of scholarships*. If some of these be reserved for girls beyond the usual age to which school attendance extends, there may gradually arise a desire for more knowledge than can be attained within that narrow

(e) *Secondary Education* : This points in the direction of secondary education for girls, in which a beginning has scarcely been made. We propose that the *opportunities for such instruction should be judiciously extended*, but only where private effort indicates that the desire for it exists.

(f) *Hostels* : There are many difficulties in the way of young women attending a school at any distance from their homes. For this reason we think that in special cases *it might be well to encourage school-managers to make provision for boarders*.

(g) *Transfer of Girls' Schools to Local Bodies* : It may perhaps be found that Municipal and Local Boards are not in all cases prepared to undertake the management of girls' schools ; to force it upon unwilling persons would not be likely to lead to satisfactory results. But where a Board does undertake the management, we think its authority ought to be real and effective. It ought to be able to appoint any mistress it selects, provided, of course, that she is in the judgment of the Education Department qualified for the work. Nor would we deprive the Board of the power of promoting or removing its own teachers, although to check arbitrary or hasty action the Department ought to have a veto in such cases. It should also be borne in mind that as the available funds are limited, and as results are greater and more capable of being tested in girls' schools than in *zenanas*, the former have higher claims than the latter on State aid.

(h) *Women Teachers* : We have seen that one of the principal obstacles to the extension of female education is the difficulty of obtaining suitable teachers. There can be no doubt that women are preferable for this purpose to men ; and *while we would not altogether exclude male teachers from girls' schools, we believe that female teachers should be gradually and cautiously substituted for them*. In order to induce girls to look forward to teaching as a profession, *it seems desirable to encourage pupil-teachers* wherever the system is practicable. The pupil-teachers should furnish material for Normal schools, and for Normal classes in connection with ordinary schools where there is sufficient teaching power. The careful and sympathetic management required for such classes, renders them peculiarly suitable for private agency to superintend ; and when established by this means, they should be liberally aided. Among other ways of assisting them, the grant of a bonus for each pupil finishing the course, commends itself. At the same time the aid given them should not depend too largely on such success at the final examination. There does not seem to be good reason for confining certificates for teachers to those who have been trained in Normal schools. Fitness to teach should be recognised wherever and in whatever way it may have been acquired, although a Normal school training will always have a special value of its own. The number of young women qualified to teach is so small, that it seems necessary to recruit it by special inducements offered both to the pupils and to those who may instruct them. In some places the wives of schoolmasters are almost the only class available as schoolmistresses, and it is expedient to attract as many of them as possible to the work. In other places young women of mixed parentage may be largely employed, if only they can be persuaded to qualify themselves by a sufficient knowledge of the vernacular. By the different plans here indicated, something may be done gradually in the way of raising up a class of women fitted to educate the girls of another generation. *What no sweeping measure could at once effect, may be accomplished by a multiplicity of minor plans, each contributing a little*.

(i) *Zenana Teaching* : But in the existing circumstances of the women of India, the mere establishment of schools will be by no means sufficient to bring

secluded in zenanas, many from their infancy, and many more from the age of eleven or twelve. From this it follows that the education of girls of the better classes cannot be carried on in schools to anything like completion, and that in the case of many it cannot even be begun. Some plan is needed for conveying instruction to those who cannot leave their homes to seek for it, and for prosecuting further the teaching which may have been begun in schools. Agencies for zenana teaching are conducting this work with considerable success. Actuated in many cases by religious motives, zenana teachers have brought some measure of secular instruction into the homes of those who would otherwise have been wholly debarred from it. We see no reason why this secular instruction, imparted under the supervision of ladies worthy of confidence, should not be recognised and assisted, so far as it can be tested by a proper inspecting agency. *Rules for aid to zenana teaching should be drawn up in consultation with those who conduct the work, and should be such as to assist them substantially in extending their operations so far as concerns secular teaching.*

(j) *Appointment of Women Inspectors* :—Associations have arisen in some places, aiming at the extension and improvement of female education. These also might be encouraged so far as they produce secular results. In order that these results may be fairly estimated, it seems necessary that *the services of sympathetic and well-qualified inspectresses should be more largely made use of.* In the present condition of female education in India, the visits of Inspectors are sometimes not only futile, but a positive hindrance to progress. And even where this is not so, a woman is generally much better able to deal with little girls than any man can be.

(k) *Non-official Co-operation* :—With respect to the management also of girls' schools, it seems most desirable to obtain the help, wherever possible, of ladies who take an interest in the subject, whether Native or European. Nor is the object likely to be attained unless interest is promoted among Native gentlemen by giving them a share in the supervision of the schools. Those who show their sympathy, by sending their own daughters to school are more likely to assist in directing the movement, and in rendering it popular among their neighbours.¹

It will be seen from the preceding paragraphs that the Indian Education Commission made recommendations covering almost every aspect of female education. None of these recommendations are radical in any sense. The Commission did not recommend compulsion for girls. It did not advocate a rapid expansion of girls' schools under the direct control of Government. It merely recommended that the education of women should be expanded on a voluntary basis. This could not have worked satisfactorily because, as admitted by the Commission itself, the public opinion of this period was not much in favour of the education of women. Again, the Commission did not make specific recommendations on the all too important subject of finance and did not secure larger resources to women's education. It has also to be noted that the Commission's emphasis on *zenana* education was quite out of proportion to its extent or utility.

On the whole, therefore, it may be said that the Indian Education Commission did nothing more than recommend slight alterations in lines of policy which had already been developed. These alterations, though they were an improvement over the then existing position, did not go far enough and were not calculated to do anything but touch the fringe of the problem. For these and other reasons, the education of women did not expand very rapidly between 1882 and 1902 although most of the recommendations of the Commission were accepted by the Provincial Governments.

✓ 15. **Education of Women (1882-1902).** In the period of twenty years between the Report of the Indian Education Commission and the beginning of Curzon's drive for educational reform, the education of women made slow but steady progress.

(a) *Collegiate Education*: One of the most significant achievements of this period was the entry of women into the portals of the universities. The first Indian women to be graduates were Kadambini and Chandramukhi Bose of the Bethune College (1883). It is worthy of note that the women of India did not have to struggle in any way to obtain admission to University degrees—a pleasant contrast to England where women could get *degrees by degrees* only. As soon as the need arose, each Indian university changed its regulations suitably to admit women to its degrees and the first such admission always found a warm welcome and commendation in the convocation address concerned. By 1901-02, the number of women students of Indian universities rose from 6 in 1881-2 to 264—177 in Arts Colleges, 76 in medical colleges and 11 in colleges of education. Of these 264 university students, 148 were Anglo-Indians, 49 were Indian Christians, 38 were Parsis, only 28 were Hindus and 1 belonged to the *others* group. Not even one Muslim girl read at the university stage. This shows that the collegiate education of Hindu girls had just begun and that of Muslims had not even started in 1902. But in such cases, numbers are not the point at issue. What matters is the acceptance by Indian society, of the principle of providing collegiate education to women. By 1901-02, the Hindus had already accepted it and the Muslims were well on their way to do so.

✓ Another important feature of this period is the starting of

the only institution in India which was exclusively meant for girls and which prepared them for university examinations. But in 1901-02, there were as many as twelve colleges for women. Three of these were in Madras, three in Bengal and six in the United Provinces. Some of these so-called *Colleges* were, however, merely schools for European or Anglo-Indian girls, with College-departments attached.

(b) *Secondary Education*: Coming to the field of secondary education, we find the position a little brighter. The total number of girls studying in Secondary Schools in 1902 was 41,582 as against 2,054 in 1882. This was distributed as follows:—

	Anglo-Indians.	Indian Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	Others	Total.
1. High Schools for Boys	270	112	47	1	1	139	570
2. High Schools for Girls	5,239	1,466	1,040	75	642	242	8,704
3. Middle Schools (English) for Boys	967	852	631	19	73	281	2,823
4. Middle Schools (English) for Girls	4,165	3,490	482	39	341	237	8,754
5. Middle Schools (Vernacular) for Boys	..	538	741	82	..	2,646	4,007
6. Middle Schools (Vernacular) for Girls	13	4,525	10,982	649	..	555	16,724
Total ..	10,654	10,983	13,923	865	1,057	4,100	41,582

Here we find certain important features. The Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and Parsis still dominate the field; but not to the same extent as in collegiate education. The Muslims have made a fair beginning although they are still far too backward as compared with the Hindus. It also appears

in the middle vernacular schools. This course was popular because it came to an end very soon—when the girl was about 13 or 14—and was complete in itself. The popular prejudice against coeducation, especially at the high school stage, is also clearly seen in these statistics.

The most important achievement of this period, be it noted, was the fact that the necessity of secondary education for women came to be recognised by Indian society. By 1882, public opinion in India was prepared to concede that girls may be permitted to receive education at the primary level. But the conservative people were taken aback when it was proposed that girls should be taught in high schools. This meant that women would come in direct contact with Europeans and Western culture! The unorthodox behaviour of the boys who were educated in secondary schools and colleges of this period was often too shocking to the conservatives. Naturally, it was felt that if girls were educated in the same schools, they would also go off their heads, imitate Western life and habits to an unimaginable degree, and create a social revolution. All sorts of fantastic arguments were put forward. For example, it was argued that widows educated in high schools would remarry and violate an important religious prohibition; that girls who were taught English would accept Christianity or that they would be married to or seduced by Europeans. It is needless to enter into all the phases of this controversy here. It will be enough to note two points in this connection. Firstly, the entry of Hindu and Muslim women in secondary schools was made only after a stiff opposition was overcome; and secondly, the educated Indians of this period did their utmost to help the cause although they were in a minority. Reference has already been made in chapter VI to the wave of social reform that spread through Indian Society in the Victorian Era. One of the most important plans in this movement was the amelioration of the social position of women and the spread of education in their midst. The detailed history of this movement is beyond the scope of this book; but it is necessary to state here that men like Pandit Ishvarachandra Vidyasagar were primarily responsible for the legalisation of widow-remarriage under the Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act (1856); social reformers like G. G. Agarkar, Justice M. G. Ranade, and B. N. Srinivas

widow and to raise the age of marriage ; it was through the attempts of such liberal social reformers only that the age of consent was raised, in 1891, to twelve years.¹ In short, it was mainly due to the efforts of the selfless social reformers of the Victorian Era that funds were collected for the higher education of women, private secondary schools for girls came to be established and the popular prejudice against the secondary education of girls was slowly but steadily overcome.

As a corollary to the increase in the number of girls reading in secondary schools, the demand for the differentiation of curricula now began to be put forward at the secondary level as well and some attempts to meet the demand had already begun to be made. The following quotation from the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1897-1902*, shows the general nature of the differentiations attempted :—

The courses of studies in girls' schools are modelled on those in schools for boys, with some variation in the middle school courses, and to a lesser extent in the matriculation courses of the Universities. As regards the matriculation courses, there is no difference in the subjects for boys and girls at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay At Allahabad and Lahore, a classical language is compulsory for boys, but girls are given the option of a modern Indian or European language. In the Madras upper secondary course, girls are given the option of a variety of subjects in place of algebra and geometry, but hardly any girls follow this course. In the Madras lower secondary (middle) course, the compulsory subjects for boys and girls are the same, but the optional subjects include needle-work and domestic economy for girls. In the Bombay middle English stage, girls may substitute, for Euclid and algebra, any portion of science or domestic economy treated in a popular way, equal in extent and difficulty to one of Macmillan's *Science Primers*. In the new Bengal Regulation for vernacular schools, needle-work for girls takes the place of agriculture or science and geometry for boys. Manual training may be substituted for needle-work in mixed schools which have no facilities for teaching needle-work. In the reading books for girls, lessons on domestic economy are substituted for the lessons on hygiene contained in the boys' books. In the United Provinces lower middle English stage, girls may take up Indian history in place of drawing in Class V, and in place of drawing or other voluntary subject in Class VI. A separate course is laid down for vernacular middle schools for girls in the Punjab ; it is based on the course for boys but it contains less arithmetic, and subjects specially suitable for girls are added to it. The compulsory subjects are : reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, history, domestic economy, and needle-work. Any two of the following subjects are optional ; a second vernacular language, Persian, Arabic, Euclid and algebra, and elementary science.²

It was in this period that an alternative examination to the Matriculation was set up for the first time. The object of this

examination was to divert the students from the narrow road that led to the University (through the Matriculation) and to qualify them for entrance into the various walks of life. Women ought to have been but were actually *not* attracted to this course and its unpopularity among girls was even greater than that among boys. The reasons were two-fold: firstly, the social organization of this period did not open out any careers for women, and secondly, the courses were not sufficiently adopted to their needs.

(c) *Primary Education*: At the primary stage, the progress was greater still. In 1901-02, the total number of girls at school was 348,510 (160,164 in Boys' Schools and 188,346 in Girls' Schools) as against 124,491 in 1881-82. This increase is shared largely by Hindus and Muslims as the following figures will show:—

	No. of Girls in Boys' Schools.	No. of Girls in Girls' Schools.	Total.
1. Anglo-Indians	634	2,488	3,122
2. Indian Christians ..	17,068	16,131	33,199
3. Hindus—Brahmins ..	18,986	29,545	48,531
4. Hindus—Non-Brahmins	76,513	104,970	181,493
5. Muslims	23,822	23,745	47,567
6. Buddhists	20,164	6,257	26,421
7. Parsis	836	3,722	4,558
8. Others	2,141	1,488	3,629
Total ..	160,164	188,346	348,510

In 1881-82, one girl out of every three was in a mixed school; in 1901-02, we find that the number of girls reading in boys' schools has nearly equalled that reading in separate schools for girls. This shows a welcome change in popular attitude to mixed schools

and indicates that the social prejudice against coeducation was gradually breaking down, at least in the *primary* stage.

The demand for differentiation for curricula and even for separate books for girls continued to be made even in this period ; and the official syllabuses for girls' schools differed from those of boys on the traditional lines, that is to say, they omitted the more difficult portions from Mathematics, Geography, History, etc., and substituted singing, drawing, and needle-work. But it must be noted that even this elementary differentiation did not work out very satisfactorily in actual practice. In the first place, about half the girls studied in common schools and were, therefore, compelled to follow the same curriculum as the boys ; secondly, even in the separate girls' schools, a large number of teachers were males who could not handle subjects like needle-work properly ; and thirdly, very few girls reached the higher primary standards where the differentiation really begins to be significant. Consequently, the differentiation of curricula remained, to a large extent, on paper only.

(d) Coming to *professional education*, we find the progress very slow. The statistics of 1901-02 are given below :—

				<i>No. of women students in 1901-02.</i>
1. Training schools	..	..	..	1,412
2. Schools of Art	..	..	..	40
3. Medical schools	..	..	..	166
4. Technical or industrial schools	..	..	..	468
5. Commercial schools	..	..	..	26
6. Other schools	..	..	..	695
Total				2,807

Of all the careers then open to women, teaching was obviously the most popular. The total number of women studying in the training colleges in 1901-02 was 1,412 as against 515 in 1881-82. The Indian Christians still dominated the scene and numbered as many as 969 or 69 per cent ! The progress among Hindus and Muslims was far from satisfactory and the dearth of women teachers was, if anything, keener in 1901-02 than in 1881-82. The one improvement in the situation, however, was that minimum

qualifications for admissions to training colleges were now fixed at the completion of the middle school stage—a rule which was made possible by the general diffusion of primary education among women.

Next to teaching in popularity, came the medical careers—nursing, midwifery and medicine. In the first two of these, women have always had a monopoly. But what deserves special notice is that women were now taking quickly to a career in medicine and becoming physicians and surgeons. The necessity of women doctors began to be felt very early because Indian women were naturally averse to consulting male doctors, *Vaidyas* and *Hakims* were gradually dying out and, thanks to the allopathic hospitals and dispensaries established by Government and missionaries in several parts of the country, the Western system of medicine was becoming more and more popular. This created a demand for trained women doctors, and it was, therefore, natural that the medical education of women should get a great fillip in this period.

An important event which helped this happy development in this period was the establishment of the *Countess of Dufferin Fund*. The objects of this Fund, which was raised in all parts of India, were to establish hospitals and maternity homes for women, to train women as nurses and midwives, to give scholarships to such women as desired professional education in medicine, to promote child-welfare and ante-natal care, and to take such steps as may be necessary to reduce infant mortality and death-rate among women during child-birth. A large amount was collected and it was utilised to give scholarships to women undergoing some type of education in medicine. The importance of this Fund in promoting the medical education of women cannot, therefore, be over-emphasized.

The other courses hardly need any comment as the numbers involved are very small. It may be said, therefore, that the professional education of women had just begun by the end of the nineteenth century. The number of professions open to them was very small at this period. Most of the women seeking professional education were Parsis, Anglo-Indians or Indian Christians and the higher professional education of Hindu or Muslim women was almost non-existent. This state of affairs need not, however, be considered surprising. The professional

education of women can only develop in a society in which a number of careers are open to them. Unfortunately, the Indian society of the nineteenth century was still too orthodox to think of women as following independent careers in life. Marriage and the home were considered to be the goal of every woman and their primary or secondary education was permitted to some extent, more as an embellishment than as a means of gaining economic independence. Until this view was radically changed, therefore, there was no hope for any rapid expansion of the professional education of Hindu or Muslim women.

(e) *Overall position of the Education of Women (1901-02)* : Taken all in all, therefore, the education of women in 1901-02 in spite of all the advances recorded since 1854, cannot be said to have been satisfactory. "Though some advance has been made," said Lord Curzon in 1904, "female education as a whole is still in a very backward condition. The number of female scholars in public schools in the year 1901-02 was 444,470, or less than a ninth of the number of male scholars. The percentage of girls in public schools to the total female population of school-going age has risen from 1.58 in the year 1886-87 to 2.49 in 1901-02."¹ The percentage of literacy among women was only 0.9.² Poor as these figures are, a closer analysis shows that the education of Hindu and Muslim women had hardly progressed beyond the primary stage and that a disproportionately large part of the literate women belonged to the Christian and Parsi communities. From the point of view of achievements, therefore, the nineteenth century can show but a poor record in the field of the education of women.

The main interest of the history of the education of women in the nineteenth century lies, therefore, in the controversies that were waged around this problem; in the gradual conversion of public opinion in support of the education of women, both primary and higher; in the awakening of the public conscience to the social injustice done to women; and in the attempts made to ameliorate their condition by such measures as the abolition of *sati*, the legalization of widow re-marriage, raising of the age of consent, etc. It would be an independent study by itself to go through the literature of this period; to describe the bitter

controversies that were waged over questions affecting girls and women ; to portray the lives of the noble-hearted men and women who tried to better the position of women ; and to assess the value and importance of their contribution to the cause. This aspect of the problem is obviously beyond the scope of this work. But needless to say, an independent study of the problem will be extremely interesting and worth-while.

When it is said that the achievements in the education of women in 1902 were small, it must be remembered that the approach to the problem is made on the basis of the work that yet remained to be done and *not* on the basis of the work that was actually accomplished. A more reassuring conclusion can, however, be reached if the educational conditions of women in 1902 are compared to those in 1823. (At the beginning of the nineteenth century, no girls attended public schools and an extremely small number were made literate at home. There was a strong prejudice against the education of women. As against this dark picture, we find that in 1902 as many as 4½ lakhs of girls attended primary schools and not a few received higher education ; the prejudice against the education of women had materially disappeared, particularly among the higher castes and in urban areas ; the inhuman customs of *sati* and female infanticide were no more ; the marriage of widows had been legalized ; and whereas in 1823, a career beyond the home was not open to women, in 1902, several of them were earning an honest livelihood and doing useful service to the community as nurses, midwives and teachers. In other words, the initial inertia had been overcome, the foundations of the modern educational edifice had been laid and the stage set for a rapid expansion of the education of women in all directions. For this valuable spadework in the great cause of the education of women, the social workers and administrators of this period deserve a handsome tribute.

16. Education of Muslims (1854-1882). It was stated in Chapter IV that the Muslims did not take kindly to the new system of education for several reasons and that the Company, in its turn, generally neglected their education. This neglect continued even after the creation of the Education Departments in 1855 and it was only the Government of Lord Mayo that first

was issued in that year and it made, among other things, the following interesting observations :—

The condition of the Muhammadan population of India as regards education has of late been frequently pressed upon the attention of the Government of India. From statistics¹ recently submitted to the Governor-General in Council, it is evident that in no part of the country, except perhaps the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, do the Muhammadans adequately, or in proportion to the rest of the community, avail themselves of the educational advantages that the Government offers. It is much to be regretted that so large and important a class, possessing a classical literature replete with works of profound learning and great value, and counting among its members a section especially devoted to the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge, should stand aloof from active co-operation with our educational system and should lose the advantages both material and social, which others enjoy. His Excellency in Council believes that secondary and higher education conveyed in the vernacular and rendered more accessible than now, coupled with a more systematic encouragement and recognition of Arabic and Persian literature, would be not only acceptable to the Muhammadan community but would enlist the sympathies of the more earnest and enlightened of its members on the side of education.

2. The Governor-General in Council is desirous that *further encouragement should be given to the classical and vernacular languages of the Muhammadans in all Government Schools and Colleges.* This need not involve any alterations in the subjects, but only in the media of instruction. In avowedly English Schools established in Muhammadan Districts, *the appointment of qualified Muhammadan English teachers might, with advantage, be encouraged.* As in Vernacular Schools, so in this class also, *assistance might justly be given to Muhammadans by grants-in-aid to create schools of their own.* Greater encouragement should also be given to *the creation of a vernacular literature for the Muhammadans*—a measure the importance of which was specially urged upon the Government of India by Her Majesty's Secretary of State on more than one occasion.²

¹ Here are the statistics for 1871-72 :—

STATISTICS OF EDUCATION AMONG MUHAMMADANS IN 1871-72.

Provinces.	Total Population.	Muham- madans.	Percent- age.	At School.		
				Total.	Muham- madans.	Percent- age.
Madras	31,281,177	1,872,214	6	123,689	5,531	4.4
Bombay	16,349,206	2,528,344	15.4	190,153	15,684	8.2
Bengal and Assam ..	60,467,724	19,553,420	32.3	196,086	28,411	14.4
N. W. Provinces ..	30,781,204	4,188,751	13.5	162,619	28,990	17.8
Oudh	11,220,232	1,111,290	9.9	48,926	12,417	25.3
Punjab	17,611,498	9,102,488	51.6	68,144	23,788	34.9
Total	167,711,041	38,356,507	22.8	789,617	114,816	14.5

Action along these lines was taken in most Provinces of India between 1871 and 1882. In *Madras*, considerable progress was noted in this decade. In 1880-81,

the special schools maintained by Government were 11 in number, 7 of them being Anglo-vernacular middle schools, and 4 Anglo-vernacular primary schools. Nine schools, Anglo-vernacular or vernacular were maintained by Municipalities and of aided schools with a special provision for Musalman pupils, there were 4 Anglo-vernacular, and 210 vernacular. Other inducements had also been held out to Musalman students. They were admitted in all schools upon payment of half the usual fees, seven scholarships were specially reserved for Musalman candidates at the University examinations; a special Deputy Inspector of Musalman schools had been appointed; an elementary Normal school had been established at Madras; and the University of Madras still continued to allot to the Arabic and Persian languages at its examinations a maximum of marks considerably larger than that carried by vernacular languages.... The combined results of these measures were eminently satisfactory. In place of the 5,531 Musalmans at school in 1870-71, the returns for 1880-81 give 22,075, or 6.7 per cent of the total number under instruction, while the percentage of Musalmans to the total population of the Presidency is only 6 per cent. The proportion of boys at school to those of a school-going age is for Muhammadans 15.1, for Hindus 13.7.¹

In *Bombay*, the University having placed Persian on the list of languages in which examination is held for its degrees, sanction was obtained to the appointment of a Professor of Persian and Arabic in the Elphinstone College, where, up to that time, it had been impossible, for want of a competent teacher, that those languages should be studied in a scholarly manner. Persian teachers were also appointed in the Elphinstone and Surat High Schools. By the provision of stipends and teachers for Musalmans in the vernacular training college, the foundation was laid of a supply of qualified teachers in vernacular and Musalman schools.... Mr. Peile² also drew up a course of Persian instruction for the upper standards in vernacular schools, and for English and High schools. This course was graduated from the beginning up to the matriculation standard, and so arranged as to prepare for the study of Persian as a classic in the Arts Colleges. Later on the number of special Musalman schools was considerably increased, and Musalman Deputy Inspectors were appointed to inspect them.... In 1871-72 the number of Musalmans at school, according to Mr. Peile's estimate, was 15,577, or about 8.7 per cent of the total number at school; in 1881-82 the number had risen to 41,548, or 11.7 per cent of the total number at school. There were also in the latter year 22,284 Muhammadan children in indigenous schools, which would raise the percentage to 14.7.³

(In *Bengal*, the Muslims had a grievance that the Mahomed Mohsin Trust, created in 1806 and estimated to yield about Rs. 45,000 per annum, was applied to maintenance of an English College, although the intention of the Donor was to encourage Persian and Arabic learning. This grievance was now done away with.) "To remove all cause for complaint, the Lieutenant-Governor, at the instance of the Supreme Government, declared that the maintenance of the English side of that College should be a charge upon the Provincial funds. It was also decided to devote a portion of the endowment to the Oriental side, or *Madrassa*,

¹ Syed Mahmood: *History of Education in India*, p. 156.

and the remainder to the foundation of three new *Madrassas*, to the establishment of scholarships, and towards the payment of the fee of Musalman students in English colleges and schools. The three *Madrassas* were established at Dacca, Rajshahye, and Chittagong; and each was placed under an Arabic scholar of repute, assisted by a competent staff of Maulavis. It was intended that in each of them the full course of the Calcutta *Madrassa* should in time be taught; English was to be added to the course wherever the pupils showed a desire to learn that language, and at Dacca a teacher of English was at once appointed. To the payment of scholarships tenable by Musalmans in *Madrassa* or in English colleges and schools, there was allotted the sum of Rs. 9,000 while Rs. 18,000 went to the payment of two-thirds of the fees of Muhammadan pupils in Government colleges and schools outside Calcutta, and also to the payment of Maulavis in these schools. At the same time the Calcutta *Madrassa* was thoroughly re-organised, arrangements were made for the more thorough teaching of the Arabic and Persian languages with a reasonable amount of Muhammadan law.¹ Moreover, Government also incorporated hundreds of *Makhtabs* in the primary system. These measures led to considerable progress. "Owing to the ready way in which Musalmans have accepted the primary system of instruction there is a very satisfactory increase in the total number of pupils of that race, which has risen from 28,148 in 1871 to 262,108 (including students in technical schools and colleges) in 1882; the proportion of Musalmans being now 23·8 per cent against 14·4 in 1871. (The Muslim population of Bengal was 32·3 per cent) . . . The privilege of reading at one-third of the ordinary fees has also, by recent orders of the Government of Bengal, been extended to Muhammadan students of any college in Calcutta, whether Government or other. In the case of non-Government colleges, aided and unaided, the amount of the remissions is paid from the Provincial Revenues."²

In the *Punjab*, hardly any special action was taken. On the receipt of the orders of the Central Government, "the Government of the Punjab consulted a large number of gentlemen as to the necessity of any special measures, other than those which had already been taken, for the furtherance of education among the Musalmans. Among those consulted were the Members of the Senate of the Punjab University College, and English and Native officers, both Musalman and Hindu. The replies received almost unanimously deprecated any such measures; . . . and the conclusion drawn from the general body of evidence went to show that the suggestions made by the Government of India had already been adopted in the Punjab. No special measures, therefore, have since been taken, but the percentage of Musalmans at school has risen since 1871-72 from 34·9 to 38·2 and the increase has been in the higher rather than in the lower class of schools."³

It is not necessary to deal with the other Provinces. The general trend of measures taken to spread education among the Muslims as well as the results of these measures can be easily seen from the four instances given above.

Taking India as a whole, it may be said that the position of Muslim Education in 1881-82 was considerably improved as compared with that in 1871-72. In the Census of 1881, the Muslims formed 19·1 per cent of the total population and in 1881-82, the Muslim pupils in schools, public and private, were 17·8 per cent of the total enrolment for all communities. This development showed that the Muslim community had nearly reached the average in total education. But

¹ Syed Mahmood: *History of Education in India*, p. 160.

compared to Hindus, they were backward in four essential respects. In the first place, the insistence on religious instruction made large numbers of Muslims study in *private* rather than in *public* institutions ; secondly the secondary and collegiate education of Muslims was not satisfactorily advanced. Thirdly, the education of women, as shown previously, was very backward among Muslims ; and lastly, in Government service or in professions, the Muslims did not fare as well as the Hindus.

17. The Recommendations of the Indian Education Commission (1882-83). It was mainly to remove these deficiencies that the Indian Education Commission made the following recommendations :—

The Recommendations we proceed to make have been framed, we believe, not merely with a regard to justice, but with a leaning towards generosity. They are based not more upon the suggestions contained in the Provincial Reports than upon the evidence of witnesses and the representations of public bodies. They deal, we think, with every form of complaint that is grounded in fact, and they contemplate the various circumstances of various localities. Few of them, indeed, are of general application ; many of them, we trust, will before long be rendered obsolete. Special encouragement to any class is in itself an evil ; and it will be a sore reproach to the Musalmans if the pride they have shown in other matters does not stir them up to a course of honourable activity ; to a determination that whatever their backwardness in the past, they will not suffer themselves to be outstripped in the future ; to a conviction that self-help and self-sacrifice are at once nobler principles of conduct and surer paths to worldly success than sectarian reserve or the hope of exceptional indulgence. We have spoken of the causes ; we here accept the fact that, at all events in many parts of the country, the Musalmans have fallen behind the rest of the population ; we, therefore, recommend (1) that *the special encouragement of Muhammadan education be regarded as a legitimate charge on Local, on Municipal, and on Provincial Funds.* The Muhammadan indigenous schools which are found in all parts of the country are established on a purely religious basis and in most cases impart an education of the most elementary character. In order to encourage a wider utility, we recommend (2) that *indigenous Muhammadan schools be liberally encouraged to add purely secular subjects to their course of instruction.* As the instruction given in Muhammadan primary schools differs considerably from that in the ordinary primary schools, we recommend (3) that *special standards for Muhammadan primary schools be prescribed.* In regard to the medium of instruction in primary and middle schools, it appears that even in places where Hindustani is not the vernacular of the people Muhammadans earnestly desire that their children should be educated in that language, and we therefore recommend (4) that *Hindustani be the principal medium for imparting instruction to Muhammadans in primary and middle schools, except in localities where the Muhammadan community desire that some other language be adopted.* In order that Muhammadans may be enabled to qualify for the lower grades of the public service, we recommend (5) that *the official vernacular, in places where it is not Hindustani, be added as a voluntary subject to the curriculum of primary and middle schools for Muhammadans* maintained from public funds ; and that arithmetic and accounts be taught through the medium of that vernacular. To meet the complaint made in some parts of the country that due encouragement is not given to the language and literature of the Muhammadans, and that this circumstance has operated as one of the causes which have kept that community aloof from the Government system of education, we recommend

(6) that in localities where Muhammadans form a fair proportion of the population, provision be made in middle and high schools maintained from public funds for imparting instruction in the Hindustani and Persian languages. It has been found that whilst Muhammadans in many places form a fair proportion of the students learning English, their number decreases as the standard of instruction rises; we therefore recommend (7) that higher English education for Muhammadans, being the kind of education in which that community needs special help, be liberally encouraged. It has been submitted with much force that the poverty of the Muhammadans is also one of the main reasons why education has not made satisfactory progress in that community; we therefore recommend (8) that where necessary a graduated system of special scholarships for Muhammadans be established; to be awarded (a) in primary schools, and tenable in middle schools; (b) in middle schools, and tenable in high schools; (c) on the results of the Matriculation and First Arts examinations, and tenable in colleges; also (9) that in all classes of schools maintained from public funds a certain proportion of free studentships be expressly reserved for Muhammadan students. Complaints having been made that Muhammadan educational endowments have not always been applied to their proper uses, we recommend (10) that in places where educational endowments for the benefit of Muhammadans exist and are under the management of Government, the funds arising from such endowments be devoted to the advancement of education among Muhammadans exclusively. And further, in order that Muhammadan educational endowments may be utilised to the utmost, we recommend (11) that where Muhammadan endowments exist, and are under the management of private individuals or bodies, inducements by liberal grants-in-aid be offered to them to establish English-teaching schools or colleges on the grant-in-aid system. The employment of Muhammadans as teachers and inspecting officers among Muhammadans will in our opinion largely tend to popularise education among that community and enable the Department to understand the special needs and wishes of the Muhammadans; we therefore recommend (12) that, where necessary, Normal schools or classes for the training of Muhammadan teachers be established; (13) that wherever instruction is given in Muhammadan schools through the medium of Hindustani, endeavours be made to secure, as far as possible, Muhammadan teachers to give such instruction; and (14) that Muhammadan inspecting officers be employed more largely than hitherto for the inspection of primary schools for Muhammadans. Another useful means of spreading knowledge among the Muhammadans will be the recognition and encouragement by the State of such associations as the Anjuman-i-Islam in Bombay and the Anjuman-i-Islamiya in Lahore; we therefore recommend (15) that associations for the promotion of Muhammadan education be recognised and encouraged. In order to secure the continuous attention of the Education Department to the subject of Muhammadan education and to prevent the claims of the Muhammadans for special treatment from being overlooked, we recommend (16) that in the annual Reports on Public Instruction a special section be devoted to Muhammadan education. In certain Provinces the backwardness of the Muhammadans in education has prevented them from obtaining any considerable share of appointments in the public service. But it has also been made a subject of complaint that even in places where qualified Muhammadans are available, their services are not duly utilised by Government officers; we therefore recommend (17) that the attention of Local Governments be invited to the question of the proportion in which patronage is distributed among educated Muhammadans and others.¹

18. Education of Muslims (1882-1902). These recommendations generally came to be accepted by the Central and Provincial Governments except in one important respect: The recommendations of the Commission had placed a rather undue emphasis on Oriental studies in order to please orthodox Muslim sentiments. The Government of India warned the Muslim community that, in its own interest, it should take more freely to English education. They wrote:—

It is only by frankly placing themselves in line with the Hindus, and taking full advantage of the Government system of high and especially of English education, that the Muhammadans can hope fairly to hold their own in respect of the better description of State appointments. The recommendations of the Commission are, as they themselves point out, not of universal application, and none of them need be taken to imply a leaning towards the maintenance of a distinctly Oriental training throughout the curriculum for Muhammadan pupils. The object of the Commission is to attract Muhammadan scholars by giving adequate prominence to those subjects to which their parents attach importance and to hold out special inducements to a backward class; but in applying the recommendations, due regard is everywhere to be paid to local circumstances, and care must be taken to avoid unnecessary widening of the line between Muhammadan and other classes of the community.¹

Subject to this qualification, most of the recommendations of the Commission were accepted by Government with the result that a period of steady expansion set in.

In 1901-02, the position of education among the Muslims had considerably improved, although it was still a little inferior to the general average as the details discussed below will show.

(a) *Literacy*:—Table No. I on page 412 which is based on the statistics of 1901 census, compares the number of Muslim literates with those in the general population; the comparison is unfavourable to the Muhammadan community: only 60 per mille of Muhammadan males were returned as literate against 102 per mille on the general population. Again, it is a remarkable feature of the social conditions of Muhammadan life in India that only three females in one thousand were returned as able to read and write. The actual state of Muhammadan male literacy is worst in the Punjab, Assam, the United Provinces, Bengal, and Bombay in the order named; and in all these provinces, except the United Provinces, the position among Muhammadans is also greatly inferior to that among the general population. In the United Provinces 52 per mille of the Muhammadans and 57 per mille of the general population were returned as literate. In Madras, the Central Provinces, Berar and Coorg the proportion of literates is higher among Muhammadans than among the general population, and the difference is most striking in the Central Provinces, where the relative proportion is greater than 3 to 1. The reason for this would seem to be that the Muhammadan population of the Central Provinces is mainly urban; the Director stated in his report for 1896-97 that Muhammadans formed 16 per cent of the

urban population. In the matter of female literacy Muhammadans are behind-hand in every province except Madras (where the proportion is the same in each case) and the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and Berar. Again the small Muhammadan population of the Central Provinces exhibit the most striking result—9 Muhammadan females per mille against 2 among the general population.¹

Table Nos. II and III on pages 412-13 give statistics of Muslim pupils under instruction. In 1901-02, there were 978,000 Muhammadans under instruction in all classes of institutions, a figure which gives 21·6 per cent on the total number of pupils of all creeds. This percentage is only slightly below the percentage of Muhammadans on the total population (22·6), whilst in each of the years 1886-87, 1891-92, and 1896-97 the pupils percentage was actually somewhat in excess of the population percentage. So far, therefore, there would seem to be no relative Muhammadan inferiority; but the census statistics show that there is in fact a marked inferiority, and the difference between the two results is due mainly to the inclusion of pupils in private institutions in the educational returns. Out of the total 978,000 Muhammadan pupils, 246,000 were in private institutions; and of those, again, 182,000 were in Koran schools To arrive at a reliable estimate of the present position and progress of Muhammadan education in India, it will be best to leave aside altogether the private pupils and to consider only the pupils of those institutions which are recognized by the Education Department.

Turning then to pupils under public instruction, it will be found that the percentage of Muhammadan pupils is only 18·8, whereas by population it should be 22·6. Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Berar, are the only provinces in which Muhammadans stand in advance of the general population; in the United Provinces the difference is not great, in Madras it is considerable, and in the Central Provinces it is very large. The results thus correspond fairly closely to the Census statistics.

It is not however so much with regard to the total number of pupils under public instruction as to the proportion in the higher stages of instruction that the backwardness of Muhammadans is most apparent. Whereas the percentage of Muhammadan pupils in public primary schools is 19·7, the percentage in secondary schools is only 14·4, in arts colleges only 7·3, and in professional colleges only 6·4. In other words whilst the primary school percentage is only one-seventh less than it should be, judged by the criterion of the general population, the Muhammadan pupils in secondary schools would require to be increased by more than 50 per cent and in arts colleges more than trebled, in order to bring them up to the general level. In schools for special education however the number of Muhammadans is proportionately greater than the number of the Hindus, amounting to 37 per cent. of the total.²

19. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-98). { No history of Muslim education in the nineteenth century can be complete without reference to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the founder of the Aligarh College, who did the same service to the social and educational improvement of the Muslims which, about half a century earlier, Raja Ram Mohan Roy had done to bring about a renaissance in the Hindu society of his days.

TABLE NO. I

Literacy

Province.	Literates Per 1,000.			
	Males.		Females.	
	Muham- madans.	General population.	Muham- madans.	General population.
Madras	140	119	9	9
Bombay	73	116	5	9
Bengal	68	104	2	5
United Provinces	52	57	3	2
Punjab & North-West Frontier	26	64	1	3
Burma	194	378	39	45
Central Provinces	177	54	9	2
Assam	44	67	2	4
Berar	114	85	8	3
Coorg	169	128	13	16
General	60	102	3	7

Pupils under instruction

TABLE NO. II

Year.	Public Institutions.	Private Institutions.	Total Institutions.	Percentage of Muham- madans in total population.
1881-82	..	..	17.8	19.1
1886-87	18.8	52.6	22.6	19.1
1891-92	19.2	47.9	23.0	21.8
1896-97	19.3	41.5	22.2	21.8
1901-02	18.8	38.7	21.6	22.6

TABLE NO. III

Province.	1901-02.	
	Muhammadans.	All classes.
Madras	19·5	12·9
Bombay	14·3	14·8
Bengal	10·2	13·5
United Provinces	5·5	5·1
Punjab	4·2	5·9
North-West Frontier	2·8	4·0
Burma	8·0	11·8
Central Provinces	21·9	8·0
Assam	8·2	11·7
Berar	23·8	12·8
Coorg	7·3	15·9
Average	8·9	10·8

Syed Ahmed Khan was born in Delhi in 1817 in an ancient, influential, and deeply religious family. According to the traditions of those days, he cultivated the study of Persian and Arabic and besides becoming a scholar of both he also obtained a thorough knowledge of the teachings of Islam. He did not, however, receive any regular schooling and was taught no English. Contrary to the expectations of his family, he refused to remain at the Court of the Moghul Emperor at Delhi and joined the service of the Company.

He began practically at the lowest rung of the ladder as a *Sheristadar* of the Sadr Court in Delhi; but by his sincerity, honesty, and ability, he rose quickly in his department. Particularly great was the service that he rendered to Government in 1857. Personally, he was responsible for saving the lives of some English officials; but what is of far greater importance, he wrote two valuable books on the subject. The first of these was entitled *The Causes of the Indian Mutiny* (1858). The book advocated the view that the 'Mutiny' was really a popular

upheaval due to a lack of understanding between the British Government and the people and suggested representation being given to Indians in the Viceroy's Executive Council. The second was entitled *The Loyal Mohammedans of India* (1860). In this book, Syed Ahmed strove

to rehabilitate the reputation of his co-religionists, whose share in the uprising, and the excesses which followed, had brought about their unpopularity in official circles. He gave examples of the valuable services which had been rendered by many Muslims, high and low, and of the rewards which they had received for their bravery and loyalty; he regretted the growing tendency to refrain from making any allusion, either in the press or from the public platform, to facts which were beyond dispute, and he regarded this tendency as a slur on his community. The Syed had reason to be proud of what staunch Muslims had done during those days of indescribable horror and it galled him that the authorities were reluctant to give credit where credit was due.¹

Unfortunately, neither of these books had any practical effect on contemporary events. But the incidents of 1857 made him think deeply on the social and educational condition of Muslims, the extent and causes of their backwardness, and the manner in which they might again be rejuvenated. As Farquhar observes :—

The Mutiny showed him, as by a flash of lightning, the frightful danger in which his community stood. He had early grasped the value of British rule in India and had thereby been led to believe that it would prove stable, in spite of any such storm as the Mutiny. He now saw clearly that the Muhammadans of India must absorb the science and education of the West and must also introduce social reform among themselves, or else fall into complete helplessness and ruin.²

Henceforward, the mission of his life was fixed: he would devote it to the spread of English education among the Muslims.

In 1866, Syed Ahmed was transferred to Aligarh which was to be the scene of all his great schemes. In 1869, he went to England with his two sons and returned in 1870 after an absence of about a year and a half. In 1876, he retired from service. Even while in service, however, he had already started to serve his community by trying to spread education in their midst. But retirement enabled him to redouble his efforts and from 1876 to his death which occurred in 1898, he was continuously busy in furthering the cause of Muslim education.

The situation that Syed Ahmed had to face was far from happy. He found that the Muslims of his generation were generally

content to dream of the past rather than live for the present or future. "The fatal shroud of self-complacency" he wrote, "is wrapt around the Mohammedan community; they remember the old folk-tales of their ancestors and think that there are none like themselves."¹ Secondly, he found that the well-to-do or upper class families among the Muslims had no love of English education. This was due to several reasons such as (1) impoverishment due to change of Government; (2) apathy; (3) lethargy of children brought up under a slack discipline or excessive comfort; (4) contempt for learning and clerical pursuits; (5) Non-inclusion of Arabic or Muslim philosophy in the curricula of modern schools and colleges; (6) the fear that English education might damage their faith; (7) non-observance of Muslim festivals in English schools, etc. As for the Muslim masses, he found them living in abject poverty and so absorbed in the mere struggle for existence as to be oblivious to all claims of education. Thirdly, he also found an appalling ignorance among Muslim women and a general disinclination among men to send them to public schools. Fourthly, he could easily see that, within the last half a century, the Hindus had stolen a fairly good march through English education while the Muslims were generally content to remain sullen, aloof, and unenterprising. It was this dark picture that he had to face and he had to make a conservative, apathetic and even hostile community, not only to realise the advantages of English education, but to assimilate it fast enough to make up for all the neglect in the past.

Syed Ahmed adopted several measures to achieve this object. He started a monthly periodical called *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* (Social Reformer) in which he preached the necessity and advantages of studying Western knowledge; his own life and conduct were always in accordance with his teachings and although he was most vehemently opposed by conservative opinion, he continued undaunted to preach his ideas; he founded the Muslim Educational Conference in 1886 (and also worked as its Secretary) and its annual sessions held in different parts of India created a good deal of awakening; but his greatest contribution was the establishment, in 1875, of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh which later on developed into the Muslim University.



It was to this institution that he gave the utmost of his life and it is a greater monument to his life of service than any other of his activities.

A side activity of Syed Ahmed was the writing of books on topics close to his heart. One of his earliest works was the *Archæological History of the Ruins of Delhi* on the strength of which he was elected an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. He studied the Bible and published three commentaries thereon. In 1870, he published his Essays on *the Life of Moham-med*. Two years later, he wrote a rejoinder to Dr. Hunter's book—*The Indian Musalmans*. He also wrote (but could not complete) a commentary on the Koran.

Recognition of his great work soon came from all quarters. In 1866, Lord Lawrence, the Viceroy, decorated him with a gold medal; while in England, he was cordially welcomed by the Secretary of State for India who presented him with a C.S.I.; and from 1878 to 1882, he was nominated a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. But of far greater importance is the tribute that history has paid to his life and work. It is now admitted that the renaissance in Indian Muslim life was due to him, rather than to any one else; that it was he who really started Muslim private enterprise in modern education; and that it was his life and teaching that were primarily responsible for creating the love of Western education among the Muslims. Probably the best tribute to Syed Ahmed was paid by a lifelong friend at his funeral when he said, "Other men have written books and founded colleges; but to arrest, as with a wall, the degeneration of a whole people, that is the work of a prophet,"¹ and the same idea is voiced by C. F. Andrews when he wrote, a few years later, "There are few more impressive facts in modern history than this conversion of a great people in a single generation by the steady pressure of higher education combined with the influence of a commanding personality."² Very few Indians have deserved or obtained so great a tribute.

20. Education of the Backward Classes prior to 1854. From this brief survey of Muslim education between 1854 and 1902, let us now turn to a very difficult aspect of Indian education in

which very little was achieved until recently, *viz.*, the education of the backward classes.¹

(a) *Education of the Backward Classes in the Indigenous Schools*: From the data available at present, it appears that very little provision, if any, for the education of the backward classes was made under the indigenous system. Munro's enquiries in Madras do not show the existence of any Harijan pupils but they contain some reference to pupils of *other backward castes*. Elphinstone's enquiries in Bombay showed no Harijan pupils in the indigenous schools. But there were a few pupils of other backward castes like Kolis, Berads, etc.—less than 1 per cent of the total number of pupils. No pupils of aboriginal or hill tribes are mentioned in any of these enquiries, and Adam's reports also do not mention them. But a very interesting thing about Adam's figures of elementary schools is that we find, not only pupils, but also teachers of the other backward castes; even Harijan pupils are specifically mentioned. Consider, for instance, the following extracts:—

(i) *Re: teachers in the District of Beerbhoom*: The Kalu, Sunri, Dhoba Malo, and Chandal, castes are of those that were generally deemed to be excluded from the benefits of instruction in letters; but the above enumeration shows that some individuals of those castes have even become instructors of others.²

(ii) *Re: pupils in the same District*: Another circumstance worthy of notice is the comparatively large number of scholars of the Kalu and Sunri castes, which are not only on religious grounds excluded from association with Brahmans, but, according to former custom and usage, were generally deemed unworthy of participating in the advantages of literary instruction even in the humblest forms. The appearance also of the Dom, Keot, Hari, and other low castes in the list of scholars, although in less numbers, affords, additional and still stronger illustrations of the increasing desire for instruction and of the unforced efforts to obtain it; for those castes are the lowest of the low, and were formerly as undesirous of instruction in letters as they were deemed unworthy of it. In the only Missionary school of this class in the district there are only two Hindu scholars, one of the Dom and the other of the Hari caste, from which

¹ The expression *backward classes* as used in this book denotes four groups of castes and communities. The first group is that of castes which have been traditionally regarded as *untouchable*. The very concept of untouchability, apart from other economic or social considerations, creates unique educational problems which deserve special notice. This group of castes has received various names at different periods—the *low castes*; the *untouchables*; the *Depressed* or *Oppressed* or *Suppressed* castes; the *Scheduled castes*; and lately the *Harijans*. We have used the word *Harijans* as the most convenient and widely accepted term to denote this group of castes although it is true that some sections of the public do not accept it. The second group consists of the *aboriginal and hill tribes* which are still in a very primitive form of culture and which mostly live, in utter poverty, in backward, climatically unsuitable, or forest areas. The third group is that of *other backward castes*, that is to say, some of the lower castes within the Hindu fold which are not actually untouchable but whose culture-pattern and traditions are such as to make them educationally very backward. The last is the group known as *Criminal tribes* which included several communities, often nomadic, which habitually indulged in crime

it will be seen that all the other scholars of low caste are found in schools of exclusively native origin and entirely under native management.¹

(iii) *Re : pupils in the District of Burdwan :* Compared with the preceding districts there is a much larger number of scholars, and all the castes, both high and low, partake of the increase. There are some low castes also which here appear for the first time as the Tior, Garar, and Mal castes. The number of scholars of low caste is so considerable that, without explanation, it might be supposed that they were chiefly found in the Missionary schools which are more numerous in this district than in any other I have visited, and which, of course, do not recognize distinctions of caste. The fact, however, is otherwise, for the number of scholars belonging to sixteen of the lowest castes amounts to 760, of whom only 86 are found in Missionary schools, and the remaining number in native schools. This fact appears to be of sufficient interest to be exhibited in detail.

	Kalu.	Sunri.	Bagdhi.	Dom.	Chandal.	Jalia.	Dhoba.	Muchi.	Hari.	Tior.	Lahiri.	Garar.	Kahar.	Mal.	Matiya.	Pashi.
13 Missionary Schools contain	33	20	21	3	1	..	5	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1
616 Native Schools contain	174	168	117	58	60	28	19	16	11	2	3	2	2	2	1	..

It thus appears that the proportion of scholars of these low castes in Missionary schools is high ; but the total number of the same castes in native schools is so considerable as to prove that other and independent causes are in operation, stimulating the humbler classes of native society to the improvement of their condition and to the attainment of those advantages, hitherto for the most part denied to them, that arise from a knowledge of letters.²

(iv) *Re : pupils in the District of South Behar :* The very low and degraded castes, as the Dosad, Pashi, Luniar, &c., are comparatively numerous, and have begun here also to seek a participation in the benefits of vernacular instruction.³

(v) *Re : pupils in the District of Tirhoot :* It will be seen from the list that the very low castes—as the Luniar, Mahla, Kairi, Dhanuk, Pashi, &c.—have here also begun to seek the advantages of instruction in the common schools.⁴

(vi) *Re : pupils in the city and District of Murshidabad :* This enumeration shows in what classes of Hindu society vernacular instruction is chiefly found, and in what classes it becomes increasingly deficient. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the latter, as compared with the former, are losing ground. The fact is quite the reverse : they are gaining ground, and are almost imperceptibly acquiring a sense of the value even of that humble instruction which is within their reach, but from which, by the customs of society, they were formerly almost wholly debarred. The time is not distant when it would have

¹ *Adam's Reports*, p. 237.

² *Ibid.* pp. 241-2.

been considered contrary to all the maxims of Hindu civilization that individuals of the Malo, Chandal, Kahar, Jalia, Lahari, Bagdhi, Dhoba, and Muchi castes should learn to read, write, and keep accounts ; and if some aged and venerable Brahman who has passed his life removed from European contamination were told that these low castes are now raising their aspirations so high, he would deplore it as one of the many proofs of the gross and increasing degeneracy of the age. The encroachment of these castes on the outskirts of learning is a spontaneous movement in native society, the effect of a strong foreign rule unshackled by native usages and prejudices, and protecting all in the enjoyment of equal rights.¹

It will be seen from the above extracts that the education of the lowest Hindu castes was being increasingly provided by the indigenous schools as early as 1838, although the movement was of recent origin and the total number of pupils so educated was extremely small. But such exceptions only prove the rule and it would be quite correct to say that the indigenous system of education made little provision for the education of the backward classes, although, should the demand arise, it was quite capable of doing so.

(b) *Education of the Backward Classes in the Official Schools :* Prior to 1854, the educational institutions of the Company also did not make any such provision, due mainly to the adoption of the Downward Filtration Theory which restricted the educational effort of the Company to the upper classes only.

(c) *Education of the Backward Classes in the Mission Schools :* This official neglect was, however, compensated for to some extent by the pioneer efforts of the missionaries to educate the backward classes in general, and the Harijans in particular. The singular contempt with which the caste Hindus treated the Harijans and their extremely low cultural and economic position attracted the missionaries who saw a bright future for proselytisation among them. They, therefore, took up the work of educating the Harijans and opened a few schools for them. While it is unnecessary to study in detail the history of the efforts made by individual missionary societies, it must be noted that by the time the Department of Education was established and its reports began to be published, the Missionary societies had already made some headway in the field of education of Harijans. It was also the same considerations that led the Missionaries a little later, to tackle the education of the aboriginal and hill tribes and the other backward castes.

To sum up, therefore, it may be stated that, in 1854, the official system made no provision for the education of the backward classes. It was provided for only in mission schools and to some extent in the indigenous schools. But the number of backward class pupils under instruction was insignificant in proportion to their population.

21. Education of the Harijans (1854-1902). The Despatch of 1854 gave a death-blow to the Downward Filtration Theory and ordered that more active efforts of the Government should be directed to the education of the masses. Accordingly, the Education Departments were called upon, soon after their creation, to tackle the problem of the education of the backward classes. We shall, for reasons of convenience, study the subsequent developments in the education of these classes under two heads: (a) the education of the Harijans (1854-1902) and (b) the education of the aboriginal and hill tribes (1854-1902) as it was only in these castes and communities that some educational progress was made by 1902.

Taking up the problem of the education of the Harijans it is necessary to realise the peculiar difficulties of the situation. The caste Hindus strongly objected to the admission of Harijan boys in the common schools, either on account of religious feeling or for fear of physical and moral contagion. Secondly, the desire for education hardly existed among the Harijans who had lived under the most abject social conditions for centuries. It was, therefore, an extremely difficult task even to persuade them to receive education. Thirdly, it was very difficult to secure suitable teachers. There were no educated persons among the Harijans who could be taken up as teachers, while the caste Hindus who had hardly any sympathy for these unfortunate classes did not generally succeed as teachers of Harijan pupils—even where they were willing to teach them. Such difficulties or combination of them did not exist in the case of any other social group with the result that the task of educating the Harijans became one of the most difficult problems in Indian education.

The Departmental officers had two alternatives for organising the education of the Harijans. The first, and apparently the easier way, was to open *separate or special schools* for them. Here the only problem was to find a suitable teacher and place and the

But the Government of India did not favour the proposal, presumably on the ground that separate schools tended to perpetuate, rather than diminish untouchability¹. The only course left open to the Department on the receipt of these orders was to throw open all its schools to the Harijan pupils. But this wholesome reform proved to be very difficult in practice. If a Harijan pupil was admitted to a government school, the caste Hindus raised a big protest and threatened to withdraw their own children—an event which would necessarily result in the closure of the school itself. On the other hand, to refuse admission to the Harijans was offending to the sense of justice and fair play of the Departmental officers. Fortunately, this dilemma did not arise often in practice because the Harijans themselves were not enthusiastic in seeking admission to the common schools. Nevertheless, they sometimes did seek admission, especially when incited by the missionaries to do so; and then arose a difficult situation in which the Department did not know whether to refuse admission to the Harijan pupil or to admit him at the risk of having to close down the school itself. One such historic case arose in 1856, when a Mahar boy applied for admission to the government school at Dharwar. The details are thus narrated in a Resolution of the Government of Bombay :—

The only case as yet brought before Government in which the question as to the admission of pupils of the lowest castes into Government schools has been raised, was that of a Mahar boy, on whose behalf a petition was submitted to Government in June 1856, complaining that though willing to pay the usual schooling fee, he had been denied admission to the Dharwar Government School. On this occasion Government felt that great practical difficulty which attended the adjudication of a question in which the general feeling of the mass of natives for whose enlightenment, to the greatest possible extent, the Government Educational Department has been established, and it was decided, though as will appear from the Resolution passed at the time with some hesitation that it would not be right for the sake of a single individual, the only Mahar who had ever yet come forward to beg for admission into a school attended only by pupils of caste, to force him into association with them, at the probable risk of making the institution practically useless to the great mass of natives. The proceedings of this Government in this matter were noticed in the following terms by the Government of India in a letter No. 111, dated 23rd January 1857 :—

‘ It appears that a boy of the Mahar caste applied for admission to the Government school at Dharwar, and was rejected on the ground of caste, and on that alone. Having appealed in vain to the authorities in the Education Department, he petitioned the Government. The Government referred his petition to the Director for report; and Mr. Erskine, though admitting that the petitioner has reason and justice on his side, begged that the practical question

might not be pushed to a decision immediately being apprehensive that the admission of low caste boys to the Government schools might do more harm than good. The Government acquiesced in the Director's views, and informed the petitioner that they could not at present interfere in his behalf. The Governor-General in Council thinks it very probable that the Bombay Government have acted wisely in this matter, but he desires me to say that the boy would not have been refused admission to any Government school in the Presidency of Bengal.¹

This comment of the Government of India awakened the Government of Bombay to a better realization of its duties. But the matter did not rest there. The case was considered to be of sufficient significance to be reported to the Court of Directors who passed the following orders :—

The educational institutions of Government are intended by us to be open to all classes, and we cannot depart from a principle which is essentially sound, and the maintenance of which is of the first importance. It is not impossible that, in some cases, the enforcement of the principle may be followed by a withdrawal of a portion of the scholars ; but it is sufficient to remark that those persons who object to its practical enforcement will be at liberty to withhold their contributions and apply their funds to the formation of schools on a different basis.²

This was a final and specific verdict so that, since 1857, the Departmental schools were thrown open, at least in theory, to all castes and communities, inclusive of the Harijans. It also closed the door, though only temporarily, against separate schools as well.

But practice differed from precept and it was not always possible for the Department to insist on the free admission of Harijan boys to all Government schools. The opposition of the higher castes to the admission of Harijan boys to a public school was often so strong that, even with the best will in the world, the Department could do very little in the matter. Not infrequently the caste Hindus opposed *indirectly*, and under social and economic threats, compelled the Harijan parents to withdraw their children from schools. In some cases, even the use of violence was reported. In a village in Kaira District, for instance, the insistence of Departmental officers to admit Harijan boys, coupled probably with the refusal of the Harijan parents to withdraw their children, " led to five of six large schools being closed for years, to the huts and crops of the Depressed class people being burnt in one village and to the imposition of a heavy punitive post on that village for two years ".³ Such instances

¹ Report of the D.P.I., Bombay, 1856-57, pp. 88-90.

² Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882, p. 117.

must have been commoner in actual practice than the records indicate, especially in the earlier days.

It was these bitter experiences that made Government reconsider its earlier decision and direct that separate schools for Harijans *may* be organised in certain cases. This policy had its obvious limitations. In the first place, it could be adopted only at the primary stage ; secondly, it could be put into effect only in towns or in villages where the Harijan population was substantially large. But even within these limitations, it could serve a useful purpose and was therefore adopted, though in a half-hearted manner, in some Provinces. The Indian Education Commission found that there were 16 special schools for Harijans in Bombay with 564 pupils and 4 in the Central Provinces with 111 pupils. In other words, the position in 1881-2 was doubly disadvantageous to the Harijans : On the one hand, they found several practical difficulties in getting admission to common schools which, in theory, were open to them. On the other hand, Government refused, as a matter of principle, to open special schools for them in large numbers although such a course might have helped them greatly as a transitional measure.

The Indian Education Commission was of opinion that the social and religious prejudices on the subject of untouchability were too strong to die quickly and recommended a policy of compromise and slow but persistent attack. It said :

It is impossible to overlook the objections which are felt to the association of low-caste children with those of other classes. The principle, however, of their right to receive education in the State schools has been asserted ; and at the present time, when the control over primary schools is likely to devolve less upon the Department and more upon numerous Local Fund and Municipal Boards scattered throughout the country, it is desirable to re-affirm that principle. We therefore recommend that the principle laid down in the Court of Directors' letter of May 5th, 1854, and again in their reply to the letter of the Government of India, dated May 20th, 1857, that no boy be refused admission to a Government college or school merely on the ground of caste, and repeated by the Secretary of State in 1863, be now re-affirmed as a principle, and be applied with due caution to every institution, not reserved for special races, which is wholly maintained at the cost of public funds, whether provincial, municipal, or local. We are fully alive to the fact that no principle, however sound, can be forced upon an unwilling society in defiance of their social and religious sentiments. But *all schools that are wholly maintained at the cost of public funds must be regarded as open to all taxpayers and to all classes of the community*, and if any of those classes object to association with the children who are assembled in the board, or municipal, or Government schools, they should be encouraged to set up a 'special school,' and apply for a grant-in-aid. In that way it is open to all

they may be compelled by the Legislature to contribute. The grant-in-aid rules afford them a sufficient remedy.

But even in the case of Government or board schools, the principle affirmed by us must be applied with caution. It is not desirable for masters or Inspectors to endeavour to force on a social change which, with judicious treatment, will gradually be accepted by society. If the low-caste community seek an entrance into the cess-school, their right must be firmly maintained, especially in the secondary institutions where there is no alternative of a special school for them to attend. It is however undesirable to urge them to claim a right about which they are themselves indifferent. Still less should the schoolmaster relax in their case those rules regarding decency of dress and conversation which should be enforced in every case. In order, however, to facilitate the public recognition of the claims of the lowest classes by evidence on their part that they desire education, and that they can conduct themselves with propriety at school, we consider that every encouragement should be given to special schools for the education of such classes. We therefore recommend that *the establishment of special schools or classes for children of low castes be liberally encouraged in places where there are a sufficient number of such children to form separate schools or classes, and where the schools already maintained from public funds do not sufficiently provide for their education.* In our discussions on this subject it was brought to our notice that in some parts of the Central Provinces and of Bombay, special objections were entertained by the rural communities to the instruction of low castes on the ground that education would advance them in life and induce them to seek emancipation from their present servile condition. It is therefore clear that in some parts of India at least this class of society requires special help, and we consider that such help can often be best afforded without giving offence to other castes by the establishment of special schools.¹

Between 1882 and 1902, a fair amount of progress was made in the education of the Harijans. This was due to several reasons. The policy of separate or special schools which was recommended by the Indian Education Commission came to be adopted more largely than before and did help, in several places, to spread education among the Harijans without encountering social opposition. Secondly, the firm policy of the Department in insisting that *all* public schools shall be open to *all* communities, began to show its valuable results in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Once the public realised that threats, direct or indirect, would not make the Government yield on the point, it slowly gave up its opposition and began to accept the presence of Harijan pupils in schools as an inevitable corollary of the *new education* which they so keenly desired. Thirdly, this change in public opinion was greatly facilitated by the social reorganisation undertaken by the nationalist leaders of this period. In the social reforms attempted by the educated intelligentsia of the Victorian Era, the removal of untouchability was an integral

item on the programme. Reference has already been made to the service of Mahatma Phule to this cause. Other nationalist leaders also took up the cause and began to preach the necessity of abolishing untouchability and ameliorating the condition of Harijans by spread of education in their midst. Particularly intensive efforts were made by the Bramho and Prarthana Samajes and the Arya Samaj movement refused to countenance untouchability altogether. As a sum total of all these movements and progressive teachings, the orthodox opposition to untouchability was considerably softened down by 1902. Fourthly, the Harijans themselves were now conscious of the necessity for education and had begun to demand it. Particularly in towns where they had an economic independence that was usually denied to them in villages, they came forward in larger numbers to receive education and to insist on their right of admission to common schools. Fifthly, some of the Provincial Governments adopted a liberal policy of encouragement to the education of Harijans—an event which had the most far-reaching consequences. In Madras, for instance, the Provincial Government issued a comprehensive Resolution in 1893 which was considered by Missionary and other philanthropic bodies as the *Magna Charta of Panchama¹ Education*. Its principal provisions were as follows :—

- (1) Panchama students in Training schools under public management should be given an additional stipend of Rs. 2 a month ;
- (2) Panchama students who seek admission into Training schools under private management should be granted the higher rates of stipendiary grants under the Grant-in-aid Code ;
- (3) Local Boards and Municipalities should be required to open special schools for these classes in all large Panchama villages and suburbs where such schools do not exist ;
- (4) Poramboke lands (i.e., Government waste) should be granted free as sites for Panchama schools ;
- (5) For Panchama pupils attending *salary results* schools stipends should be paid at the maximum rates ;
- (6) The night school system, which is eminently suited for the education of these and other labouring classes, should be specially developed and encouraged ;
- (7) *Results grants* for Panchama pupils in *results schools* should be paid at 50 per cent. in excess of the standard rates ; and

- (8) Refund of building grants should not be claimed, if the buildings have been used for school purposes for six years.¹

In addition to the above concessions, several Government scholarships for boys and girls were reserved for Harijan pupils on the results of the prescribed examinations; and a Training school for Harijan teachers was opened in Madras city. As can be anticipated, the results of the policy were commendable.

Nearly 3,000 schools chiefly intended for Panchamas were maintained in the year 1901-02, and all but 36 were classed as 'public' institutions. Of the public institutions, 425 were under Board or departmental management and 2,473 under private management. The majority of the private-managed schools belong to mission societies, and about two-thirds of them are aided. Almost all the schools are primary, there being only 6 secondary schools for boys and 8 for girls; among the primary schools only 20 are specially designed for girls, but many girls read in schools for boys. . . . All the special schools admit a considerable number of non-Panchama pupils, mostly Native Christians with a probable Panchama origin: also a certain number of Panchamas are to be found in colleges and schools not primarily intended for them. On the 31st March 1902 there were 44,150 Panchama boys and 8,328 Panchama girls under instruction; these figures give percentages of 15·7 and 2·6 respectively on the school age population, proportions which, having regard to the social position of the Panchama castes, compare not unfavourably with those for the general population (25·6 and 4·4).²

In Bombay also, Government followed a fairly liberal policy of encouragement to the education of the Harijans, although the methods employed were different from those in Madras. In the first place, the Government of Bombay did not emphasize the special school idea to the extent to which the Madras Government did, and only a few special schools were opened. On the other hand, greater emphasis was placed on admission of Harijan boys to common schools and considerable success was achieved. In so far as immediate results were concerned, therefore, Bombay did not have the same success as Madras. Moreover, the Harijan boys who were admitted to common schools had to suffer a good deal of humiliation. They generally had to sit apart from other pupils and did not share in the common activities of the school. There were several orthodox teachers who refused to touch them and corrected their exercises from a distance. When an occasion arose to punish a pupil, a special cane was kept for the purpose and one of the Harijan pupils was ordered to execute the punishment on the pupil concerned according to the instructions of the teacher! In the Board schools, for example, the only principle which was officially laid down was that the Harijan pupils "shall

be so placed that they shall have shelter from the sun, rain and cold, and they shall receive a due share of the teaching of the school".¹ But in spite of all this, the idea of common schools did great social and educational service in the long run and made a major contribution to the breaking down of untouchability.

It is unfortunate that the other Provinces did not take any keen interest in the problem. Except in Madras where vigorous steps were taken, particularly with the help of mission schools, the progress of education among these unfortunate people was, therefore, very slow. A few departmental or local authority special schools were started; attempts were made to admit the Harijan boys to common schools; some steps were taken to train teachers of these castes; and a few scholarships were instituted—this, in brief, is all that the official enterprise had done. Indian private enterprise had hardly been attracted to this field as yet. The only agency that did something worthwhile was that of the missionaries; but the problem was so vast that they could hardly cope with it single-handed.

22. Education of the Aboriginal and Hill Tribes (1854-1902).

Prior to 1882, very little had been done for the education of the aboriginal and hill tribes. The total population of these tribes was then estimated at $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions of which $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions were in Bengal and Assam, one million in Bombay, 2 millions in Central Provinces and Berar, and one million in the Indian States of Rajputana, Central India and Baroda. No data are available regarding the education of these tribes in the Indian states; but presumably very little, if anything, was being done there. Regarding the other areas which formed part of British India, the Indian Education Commission wrote:—

In *Bombay*, for several years the half-civilised hill tribes were not affected in any perceptible degree by the departmental schools, and in 1871-72 there were but 1,017 children of these tribes in the public primary schools, a number which in 1881-82 had risen only to 2,738 in all classes of schools, whether aided, inspected or departmental. This gives a percentage of only 1·9 of the aboriginal population of school-going age who were at primary schools. In *Bengal and Assam* the education of the aboriginal tribes has been partly taken up by the direct instrumentality of the State, but chiefly by the missionary societies with help and encouragement from Government. In 1880-81, there were 2,336 Santhals, 154 Paharias, 893 Khonds, 1,843 of the tribes inhabiting the Khasia and Jaintia hills, 339 Mughhs and Chukmas, and 7,513 Kols, at various schools in Bengal, yielding a total of 13,078 pupils at school, including 1,400 Christians. Of the 13,078 children of these races at school in that year, 464 (of whom 236

are Christians) were at secondary schools, 195 (of whom 179 are Christians) were at Normal schools, and 26 (Christians) at industrial schools. A special scheme for the education of the Santhals connected closely with their village organization, and under the control of the Department, has recently been sanctioned, but has not yet come into operation.... In 1881-82, the number of aboriginal pupils known to the Department in Bengal and Assam fell little short of 24,000. We have already mentioned the endeavours made by the Education Department in the *Central Provinces*, in concert with the Forest Officers, to institute an industrial school for the Korkus. For want of European superintendence the experiment proved unsuccessful, but the educational officers have not wholly neglected other means, and although their success has been small, still there were in 1881-82, 1,055 children of the aboriginal tribes at schools, or about 1 in 1,453 of their total number. Of the pupils 7 only were in middle schools. In the adjoining Province of the *Haidarabad Assigned Districts* not even an attempt appears to have been made to attract the hill tribes to school. This review shows that it is in Bengal that the greatest progress has been attained chiefly through the exertions of missionary societies. In Bombay the Department has secured some small success in primary education only; but whereas in the Gujarat Division 4 per thousand of the aboriginal races have learnt or are learning to read and write, in the Konkan one in two thousand, and in the Central and North-Eastern Divisions only one in a thousand of the aboriginal population are returned as either instructed or under instruction. In the other Provinces hardly even a beginning can be recorded. It is clear therefore that the efforts of Government have hitherto failed to give education to the aboriginal races of India, and that special measures are required to overcome the difficulties which surround the question.¹

The Indian Education Commission, therefore, made the following observations and proposals regarding the education of these backward people :—

(a) *Difficulties besetting the problem* : The general character of the aboriginal races, as classified according to the census returns adopted by us, is very distinct. Those who still avoid contact with the plains are the most difficult to deal with, as will appear from a description of the life which they lead. A few of them cultivate patches of the hill sides which they lay bare of timber and undergrowth, merely setting fire to the fellings and growing coarse grain in the ashes without any attempt to dig the soil. Others keep herds of cattle and buffaloes which they graze in the forests, living upon their milk, and exchanging what they do not require with other sections of the forest community for the grain which they grow. These herdsmen have little commerce with the plains. A few tribes live by industrial pursuits, smelting iron from the ores found in the laterite on the mountains, and producing the iron arrow points, the long sharp pointed spears and small axes which nearly every hill man carries with him not only for domestic purposes and for cutting wood, but also as a protection against wild beasts. A still larger section live by the chase, pursuing deer and even tigers and panthers with their rough weapons, shooting birds with the bow and arrow, not disdaining even squirrels, rats, and dead animals for their ordinary meals. All these tribes eat berries and roots, and the excessive mortality and sickness among them are often attributed to the unwholesome character of their ordinary food. Many of them fall victims to the attacks of wild beasts, to the bites of poisonous snakes, and to the constant malaria and fever to which the heavy rainfall gives rise. They are patient, inured to suffering, and naturally

truthful. But the most universal features in their character are their shyness and confirmed dislike of any settled occupation. Their poverty is extreme, and as they have little commerce with the villagers of the plain, and carry on their own simple transactions with each other by barter, there is no effective desire among them for the most elementary education. With them contact with the outer world must be the precursor of schools. Amidst such a population, separated as their settlements are by dense forests or steep mountains, the difficulties of pioneering education are extreme.¹

(b) *Recommendations*: Recognising these difficulties, we feel that advantage must be taken of every agency which can be employed in the task of instructing the aboriginal races. The work cannot in all cases be left until private bodies come forward to take it up. It is with the tribes living on the fringe of civilisation that the best chances of success are offered. If any schools are now situated near their settlements, special encouragement should be given to the instruction of aboriginal children in them. No fees should be charged. If a few boys of the hill tribes are thus brought under instruction, the educational agency, whether Government or other, may be able to push forward its schools within the territory of the tribes in question. This gradual measure will probably succeed better than the attempt to plant at once a system of schools within their territories before they have learnt the meaning of education or become accustomed to the notion of schools. At the same time, if any private agency is prepared to go into the midst of the tribes and to offer them education, we think that it should be liberally aided in carrying out its object. Experience has shown the necessity for sympathy with these simple forest people; and their improvement offers a special field for missionary and other philanthropic activity. It is also desirable that they should be supplied with school-masters of their own race, who might be trained for a short period in our Normal schools. The subjects taught must be of the most elementary character. If any tribe possesses a vernacular of its own which has been reduced to writing, we would not discourage its use; but we believe that it will often be more beneficial to the interests of the aborigines that they should be brought to adopt the vernacular of their civilised neighbours. With them a practical education will be that which will help to remove their isolation and bring them into commerce with their neighbours.²

(c) *The Problem of Language*: The last of these recommendations deserves a little elucidation. The aboriginal and hill-tribes mostly speak dialects of their own and the question arose whether they should be taught through these dialects or through the language of the neighbouring Hindu population. One view of the problem, which was generally held by the missionaries, was that at least some of these major dialects should be reduced to writing (with the help of the Roman alphabet) and used as media of instruction. For instance, Mr. Cust, the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, argued, in his evidence before the Indian Education Commission, against the injustice of effacing Gondi from the languages of the world, and considered it even an advantage that the language had not been reduced to

writing, on the ground that it would more easily adopt a modified form of the Roman alphabet. He denied that the language of the Gonds was a *barbarous language* and said :

It is not pretended that the language of the few hundreds of a broken tribe in the lowest stage of nomadic absence of culture, like the Juang, is to be preserved, but where there is a population counting by hundreds of thousands, given to agriculture, settled in villages, living decent domestic honest lives, it is impossible to deny to them schools in their own vulgar tongue if you give them schools at all.¹

He was supported by the Rev. A. Campbell who, in a paper placed before the Commission, pleaded in favour of the claims of the vernaculars of the Santhal tribes being used as the medium of instruction in primary schools. On the other hand, the officers of the Department opposed these proposals. As the Indian Education Commission observes :

The Inspector-General of Education in the Central Provinces, has, however, placed a paper before us in which he argues that as the Gonds and others have become mixed with their Hindu neighbours, they have adopted their dialect, and that it is better for the Education Department to recognise that fact. He insists on the fact that the Gond of one District speaks a language unintelligible to the Gond of another District. He also quotes the evidence given by Major Doveton, Conservator of Forests, who stated that of the great number of Gonds with whom he had come in contact, he could not recall one whose knowledge of language was confined to Gondi. Major Doveton thought that to the Gond, Gondi was wholly unprofitable. The Inspector-General of Education sums up his argument as follows:—‘When we are asked to introduce Gondi into our schools, we are asked to reduce that language to writing, to master various dialects that are day by day undergoing change, and losing their distinctive character, and actually to create a literature.’²

The Indian Education Commission carefully considered these conflicting claims and made four recommendations :—(a) Where it is practicable, an attempt should be made to educate the aboriginals through their own dialect ; (b) Where a dialect is so used as a medium of instruction, the language of the neighbouring population should also be taught as an additional subject in the upper standards ; (c) Every attempt to develop a dialect of the aboriginals into a regular *language* should be encouraged ; and (d) The language of the neighbouring population should be used as a medium of instruction only where their dialect is not reduced to writing or is otherwise unsuitable. It said :

We cannot approve of the suggestion that has been made for using the Roman character in giving education in the aboriginal dialects. For unless the larger Indian communities can be induced to adopt that character, it would not

be expedient to perpetuate the isolation of the aborigines by teaching them an alphabet as foreign to their neighbours as to them. But we are not prepared to view the question of language in the light in which it has appeared to the Department in the Central Provinces. In order to reach the minds of the aboriginal races it will be necessary, we think, to teach them in their mother tongue. In the upper classes of the school, the vernacular of the District may with advantage be taught. For although a foreign language should not be forced upon any tribe, and certainly not as a means of primary education, still it is desirable, in the best interests of most aboriginal races, that they should be enabled to associate and deal on equal terms with the neighbouring population. Where any vernacular retains independent vitality and can be reduced to writing, we think that efforts should be made to recognise it. Where the aborigines have already adopted a Hindu language, we would give instruction in that tongue and not endeavour to go back from a change which is beneficial to them. But in many cases a change is going on, and in such cases we would commence with the aboriginal dialect spoken and gradually advance to the study of that vernacular which is in course of adoption. A wide discretion may be left to local authorities but we are convinced that greater efforts are required, and that the task of educating the aboriginal races, difficult as it is, should no longer be neglected. Much may be done by the Department, and more by private effort liberally aided and encouraged. We think that Government should freely aid and cordially recognise any efforts made by Missionaries or others to reduce the speech of the aboriginal races to writing, and to compile grammars and vocabularies of the numerous non-Aryan languages throughout India.¹

Some progress in the education of the aboriginal and hill tribes was made between 1882 and 1902. The usual methods adopted were (a) establishment of special schools; (b) grant of special privileges to encourage the attendance of aboriginal children in ordinary schools located near their settlements; (c) exemption from fees; (d) award of scholarships; (e) special facilities for training aboriginal teachers; and (f) special and liberal grants to private agencies engaged in the work. But even so, the progress made was far from satisfactory as the following statistics for 1901-02 will show:—

Province.	No. of Pupils.	Number of Literates per 1,000.	
		Males.	Females.
Madras	4,534	47	1
Bombay	7,663	105	2
Bengal	30,203	89	4
Central Provinces ..	2,980	40	2
Assam	16,094	89	13
Berar	296	18	2

Leaving aside Burma, where the conditions differ greatly from those which prevail in India, the proportion of males of the animistic religion who can read and write varies from 105 in 10,000 in Bombay to only 18 in 10,000 in Berar. In Bengal and Assam the corresponding figure is 89, and in Madras and the Central Provinces 47 and 40, respectively. Thirteen aboriginal females per 10,000 can read and write in Assam, and 4 per 10,000 in Bengal ; in no other province does the proportion exceed 2 in 10,000.

Unsatisfactory as these figures are, they would be far worse but for the education given in the mission schools. It is among the aboriginal races that the missionaries have found the most fruitful field for their labours, and numerous mission societies send their agents to dwell among the homes of these wild tribes, where they supply an educational organization, which it would not be possible to create in any other manner. Chota Nagpur, the Santhal Parganas, Madras, and the hills of Burma and Assam are the localities which have formed the chief theatre of mission labour.¹

23. Education in Indian States (1854-1902). So far, we have traced the history of education in British India which was only two-thirds of India as a whole. The remaining one-third was divided into 700 and odd States which were ruled over by Indian potentates. They varied in size, population and revenue from Hyderabad which was equal to a major British Indian Province to a small State with an area of 1 sq. mile and a revenue of less than a couple of hundred rupees. A detailed history of the educational developments in *all* these States is neither possible nor necessary, and is obviously beyond the scope of this work. We shall, however, state here a few broad features of the educational developments in Indian States during the Victorian Era.

Prior to 1854, the Indian States were hardly influenced by the system of modern education that was being built up in the Company's dominions. But very soon, the situation began to alter. An indigenous system of education, similar to that which existed in British India and which has already been described in Chapter I did exist in all these States ; but it began to be felt as inadequate to meet modern needs, and the rulers as well as the people of Indian States began to desire English education of the type that was then being given in British India. Moreover, the social and economic life of British India was integrally connected with that in Indian States and it was, therefore, inevitable that the reverberations of the renaissance in British India should reach the Indian States as well. Educational institutions of the modern type began, therefore, to make their appearance in Indian States also soon after 1854. Many were started by the rulers

themselves ; but several others owed their existence to private enterprise of the people.

Apart from this social interaction or imitation, two other administrative reasons helped the development of modern education in Indian States. In the first place, some of the States had often to be put under the rule of British officers, particularly during the minorities of their rulers. This gave the British power, which ordinarily did not interfere in the internal affairs of the States, an opportunity to provide directly for the people. History shows that such occasions were fully utilised by the British authorities and the progressive character of some Indian States was due, in a large measure, to the long periods of minorities they had. Secondly, some of the Indian States, particularly the larger ones, desired to model their administrations on the British pattern and for that purpose, often requisitioned the services either of British officers or of capable educated Indians who had some experience of British administration. Some of the persons so employed were men of great capacity and vision and laid the foundation of modern education in the areas under their charge.

As a rule, it may be stated that the Indian States came late in the field, progressed at a slower rate, and were on the whole far more backward in education in 1901-02 than British India proper. The reasons were (a) general lack of the spirit of service among the rulers ; (b) inadequate resources due either to want of development or adequate taxation ; (c) excessive expenditure on the personal establishment of the princes which left little money for nation-building activities ; and (d) general want of awakening among the States' people. But there were a few notable exceptions to this general rule. Some of the Indian princes were exceptionally great men who set up administrations whose tone and character was even superior to that of British India itself. A typical ruler of this type was Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar of Baroda who introduced compulsory primary education in his State as early as in 1893. But these exceptions were far too few and even the glorious achievements of some of the States did not lessen the general picture of backwardness which *Indian India* presented at the end of the nineteenth century.

24. The End of the Victorian Era. We have now completed

Victorian Era. Superficially at any rate, the picture presented by the situation was satisfactory and both the British officials and the people had reason to be proud of their achievements. "Education in India under the British Government," says Howell, "was first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, then conducted on a system now universally admitted to be erroneous and finally placed on its present footing."¹ By this *final placing* of the educational system on its *present footing* Howell refers to the ideals and methods advocated in the Despatch of 1854 which practically dominated the situation till 1901-02. As compared to the controversies and vacillations of the period before 1854, the achievements of the new educational system during the Victorian Era were undoubtedly good. The indigenous system was dead no doubt ; but that bothered nobody and hardly any tears were wasted upon its disappearance. On the other hand, people could see a large expansion of English schools and colleges ; the establishment of a fairly large network of primary schools which were qualitatively superior to the indigenous schools ; the beginning of an Indian press and a renaissance in Indian life ; the birth of a new literature in the modern Indian languages ; the slow but steady progress in such difficult aspects of the problem as the education of women, of the Harijans, and of the aboriginal and hill tribes ; the entry of Muslims in the modern type of schools. Even the Indian States had been stirred to activity and were generally following, although at a respectable distance, the lead given by British India. Official schools had multiplied considerably but several times greater had been the increase in schools and colleges of the modern type conducted by Indians themselves. On the whole, therefore, both the officials and the people had good reasons to be proud of their work and to look to the past with a feeling of satisfaction and achievement ; and that is precisely what they generally did. This does not of course mean that there were no causes for complaint or suggestions of reform. Both of these existed in plenty ; but the general feeling was that the principles and policies adopted so far were broadly sound and all that was needed was merely a question of time and funds.

Little did the complacent officials or non-officials of this period realise that they were sitting on a volcano. Under the

surface of general satisfaction and well-being, a regular storm had been brewing for some years past. Some officials and non-officials alike had begun to question the validity of policies which had been accepted as fundamental and worked upon with zest for more than half a century. The officials were disturbed by the growing political unrest which they attributed exclusively to modern education ; Indians, on the other hand, were beginning to be worried by the slow progress of education and the manner in which India was losing her ground in the comity of nations. Both sides desired a change—although for entirely different reasons and in entirely different directions. So long as the *status quo* was being maintained, however, criticism was less active. But as soon as Lord Curzon broached the question of educational reconstruction in 1901, all the underground differences of opinion came to the surface, a storm of controversies burst forth with unprecedented violence resulting in titanic conflicts over certain educational issues. This struggle between the official and non-official view-points continued for nearly two decades and was only partially closed in 1921 with the transfer of control of education to elected Indian ministers. The history of this phase of the educational history of India, however, will be dealt with in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER NINE

LORD CURZON

(1898-1905)

1. General Features of the Period (1902-21). The period of about twenty years between the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission in 1902 and the transfer of education to Indian control in 1921 forms the fourth period in the history of modern Indian education. As compared with the Victorian Era, it presents several distinctive features among which may be mentioned (a) larger finances, (b) the more active role assumed by the State in education, (c) vigorous attempts at qualitative improvement made in all types of educational institutions, (d) unprecedented expansion in almost all branches of education, and (e) the growth of a militant nationalism among the people. Each of these features is so important and unique that it deserves some detailed examination.

(a) *Larger Finances Available for Education* : The Victorian Era, as we have seen, was a period of general financial stringency. But between 1902 and 1921, education had the good fortune to obtain much larger finances than it ever did in the earlier period. This was due to several reasons. Firstly, a good and stable system of financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments existed throughout the period.) Reference has already been made, in Chap. V, section 2, to the system of apportioning the total revenue of the country between the Central and Provincial Governments introduced in 1882-83. Under this system, certain heads of revenue (called *Central*) were assigned exclusively to the Centre, certain other heads (called *Provincial*) were assigned to the Provinces and the remaining heads (called *Divided*) were shared in an agreed ratio between the Centre and the Provinces. These arrangements were generally known as *contract grants* and were revised quinquennially in 1887, 1892 and 1897. The system generally worked well; but its main drawback was its uncertainty and the periodical bickerings created at each renewal of the settlement. In order to put an end to this, the contracts were revised by Lord Curzon in 1904 and declared to be *quasi-permanent*, i.e. not liable to be changed

except in a grave emergency and in 1912, they were declared as *permanent*. These stable arrangements encouraged better collection of revenue and greater vigilance in expenditure with the result that the resources of the Central and Provincial Governments improved considerably and enabled them to provide larger finances for education.

The second source of additional finance was that of *Central Grants to Education*. This was a period of boom in world finance and India shared in the general prosperity. Trade and commerce increased considerably and led to a great increase in Central revenues—an event which, in its turn, led to substantial surpluses in the central budgets. Between 1902 and 1921, there were only six deficit years (three of these, *viz.*, 1918-19 to 1920-21, were the years immediately following the First World War when the finances of Government were a little embarrassed) while in several years, the surpluses were very large. The Government of India allocated a part of these surpluses to the Provincial Governments for expenditure on education. All such allocations were over and above the *contract* grants and were in the nature of windfalls. The earliest of these grants were sanctioned by Lord Curzon and the policy was kept up by his successors. The magnitude of these grants can be seen from the following table in which all Central Grants to Education (over and above the contracts) are given :—

S. No.	Year.	Amount.	Purpose.
1.	1902	Rs. 40 lakhs recurring	General grant for education.
2.	1904-05	Rs. 5 lakhs recurring	Universities and colleges.
3.	1904-05	Rs. 2½ lakhs recurring	European education.
4.	1904-05	Rs. 2½ lakhs recurring	Technical education.
5.	1904-05	Rs. 35 lakhs recurring	Primary education.
6.	1910-11	Rs. 93 lakhs non-recurring	General grant.
7.	1912-13	Rs. 60 lakhs recurring	Primary education (50 lakhs) and higher education (10 lakhs).
8.	1912-13	Rs. 387·18 lakhs non-recurring	General grant.
9.	1913-14	Rs. 55 lakhs recurring	General grant for education.
10.	1913-14	Rs. 95 thousand non-recurring	.....
11.	1914-15	Rs. 9 lakhs recurring	General grant for education.
12.	1914-15	Rs. 12·25 lakhs non-recurring	This includes Rs. 10 lakhs for hostels of Calcutta University.
13.	1917-18	Rs. 30 lakhs recurring	Training of teachers and improvement of their pay.

It would be quite correct to say that such large *Central Grants* have been unknown in the history of Indian education, either before or since. These grants, more than any other single factor, were responsible for the great expansion and improvement of education that was now brought about ; and it is these grants which distinguish this period so pleasantly from the earlier one of financial stringency.

The third reason for the larger finances that became available for education during this period was an all round improvement in Provincial, local and private contributions to education. The finances of the Provincial Governments improved and hence they increased their contributions to education ; the local boards and municipalities also shared in the general prosperity and assigned larger grants to education than before ; the increase in the number of students (coupled, in some cases, with increases in fee rates) brought in a much larger income from fees ; and the general awakening among the people was responsible for increasing the receipts under the miscellaneous head *endowments, donations, subscriptions, etc.*

It will thus be seen that this was a period when the total finance available for education increased very considerably. In round figures, the total expenditure on education from all sources, public or private, which was Rs. 401 lakhs only in 1901-02 increased to Rs. 1,837 lakhs in 1921-22.

(b) *More Active Role of the State* : Another distinctive feature of this period was the more active role assumed by the State. Prior to 1902, as shown in Chapter V, the State played only a minor role in education, the doctrine of State-withdrawal from direct educational enterprise held the field, and the State did little more than pay grant-in-aid to private institutions and, in return, exercise some kind of a control over them. This picture was entirely changed between 1902 and 1921. Under the lead given by Lord Curzon, the doctrine of State-withdrawal was officially abandoned and it was held to be the duty of the State to maintain a few institutions of every type as *models* to private enterprise ; the inspecting staff was strengthened and a vigilant policy of inspection and supervision of private schools was adopted in lieu of the old policy of *laissez-faire*. The details of this important change will be described in later sections ; but it is

the State began not only to play a more active role in education than it did in the past but also to claim the right to control private enterprise as rigidly as possible.

This change was due to several causes. The first was, as usual, the influence from England where the State had under the Balfour Act of 1902 begun to control private enterprise in elementary education more thoroughly than in the past. Secondly, the attempts made in England at this time to improve the quality of education made the Departmental Officials in India feel that they too should make similar attempts and control private enterprise more strictly with a view to raising the standards. Thirdly, the growing political consciousness among the educated people made the British officials feel a little concerned. They had hoped that the men and women who came out of English schools and colleges would ever remain grateful and loyal to England for her services to India. But what they now found was that the average educated man became a discontented critic of British rule. This is not what they had bargained for and many of them adopted a panicky attitude towards these results and began to assert that the whole scheme of English education in India was wrong. As Lord Curzon observed :—

There exists a powerful school of opinion which does not hide its conviction that the experiment (*i.e.* of English education in India) was a mistake, and that its result has been disaster. When Erasmus was reproached with having laid the egg from which came forth the Reformation, 'Yes,' he replied; 'but I laid a hen's egg, and Luther has hatched a fighting cock.' This, I believe, is pretty much the view of a good many of the critics of English education in India. They think that it has given birth to a tone of mind and to a type of character that is ill-regulated, averse from discipline, discontented, and in some cases actually disloyal.¹

Those who subscribed to this view argued that private schools, especially those under Indian managements, were breeding sedition. They suggested, therefore, that Government should control them rigidly and improve their corporate discipline and the *character* of their students.

The desire for exercising greater control over private enterprise and to provide a more active role to the State in education was, therefore, only partly educational but mainly political. And for that very reason, it was vehemently opposed by all sections of nationalist Indian opinion. They really wanted the right to control educational policies; but if this were not to be

had, they preferred to have a more or less incipient Department to one that was extremely active. If one had to be ruled over by an alien, a *king log*, they felt, was to be certainly preferred to *king stork*. But the officials of this period tried to increase departmental control on the one hand and to make it more bureaucratic and less amenable to Indian opinion on the other. As Shri. G. K. Gokhale put it, the official attempt to control private enterprise on the grounds of efficiency and *without* taking the educated Indians into confidence was aimed at perpetuating the *narrow, bigoted, and inexpansive rule of experts*. A conflict thus ensued between Government and the educated public. Government claimed the right to control all education rigidly in the interests of the people and on grounds of efficiency. The Indian public opinion, on the other ~~hand~~, resisted the attempt at control on political grounds. It did not object to the more active role demanded of the State. But it claimed that such a change in the *role* of the State cannot be allowed unless and until the *character* of the State itself was changed from a bureaucracy to a democracy. As was only to be expected, the people ultimately won and in 1921, the control of the Education Departments in the Provinces was transferred to Indian ministers; and with this transfer, the long drawn out battle over the control issue lost its political character.

(c) *Efforts at Qualitative Improvements*: Between 1854 and 1902, the principal objective of educational policy had been expansion rather than improvement. It is true that several reforms and improvements had been carried out in these years; but they were always subordinate to the drive to increase the numbers and the assumption of official policy always was that *some* school was better than *no* school. But this outlook was entirely changed in the period 1902-21, the initiative in the matter again having been taken by Lord Curzon. It was now pointed out, on a survey of the educational results of the period between 1854 and 1902 that, during those years, education had not materially advanced in quantity but had definitely deteriorated in quality. As Lord Curzon observed:—

As soon as I looked about me, but little investigation was required to show, in the words of a familiar quotation, that there was something rotten in the State of Denmark. For years education in India had been muddling along, with no one to look after it at headquarters or to observe its symptoms, till the men who had given up their lives to it were sick at heart and well-nigh in despair. It was

task ; it was not that any class, European or Indian, was indifferent to its claims, for I believe that in India there is a genuine passion for education among all classes ; it was not that there had been deliberate or conscious neglect. But there was a deplorable lack of co-ordination ; there was a vagueness as to fundamental principles ; slackness had crept in, standards had depreciated, and what was wanting was the impulse and movement of a new life.

What was the state of affairs that we had to redress ? I will try to summarise it. As regards Primary or Elementary Education, *i.e.*, education of the children of the masses in the vernaculars, the figures which appeared in the Resolution were sufficiently significant. Four out of every five Indian villages were found to be without a school ; three out of every four Indian boys grow up without any education ; only one Indian girl in every forty attends any kind of school. These figures are of course less appalling in a continent of the size, the vast population, the national characteristics, and the present state of advancement of India than they would be in any Western country ; but they are important as illustrating, if not the inadequacy of past efforts, at any rate the immensity of the field that remains to be conquered. We found Primary Education suffering from divergence of views as to its elementary functions and courses, and languishing nearly everywhere for want of funds. In Secondary Education we found schools receiving the privilege of recognition upon most inadequate tests, and untrained and incompetent teachers imparting a course of instruction devoid of life to pupils subjected to a pressure of examinations that encroached upon their out-of-school hours, and was already beginning to sap the brain power as well as the physical strength of the rising generation. Inferior teaching in Secondary Schools further has this deleterious effect, that it reacts upon College work, and affects the whole course of University instruction, of which it is the basis and starting-point. We found these schools in many cases accommodated in wretched buildings, and possessing no provision for the boarding of the pupils. As regards the vernaculars, which must for long be the sole instrument for the diffusion of knowledge among all except a small minority of the Indian people, we found them in danger of being neglected in the pursuit of English, and in many cases very bad English, for the sake of its mercantile value. By all means let English be taught to those who are qualified to learn it ; but let it rest upon a solid foundation of the indigenous languages, for no people will ever use another tongue with advantage that cannot first use its own with ease.

But in Higher Education the position was still worse ; for here it was not a question so much of a blank sheet in the education of the community as of a page scribbled over with all sorts of writing, some of it well formed and good, but much of it distorted and wrong. We found in some of the affiliated Colleges a low standard of teaching and a lower of learning ; ill-paid and insufficient teachers, pupils crowded together in insanitary buildings, the cutting down of fees in the interests of an evil commercial competition, and management on unsound principles. Finally, coming to the Universities, we found courses of study and a system of tests which were lowering the quality, while steadily increasing the volume of the human output, students driven like sheep from lecture-room to lecture-room and examination to examination, text-books badly chosen, degrees pursued for their commercial value, the Senates with overswollen numbers, selected on almost every principle but that of educational fitness, the Syndicates devoid of statutory powers—a huge system of active but often misdirected effort, over which, like some evil phantom, seemed to hover the monstrous and maleficent spirit of Cram.

we had to correct the worst even more than to stimulate the best, and like a doctor it was our duty to diagnose the unsound parts of the body rather than to busy ourselves with the sound. Moreover, there were some faults that were equally patent everywhere. It is recorded of the Emperor Aurangzeb, after he had seized the throne of the Moghul Empire, that he publicly abused his old tutor for not having prepared him properly for those great responsibilities. "Thus," he said, "did you waste the precious hours of my youth in the dry, unprofitable, and never-ending task of learning words." That is exactly the fault that we found with every phase of Indian Education as we examined it. Everywhere it was words that were being studied, not ideas. The grain was being spilled and squandered, while the husks were being devoured. I remember a passage in the writings of Herbert Spencer in which he says that to prepare us for complete living is the true function of education. That is a conception which is perhaps as yet beyond the reach of the majority of those whom we are trying to educate in this country. But in the rut into which it had sunk, I doubt if European Education in India, as we were conducting it, could be described as a preparation for living at all, except in the purely materialistic sense, where unhappily it was too true. But of real living, the life of the intellect, the character, the soul, I fear that the glimpses that were obtainable were rare and dim.¹

It was this analysis of the educational position that made Lord Curzon start a drive for qualitative reform. It is true that Curzon did try to expand primary education. But even here he emphasized certain qualitative improvements and was not prepared to accept the principle of compulsory education which the Indian people had begun to demand. At the secondary and collegiate stage, Indian opinion demanded the widest possible expansion on voluntary basis; but here Curzon definitely preferred to curtail numbers and improve quality. On the whole, therefore, the official view, as represented here by Lord Curzon, stood for quality rather than for quantity. This brought it into direct conflict with Indian public opinion; but neither Lord Curzon and his successors nor the officers of the I.E.S. who really ruled the Education Department thought it necessary or worth their while to conciliate Indian public opinion. They pursued their own policy relentlessly in the teeth of opposition, a justification of which is probably best given in the following words of Lord Curzon :—

Now I know that a proposal to raise the standard anywhere is not popular. Every pupil wants to go forward; every College desires to send up as many as possible of its students; every teacher is personally concerned in pushing on his pupils. No one wants to discourage the Colleges which are engaged in a most momentous and uphill work, or to dishearten and retard the boys. So much we may all concede. But my gorge is disposed to rise when I read in respectable papers that it does not matter whether the standard is high or low, and when I am invited, as I was on the occasion of the death of the late Queen Victoria, to

commemorate her name by lowering the standard all round. Only the other day I read an argument that, because at some of the less influential Oxford or Cambridge Colleges the matriculation standard is low, therefore, it does not matter how low it is here. There is not the remotest analogy between the two cases. An undergraduate does not pass those examinations in England as a test for the public service; and he goes to a College in many cases less for the sake of the academic standards to which he is required to conform than of the social and moral influences which result from a University career, and which are entirely lacking in this country.

We must regard the matter not from these low or selfish stand-points, but in the higher interests of education at large. A system, the standards of which are in danger of being degraded, is a system that must sooner or later decline. We do not want to close the doors of the Colleges, or to reduce the number of their pupils. It is quality, not quantity, that we should have in view. Whether this danger is a serious one, and how far it is desirable to meet it by increasing the length of the school courses, or by fixing a limit of age for the Entrance Examinations, or by raising the percentage of marks required for a pass, are matters upon which I shall take your opinion. But let the criterion of our action, and also of the public attitude upon this matter, be not the sordid one of self-interest, but the welfare of education as a whole, and the advancement of the future generations of our people.¹

The ideas of Lord Curzon quoted above were adopted even by his successors so that qualitative improvement became a slogan, not only of Curzon's administration, but of the educational administration in the period as a whole. The battle between quantity and quality was first fought at the university stage between 1902-05; then at the secondary stage between 1904-08; and finally at the primary stage between 1910-13. In all these fights, Indian public opinion lost and the officials won. But these very victories led to an embitterment of feeling between officials and non-officials, to an intensification of the Indian demand to control all educational policies and finally, after the transfer of education to Indian control, to the elimination of the I.E.S. itself.

(d) *Unprecedented Expansion of Education*: In spite of this official predilection for quality, there was an all round and unprecedented expansion of education in all branches between 1901-02 and 1921-22 (*vide* statistics of the progress of education given on p. 444).

This rapid expansion which originated under the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, was due to several causes. The most important of these were the great social and political awakening that was now created in the country as a result of the struggle for freedom,

Progress of Education between 1901-02 and 1921-22

Type of Institution.	No. of Institutions.		No. of Scholars.	
	1901-02	1921-22	1901-02	1921-22
1. Universities ..	5	10	Figures not available	Figures not available
2. Arts Colleges ..	145	165	17,651	45,418
3. Professional Colleges ..	46	64	5,358	13,662
4. Secondary Schools ..	5,493	7,530	6,22,768	11,06,803
5. Primary Schools	97,854	155,017	32,04,336	61,09,752
6. Special Schools ..	1,084	3,344	36,380	120,925
Total for Recognised Institutions ..	1,04,627	166,130	38,86,493	73,96,560
7. Unrecognised Institutions ..	43,081	16,322	6,35,407	422,165
Grand Total ..	1,47,708	182,452	45,21,900	78,18,725

N.B.—The figures of 1901-02 include figures for Burma and some Indian States, while the figures of 1921-22 are for British India only exclusive of Burma.

and the large financial resources that now became available for education. The improvement in quality was mainly an official achievement ; but expansion was achieved by Indian enterprise, sometimes with official support (particularly at the primary stage) but more often in defiance of their controls and even sabotage.

(e) *The Growth of a Militant Nationalism among the People :* As shown in Chapter V, the spirit of nationalism was slowly growing between 1885 and 1902 under a surface of general loyalty to British Rule and was about to burst into a storm at the close of the nineteenth century. The Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon provided the immediate cause for this outburst. With all his great intellectual powers, infinite capacity for work, strong sense of duty, intense desire to serve the people of India and magnificent achievements in almost all fields of administration Curzon

nevertheless blundered into wounding the educated intelligentsia beyond hope of reconciliation. The reasons are not far to seek. He had a bad satirical vein and often spoke and wrote in a way that hurt the susceptibilities of people. For instance, he advocated the introduction of kindergarten methods and object lessons in primary schools as specially calculated 'to correct some of the *inherent* defects of the *Indian intellect*!' ¹ In his Convocation Addresses at the Calcutta University, 1902 and 1905, he made several such offending remarks of which the following are brief but typical examples :—

What are the chief perils against which you have to be on your guard? I think that they are two in number. The first of these is the mechanical performance of duty, the doing a thing faithfully and diligently perhaps, but unintelligently, and therefore stupidly, just as a mechanical drill in a workshop will go on throughout the day, so long as the steam is in the boiler, punching an endless rotation of holes. This is a danger to which the Indian with his excellent memory, his mastery of rules and precedents, and his natural application, is peculiarly liable. He becomes an admirable automaton, a flawless machine. But when something happens that is not provided for by the regulations, or that defies all precedent, he is apt to find himself astray. He has not been taught to practise self-reliance, and therefore he is at a loss, and he turns to others for the guidance which ought to spring from himself.

I hope I am making no false or arrogant claim when I say that the highest ideal of truth is to a large extent a Western conception. I do not thereby mean to claim that Europeans are universally or even generally truthful, still less do I mean that Asiatics deliberately or habitually deviate from the truth. The one proposition would be absurd, and the other insulting. But undoubtedly truth took a high place in the moral codes of the West before it had been similarly honoured in the East, where craftiness and diplomatic wile have always been held in much repute. We may prove it by the common innuendo that lurks in the words "Oriental diplomacy," by which is meant something rather tortuous and hypersubtle. The same may be seen in Oriental literature. In your epics truth will often be extolled as a virtue; but quite as often it is attended with some qualification, and very often praise is given to successful deception practised with honest aim.²

Remarks such as these which were derogatory to the nation as a whole could not be taken lying down and the intelligentsia protested. These protests made Curzon angry because he never really learnt to understand or tolerate opposition and he came out with still more sarcastic remarks which made the position worse than before. And so the battle went on till the educated classes of the country became irreconcilably opposed to him and developed a spirit of nationalism which militated against the British Rule itself.

¹ *Government Resolution on Educational Policy* (1904), para. 20.

² *Lord Curzon in India*, Vol. II, pp. 212 and 222.

It should not be supposed that the conflict between Curzon and the intelligentsia arose out of a wordy warfare only. The real issue at stake went far deeper. Curzon represented, not himself, but the whole bureaucracy that ruled India in the name of Parliament. It was, therefore, really a conflict between the British bureaucracy on the one hand and the educated Indian intelligentsia on the other, that was being staged now through all the controversies that arose over official policies. Both the sides knew that the battle would ultimately be decided by the *ignorant, illiterate and dumb* millions of India. The educated Indians claimed that they stood for and spoke in the name of these voiceless millions. Curzon denied this claim, and asserted that it was not the Indian intelligentsia but the British bureaucracy that spoke for the masses. He sincerely believed that the destinies of the Indian masses were entrusted by Providence to British hands and that British officials must continue to work in India for the good of the masses, almost for eternity. He also claimed (perhaps quite honestly according to *his* convictions) to have administered India for and in the interests of these masses. He said :—

My eye has always rested upon a larger canvas, crowded with untold numbers the real people of India, as distinct from any class or section of the people. . . . It is the Indian poor, the Indian peasant, the patient, humble, silent millions, the 80 per cent who subsist by agriculture, who know very little of policies, but who profit or suffer by their results, and whom men's eyes, even the eyes of their own countrymen, too often forget—to whom I refer. He has been in the background of every policy for which I have been responsible, of every surplus of which I have assisted in the disposition. We see him not in the splendour and opulence, nor even in the squalor, of great cities ; he reads no newspapers, for, as a rule, he cannot read at all ; he has no politics. But he is the bone and sinew of the country, by the sweat of his brow the soil is tilled, from his labour comes one-fourth of the national income, he should be the first and the final object of every Viceroy's regard.

It is for him in the main that we have twice reduced the salt-tax, that we remitted land revenue in two years amounting to nearly 2½ millions sterling : for him that we are assessing the land revenue at a progressively lower pitch and making its collection elastic. It is to improve his credit that we have created co-operative credit societies, so that he may acquire capital at easy rates, and be saved from the usury of the money-lender. He is the man whom we desire to lift in the world, to whose children we want to give education, to rescue whom from tyranny and oppression we have reformed the Indian police, and from whose cabin we want to ward off penury and famine. Above all let us keep him on the soil and rescue him from bondage or expropriation. When I am vituperated by those who claim to speak for the Indian people, I feel no resentment and no pain. For I search my conscience, and I ask myself who and what are the real Indian people ; and I rejoice that it has fallen to my lot to do something to alleviate theirs, and that I leave them better than I found them.¹

The educated Indians, of course, regarded this claim as most fantastic and they naturally repudiated this Curzonian assumption. They claimed that they alone had the right to speak for the Indian masses. But Curzon just pooh-poohed them. Speaking to graduates who might become journalists, he said :—

Remember, when you use the editorial ' we,' that ' we ' is, after all, only ' I ', and that the individual ' I ' is only one among three hundred millions.¹

He ridiculed journalists and politicians as persons who are incapable of action and who only talk and pass resolutions. He said :—

It is not the most fluent nations in the world who have done the most in history. Every nation and every time have their orators and they are the secular teachers and apostles of their day. But when everybody talks, then as a rule few act, and when the talkers talk too much and too often, then finally nobody pays any heed, and the impression gets abroad that they are incapable of action. When I read the proceedings of the conferences and meetings that are always going on in all parts of India, I am far from deprecating the intellectual ferment to which this bears witness, and I am not sure that it is not a direct imitation of English practice. But I sometimes think that if fewer resolutions were passed and a little more resolution was shown—resolution to grapple with the facts of life, to toil and labour for your country instead of merely shouting for it—the progress of India would be more rapid. Eloquence on the platform is very like soda-water in a bottle. After the cork has been removed for a little time all the sparkle has gone. Moreover, eloquence no more regenerates nations than soda-water gives fibre and strength to the constitution. . . . I am sometimes lost in admiration at the facility with which they (*i.e.*, Indians) speak in a foreign language, and I envy the accomplishment. All I say to you is, do not presume upon this talent. Do not believe that the man who can make a speech is necessarily a statesman ; do not let your fluency run away with your powers of thought. Above all, do not think that speech is ever a substitute for action. The man who in his village or his town devotes himself to the interests of his fellow-countrymen, and by example and by effort improves their lot, is a greater benefactor than the hero of a hundred platforms.²

He branded his educated adversaries as hunters of posts or seats on Councils and took pride in the fact that he saw no reason to satisfy their demands. He said :—

As for the educated classes, I regret if, because I have not extended to them political concessions—more places on councils, and so on—I have in any way incurred their hostility. For I certainly in no wise return it ; and when I remember how impartially it is bestowed on every Viceroy in the latter part of his term of office, I conclude that there must be something wrong about all of us which brings us under a common ban. I also remember that in a multitude of ways even as regards places and appointments I have consistently befriended and championed their cause. That I have not offered political concessions is because I did not regard it as wisdom or statesmanship in the interests of India itself

to do so ; and if I have incurred odium for thus doing my duty, I have no apology to advance.¹

These quotations will have shown that, in the India of Lord Curzon's conception,

there was no room for an Indian Intelligentsia aspiring to lead and speak for the masses ; and in so far as the Indian educated classes claimed to be the prophets of what they themselves spoke of as " the new Nationalism " which was stirring in the land, he simply brushed them aside. The India which he pictured to himself was a land of vast spaces peopled by a patient and primitive peasantry, content to raise their crops and rear their cattle and to leave all other things to the superior and, on the whole, beneficent Power to whom chance or Providence had entrusted them.²

It is no wonder that Curzon was not only the ablest but also the most-hated Viceroy that ever came to India.

We have dealt with these political developments a little in detail because they throw interesting light on some points in educational history. Firstly, they show why even the good measures of Curzon were misunderstood and therefore attacked by his contemporaries. These political controversies were inevitably carried into the educational field and officials and non-officials fought over questions of primary or higher education in more or less the same way in which they came into conflict over political issues. Secondly, they show why Curzon failed in his principal objective in India. He came to this country to strengthen the British Empire and even to make India a base for a further development of the Empire in Asia. But as the tragedy of history would have it, his utterances and actions gave immediate rise to a militant nationalism ; the Indian National Congress became stronger than ever and under the leadership of persons like Dadabhai Naoroji, Tilak, C. R. Das, the Ali brothers, Gokhale, and Annie Besant, carried on a national struggle that soon became irresistible. Consequently, history will describe Curzon as the Viceroy who made the biggest contribution to the weakening of the British rule in India. Thirdly, this new militant nationalism created a new attitude among the people towards several educational problems. For instance, it demanded early Indianisation of the Education Department ; adoption of Indian Languages as media of instruction ; the teaching of history from the *Indian* view-point as against that of the imperialist power ; the development of a feeling of

patriotism among the students of schools and colleges ; and so on. These will be dealt with in detail in the next chapter under *national education* ; it is enough to state here that the demand for *national education* which arose in this period was the result of a revolt against the intellectual domination of the West just as the new militant nationalism symbolised a revolt against the political power of Britain in India. Lastly, another historical tragedy is also revealed here. It was the British bureaucracy that had invented the Downward Filtration Theory and talked of creating a class of educated Indians who would act as intermediaries between them and the people and who would, in their turn, educate the masses. Though the theory was long in taking action, by 1902, such a class had been created and had begun to teach the masses. But it was exactly at this juncture that the bureaucracy became suddenly jealous, denied the representative character of this educated class and tried to throw it out by seeming directly to educate the masses and claiming their leadership. It is true that the bourgeois middle class who formed the bulk of the educated Indian intelligentsia of this period had no really solid claims to represent the masses ; but they certainly had a better claim to do so than the British bureaucrats ; and naturally they won.

2. Life and Work of Lord Curzon (1859-1925). George Nathaniel Curzon, Marquess of Kedleston, was born at Kedleston in Derbyshire in 1859—the year of Lord Stanley's Despatch. He was sent to Eton and thence to the Balliol College, Oxford. He had several brilliant successes at both the places.¹ In 1882-83, he travelled extensively in Europe, Egypt and Palestine. Later, in the course of his further travels, he visited almost all the important countries of the world, and 'from December, 1882, until February, 1895, no year had passed, without the solitary exception of 1886, some part of which had not been spent in foreign countries.'² It was in these travels that he was drawn forcibly to study the problems of Asia in general and India in particular. His first journey round the world (1887-88), says Ronaldshay,

exercised a determining influence on the future course of his action. From now onwards Asia laid her spell upon him ; stirred the idealism latent in his nature ; intrigued him ; fascinated him ; filled his mind. Journey followed

journey with a single object in view—the study of the multifarious problems which she presented.¹

It was while studying these problems that he realised the strategically important position of India.

As I proceed...the true fulcrum of Asiatic dominions seems to me increasingly to lie in Hindustan. The secret of the mastery of the world is, if they only knew it, in the possession of the British people... Within her borders may be studied every one of the problems with which the rest of Asia challenges our concern. But her central and commanding position is nowhere better seen than in the political influence which she exercises over the destinies of her neighbours far and near; and the extent to which their fortunes revolve upon an Indian axis. The independence of Afghanistan, the continued national existence of Persia, the maintenance of Turkish rule at Baghdad are one and all dependent upon Calcutta. Nay, the radiating circle of her influence overlaps the adjoining continents and affects alike the fate of the Bosphorus and the destinies of Egypt. Nor is the effect less remarkable if examined on the eastern side.... Such and so supreme is the position enjoyed in the Asian continent by the Empire of the Kaiser-i-hind.²

He pictured Great Britain as the greatest civilising influence in Asia and the British Empire as the principal channel through which she performed this function. He, therefore, became a confirmed believer in the high *moral and providential* purpose of the British Empire, a fervent exponent of the doctrine that the Englishman is born with a *duty* to civilize the East, and a staunch champion who not only defended, but even desired to expand the Empire. It was these feelings that made him aspire for the Viceroyalty of India; but he had a long preparation to undergo before he could attain his object. He entered the House of Commons in 1886 and in 1891-92 served as Under-Secretary for India in Lord Salisbury's Government. A little later, he also worked as Under-Secretary³ for Foreign Affairs (1895-98) and when he was offered the Viceroyalty of India in 1898, he felt that the chance of his life-time had come and the greatest of his ambitions was fulfilled.

For seven long years (1898-1905) Lord Curzon was in India and toiled incessantly to improve the administration. No Viceroy of greater intellectual capacity had ever come to India so far and no one had ever toiled at the task as hard as he did. In all offices of the State, he knew, guided and inspired everything; his amazing memory made him familiar with all men and all details of every proposal; his touch was felt in every

Department and in the remotest corner of the country over which he ruled ; and his outturn was enormous. " There was scarcely a day when some Commission was not sitting, or some expert was not at work collecting, sifting and generally preparing material for the administrative or legislative mill,"¹ and what Curzon achieved in seven years would certainly have required twice or thrice as much time for any other man.

Unfortunately, his Viceroyalty came to a bitter and premature end. He was nominated a second time to be the Viceroy—a great compliment to his work in India. But very soon after he joined his post a second time, differences arose between him and Lord Kitchener, the Commander-in-chief of India, over the nature of the control of the Viceroy over military affairs. It is not necessary for us to enter into the details of the controversy. It is enough to state that the view of Lord Kitchener was accepted by the Home Government so that Curzon resigned his office at the earliest opportunity in 1905. To this bitterness of defeat was added the violent opposition of educated Indians so that there were only a few, beyond the circle of bureaucracy, who felt sorry for his departure while there were thousands who even exulted in it. It was really a tragic end to so great an ambition, so relentless and strenuous a performance, and so high a sense of duty.

The later events of Curzon's life may be briefly told. From 1905 to 1915, he led a life of political inactivity. He was, however, elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1907 and he devoted most of his time to this work only. He joined Asquith's Coalition Cabinet as Lord Privy Seal in 1915 and later on, held several other important posts during the First World War. In 1919, he became foreign secretary and continued to hold the post till 1924 when he became Lord Privy Seal. The strain of overwork, however, told at last, his health suddenly broke down and, after a brief illness, he died in London on 20th March 1925.

Although Curzon held several important posts in England between 1907 and 1925, none of his later careers ever appealed to him so greatly as the Viceroyalty of India which he described as the *dream* of his childhood, the *fulfilled ambition* of his manhood,

and his *highest conception of duty to the State*.¹ Ronaldshay tells us that :—

Looking back over his life a quarter of a century later, he (Curzon) came to the conclusion that, if he were to tell the naked truth, he had derived far more pleasure in life from tastes and pursuits which were not connected with politics than from political life itself, with all its glamour and bright and fitful rewards, save only in so far as India was concerned. For before he died, he expressed a hope that sooner or later an authoritative account of his Indian Administration, to which, he always declared, he had given all that was worth having of his spirit and his strength, might be written. It was by his work in India in particular that he desired to be judged, and it was here that he cherished the hope—should history pause to notice him—that he would be held not to have laboured in vain.²

3. Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915). The most redoubtable opponent of Curzon was G. K. Gokhale. He was born in a poor Brahmin family of Chiplun Taluka. He pursued his studies in spite of very great difficulties, caused mainly by his poverty. As a student, he was known for a high degree of ability, strong memory, and steady application. After graduating from the Elphinstone College, Bombay, in 1884, he joined the Deccan Education Society and worked as its life-member and Professor of English, Mathematics, and Politics and Economics in the Fergusson College, Poona, till 1902 when he retired from the profession of teaching. All this while, he led a very simple life—his salary was only Rs. 75 p.m. and his pension only Rs. 30 p.m.—and, in addition to his college duties, he did a great deal of voluntary social service in his capacity as secretary of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha or the Editor of an Anglo-Marathi weekly called *Sudharak* (The Reformer).

After his retirement, he devoted all his energies to public life. In 1895, he was a local Secretary of the Indian National Congress Session in Poona, one of its joint-secretaries in 1904 and its President in 1905. He entered the Bombay Legislative Council in 1900 and the Imperial Legislature in 1902 where he continued to do splendid work to the last day of his life. As early as 1897, he gave very learned evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in England. He went there once more in 1904 and did a great deal to awaken English public opinion on India. He addressed more than 45 meetings in little over 50 days, travelling frequently to keep his engagements, writing

notes and letters, interviewing and being interviewed. Of his actual performance in England, praise is simply superfluous. Lord Curzon's regime gave no end of themes for attack. But the poverty of the people, their appalling ignorance, the indebtedness of the peasantry, the frequency of famines, the low state of sanitation, the devouring military expenditure, the subordination and neglect of Indian interests in the management of finance and conduct of affairs—each of these had its due place and just emphasis in an indictment admirably conceived and aptly phrased. In 1912, he visited South Africa to study first hand the problems of the Indian population there. It was here that he first met Mahatma Gandhi who was so greatly attracted to him that he always described Gokhale as his *guru*. In 1905, he founded the great organisation, *The Servants of India Society*. The strain of all this public work was so great that his health gave way and he died suddenly in 1915 at the early age of 49.

Gokhale was, in several ways, very much like Lord Curzon. A high sense of duty, great powers of intellect, a rare command over language, uncommon oratory, marvellous capacity for work—in all these great qualities, the two opponents resembled each other. But Gokhale had more of the milk of human kindness, a greater sympathy with the underdog, and a greater tolerance for opposition than Curzon could ever have had. He had also a more democratic temper and a more lovable personality. He could, therefore, easily carry the Indian public with him in all his attacks on Curzonian policies. In fact, one cannot but feel that, to fight her cause with Curzon, India could not have produced a greater champion than Gokhale who was so much like, and yet so unlike, the imperious Viceroy.

It would be a mistake to regard Curzon and Gokhale as individuals. Each one of them was the representative of a great force in Indian life; Curzon represented Imperialist Britain and the efficient bureaucracy, while Gokhale stood for the rising tide of Indian nationalism which was claiming the right of self-rule for this ancient country. The struggle between them was titanic. The immediate victory was, of course, on

This political conflict had its educational implications as well. Curzon and his successors believed that what Indian education needed most was *qualitative reform*. Their view may be briefly stated as follows :—

- (a) The recommendations of the Indian Education Commission had outlived their utility. They were designed primarily to secure expansion of education through private effort and that object had already been secured.
- (b) The policy of *laissez faire* to private enterprise, which was recommended by the Commission and adopted by the Education Departments in later years, had brought in various evils ; for instance, most of the institutions conducted by private agencies were inefficient, poorly staffed, and poorly equipped and were more in the nature of *coaching institutions* for examinations than *educational centres* in the proper sense of the word.
- (c) The only remedy for these evils was to replace the policy of *laissez faire* and expansion by one of control and improvement.
- (d) The recommendation of the Commission that Government should withdraw from direct educational enterprise was suicidal. Fortunately, it had never been acted upon and time had come when it must be officially abandoned. On the other hand, it was the duty of Government to maintain some institutions as models to private enterprise.
- (e) As Indians can never have the same efficiency as Englishmen, all superior posts in the Education Department must continue to be held by the British people.
- (f) Education in secondary schools and colleges was being infected by politics and standards of discipline were lowered. Politics must, therefore, be completely excluded from the schools.
- (g) The standard of English should be raised still further.

On the other hand, Gokhale (and those who followed him) believed that the most crying need of India was *quantitative*

advance. The view of this school of thought may be summarised as follows :—

- (a) Indians challenged the wisdom of the policy which put quality first and quantity next. They pointed out that this policy might suit England where expansion of education was already complete, but that it had no place in India where expansion had not even begun in right earnest.
- (b) The official desire to control and improve secondary and collegiate education was ascribed to political motives and it was said that the real motive was not the improvement of educational standards, but the sabotaging of the development of national feeling in the minds of educated Indians.
- (c) The official attempt to expand primary education was generally appreciated, but it was felt that the rate of expansion visualised by the Education Departments was quite out of proportion to the needs of the situation. It was held that there must be a still greater expansion of secondary and collegiate education ; and that in primary education, the principle of compulsion must be accepted.
- (d) Complete and speedy Indianisation of the Education Department was demanded.
- (e) Education, to be worthy of its name, must develop love for the mother-country and *not* loyalty to British Rule.
- (f) Nationalist sentiment also revolted against the exaggerated importance attached to English and claimed that the modern Indian languages should be adopted as media of instruction.

It is obvious that the differences of opinion were fundamental and a conflict was inevitable. Had Lord Curzon and his advisers made an attempt to appreciate the Indian point of view and to meet it half-way, the history of education in India would have taken an entirely different turn. Lord Curzon, however, pushed forward his favourite plan of reform and thereby greatly alienated Indian public opinion. His policy was kept up by his successors as well, so that a conflict between the official and non-official

points of view dominated the history of education during the period as a whole. The continuous and mostly fruitless struggles over several issues ultimately led Indians to think that real improvement in education was impossible unless they obtained the right to control educational policies. This feeling gathered strength as time passed, until it resulted ultimately in the transfer of the Education Department to Indian Ministers under the Government of India Act, 1919.

4. **Educational Conference at Simla (1901).** Curzon's work was varied, deep and extremely valuable in almost every branch of administration and as he anticipated, posterity has no doubt been fairer to him than his contemporaries. But we are not concerned here with *all* his services to India. Ours is a limited study confined to educational problems and we shall, therefore, examine his educational reforms only and touch other aspects of his administration only where it is absolutely essential to do so.

Quite naturally, the problems of Indian education appealed to Curzon very early. As he himself observed :—

When I came to India, Educational Reform loomed before me as one of those objects which, from such knowledge of India as I possessed, appeared to deserve a prominent place in any programme of administrative reconstruction. I thought so for several reasons. In the first place, vital as is education everywhere as the instrument by which men and nations rise, yet in a country like India, in its present state of development, it is perhaps the most clamant necessity of all. For here education is required not primarily as the instrument of culture or the source of learning, but as the key to employment, the condition of all national advance and prosperity, and the sole stepping-stone for every class of the community to higher things. It is a social and political even more than an intellectual demand ; and to it alone can we look to provide a livelihood for our citizens, to train up our public servants, to develop the economic and industrial resources of the country, to fit the people for the share in self-government which is given to them—and which will increase with their deserts—and to fashion the national character on sound and healthy lines. The man in India who has grasped the educational problem has got nearer to the heart of things than any of his comrades, and he who can offer to us the right educational prescription is the true physician of the State.

There is another reason for which Education in India is a peculiarly British responsibility. For it was our advent in the country that brought about that social and moral upheaval of which Western education is both the symbol and the outcome.... We have deliberately severed religion from politics ; and, though we have our own Church or Churches, we refrain, as an act of public policy, from incorporating Church with State. But we do not therefore lay down that ethics are or should be divorced from the life of the nation, or that society because it does not rest upon dogmatic theology, should lose the moral basis without which in all ages it must sooner or later fall to pieces. For education

as well as in sacred texts, in the histories and sayings of great men, in the example of teachers, in the contact between teachers and pupils, in the discipline of the class-room, in the emulation of school life. These are the substitutes in our Indian educational system for the oracles of prophets or the teaching of divines. To them we look to make India and its people better and purer. If we thought that our education were not raising the moral level, we should none of us bestir ourselves so greatly about it. It is because it is the first and most powerful instrument of moral elevation in India that it must for ever remain a primary care of the State. The State may delegate a portion of the burden to private effort or to missionary enterprise; but it cannot throw it altogether aside. So long as our Government is in India what it is, we must continue to control and to correlate educational work, to supply a large portion of the outlay, to create the requisite models, and to set the tone.¹

As was usual with him, he had a close survey made of the whole field of Indian education, past and present, studied every problem, and before embarking on his programme of reform, called a conference of all Directors of Public Instruction and a few others at Simla in 1901. This was the first All-India Conference of its type and roused the keenest interest. Curzon himself stated his objects in calling the Conference, in the following words :—

I have invited you here to assist me with your advice in the inquiry upon which the Government is engaged with reference to the existing system of education in India. In any scrutiny of this system it is, I think, desirable that we should consider it from every point of view, in its broader and more important as well as in its narrower aspects. If we are to embark upon reform, it will be well that our eyes should range in advance over the entire arena, that we should co-ordinate the various departments of educational effort, and should deal with them as parts of a systematised whole. In this way we may best succeed in observing proportion in our treatment of the matter and fidelity to the guiding principles upon which it is our desire to proceed.... But, before doing this, I should like to say a few prefatory words as to the character and scope of the present Conference. We are a small number of persons collected round this table.... We have not met here to devise a brand-new plan of educational reform, which is to spring fully armed from the head of the Home Department, and to be imposed *volens valens* upon the Indian public. The Conference is merely a gathering of the highest educational officers of Government, as well as of the official representatives of our leading Universities, whom I desire to consult upon many matters concerning which we at headquarters are lacking in firsthand knowledge, but to which, on the other hand, they have devoted many years of their lives. They will give us information which the Government does not possess, and will prevent us from committing mistakes into which we might otherwise fall.²

The Conference sat for fifteen days and embodied its conclusions in a series of one hundred and fifty resolutions in the drafting of which Curzon himself had taken a hand. As later

¹ Lord Curzon in India, Vol. II, pp. 25, 26.

events turned out, it was on the basis of these deliberations only that Curzon planned and carried out all his reforms in education.

Even here, as in so many other fields, Curzon showed his typical attitude to educated Indians. He did not invite a single Indian to this Conference and also refused to publish its deliberations on the ground that it was a private affair. In the politically surcharged atmosphere of the day, these actions were naturally misunderstood and the people became apprehensive that plans to sabotage the rising tide of Indian private enterprise were being made and designs were being prepared to throw the monopoly of Indian education in European hands—official or missionary. Curzon could have set all such fears at rest by the mere publication of the proceedings and by consulting Indian opinion. But he refused to do so and complained that the conference was misrepresented as “a Star Chamber conclave that was engaged in some dark and sinister conspiracy”.¹ Consequently, Indian public opinion was enraged and the educational reforms of Curzon had little chance of being considered on merits. In the dust and din of political controversies, neither side could see properly the view-points of the other.

On the agenda of the Simla Conference which marked the beginning of his drive for educational reform, Curzon had placed several topics for consideration which included (a) university education; (b) secondary education; (c) primary education; (d) technical education; and (e) five general topics, *viz.*, training of teachers, recruitment to higher posts in the Education Department, education of women, moral teaching and the creation of the post of Director-General of Education in India. It will, therefore, be convenient to study Curzon's educational reforms in more or less the same order of priority.

2-5. **The Indian Universities Commission (1902).** Curzon accorded the top priority in his programme to university reform because, according to him, the most strenuous efforts were needed at that stage. As he said at the Simla Conference :—

Now the first reflection that strikes every observer of the Indian system who is familiar with the older English Universities is the fundamental contrast both of character and conception. Oxford and Cambridge are incorporated institutions composed of Colleges which constitute and are embodied in the corporate whole. The two together make the University; they twain are one flesh. Each

College has its own students and fellows and tutors, and its own local habitation, often followed by romance and venerable with age. The groups of Colleges combine for purposes of lectures. The University supervises and controls all by its examinations, its professorial lectures, its central government, and its administration of corporate funds. Above all, it sways the life of the College undergraduate, by the memory of its past, by the influence of its public buildings, by its common institutions, and by the cosmopolitan field of interest and emulation which it offers.

How different is India ! Here the University has no corporate existence in the same sense of the term ; it is not a collection of buildings, it is scarcely even a site. It is a body that controls courses of study and sets examination papers to the pupils of affiliated Colleges. They are not part of it. They are frequently not in the same city, sometimes not in the same province. The affiliated Colleges of the Calcutta University are scattered in regions as remote as Burma and Ceylon. Then look at the Colleges. They are not residential institutions, with a history, a tradition, a genius loci, a tutorial staff, of their own. They are for the most part collections of lecture-rooms, and class-rooms, and laboratories. They are bound to each other by no tie of common feeling, and to the University by no tie of filial reverence. On the contrary, each for the most part regards the others as rivals, and pursues its own path in self-centred and sometimes jealous isolation. The reproach has even been brought against them that their lecturers are not teachers, but are merely the purveyors of a certain article to a class of purchasers, that this article happens to be called education, and that the purveyor stands not behind a counter but behind a desk. There may be exaggeration in this description, but there may also be a grain of truth. Even if the process may be termed education, it is not in the truest sense teaching ; it may sharpen some facets of the mind, but it cannot properly develop the whole.¹

This passage gives us an insight into the reasons why Curzon prized the task of university reform so highly. He again referred to the same topic in his convocation address at the Calcutta university in 1904 and said :—

I daresay that to many of this audience the University means nothing more than the final stage in a long and irksome series of examinations in which they have been engaged ever since they were young boys. It has, perhaps, something rather grander and bigger about it than any educational institution that they have known before, because it is in the capital of India, and possesses this great hall, and still more because it is the dispenser of the gown and the hood that signify academic rank, and carry with them the coveted initials that are the passport in India to so many places and occupations. But the name, I daresay, suggests to them no other associations ; it inspires few ambitions ; it is invested with no romance. In hundreds of cases the connection of the student with the University, as distinct from the College where he has attended, is nothing beyond the sheets of paper on which are printed the questions which he is called upon to answer, and the slip of parchment on which he receives the diploma that records his success.

It is because we want to make the University something better and more substantial, better than a mere shell with no kernel inside it, and more substantial than a name, that we have undertaken these reforms. What ought the ideal University to be in India, as elsewhere ? As the name implies it ought to be a

place where all knowledge is taught by the best teachers to all who seek to acquire it, where the knowledge so taught is turned to good purposes, and where its boundaries are receiving a constant extension. If I may borrow a metaphor from politics, there is no scientific frontier to the domain of knowledge. It is the one sphere where territorial expansion is the highest duty instead of an ignoble greed. Then the ideal University that we are contemplating should be centrally situated ; it should be amply and even nobly housed ; it should be well equipped, and it should be handsomely endowed. In these conditions it would soon create an atmosphere of intellectual refinement and culture, a moral quality and influence would spring within it, and traditions of reverence would grow up like creepers round its walls. Thus you see that the ideal University would consist of two aspects. It would be a place for the dissemination of knowledge and the encouragement of learning ; and it would further be a human smithy where character was forged in the furnace of experience, and beaten out on the anvil of truth. Which of these two aspects is the more important I need not here discuss. A good deal depends on the state of moral and intellectual development of the race that is being educated there, and something also on the needs of the country concerned. But no good University, and certainly no ideal University, can exist without playing both parts.

Now, having drawn my sketch, if you ask me whether we have got this University here, or anywhere in India, the answer is unmistakably No. We are without the traditions, for the oldest University in India is not yet half a century old ; we have not the environment or the atmosphere—they cannot be created in twice that time ; we lack the buildings, the endowments, the teachers, the scholarships, the funds.....

If, then, we have not got the ideal University, and are not in a position by a stroke of the pen to create it, at least let us render it possible in the future. The material is here in abundance ; the teachers are available or can be procured ; the system alone is at fault. I can see no reason why India should not one day rise to the conception of a University, not perhaps as advanced as that which I sketched a few moments ago, but immeasurably higher than anything at present existing in the country ; a University which shall gather around it collegiate institutions proud of affiliation, and worthy to enjoy it ; whose students, housed in residential quarters in close connection with the parent University, shall feel the inner meaning of a corporate life ; where the governing body of the University shall be guided by expert advice, and the teachers shall have a real influence upon teaching ; where the courses of study shall be framed for the development, not of the facile automaton, but of the thoughtful mind ; where the professors will draw near to the pupils and mould their characters for good ; and where the pupils will begin to value knowledge for its own sake, and not as a means to an end. I should like to see this spark of the sacred fire that has been brought across the seas in one or two places at least before I leave the country, and I would confidently leave others to keep alive the flame.¹

These sentiments are interesting as showing the noble and fundamentally sound ideals that Curzon had in view in planning his programme of university reform and it was to help him in this task that he appointed on 27th January 1902, a Commission to inquire into the condition and prospects of the universities

established in British India and to consider and report upon proposals for improving their constitution and working.

The Commission submitted its report in the same year—a rather lengthy and highly technical document which does not require a detailed analysis and examination in this book. It will be sufficient for our purpose to note the following special features of this report :—

(a) The Commission adopted the model of the London University as modified by the Act of 1898. As the Calcutta University Commission points out—

In 1902 as in 1857, the policy of London seemed to be the latest word of educational statesmanship. There were four features of the London changes whose influence is directly perceptible in the Indian discussions. The first was the assertion that every university ought to be a teaching university. The second was the principle that no college should be allowed full privileges unless it was thoroughly well staffed and equipped. The third was the principle that teachers must always be intimately associated with the government of the university. The fourth was the contention that the supreme governing body of the university—called, in London as in India, the Senate—ought not to be too large. Thus once again, as so often before, educational controversy in England had its echo in India.¹

(b) Just as the Commission of 1882 was precluded from reporting on university reform this Commission was precluded from reporting on secondary education. The result was equally unhappy and the Commission could not deal with the problem as a whole.

(c) The fundamental problems before the Commission were two :—

- (i) to determine the type of university organisation that should be ultimately developed in India ; and
- (ii) to propose such transitional arrangements as would enable the country to reach this predetermined goal in the shortest possible time.

It is to be regretted, however, that the Commission did not in its report discuss these fundamental questions.

It did not ask whether the affiliating system ought ultimately to be replaced by some other mode of organisation, or suggest means whereby a transition to a new system might be gradually made. On the contrary, it assumed the permanent validity of the existing system, in its main features and set itself only to improve and strengthen it.

Nothing illustrates this more clearly than the fact that in considering the projects of new universities then beginning to be advocated in India, it took for granted that they must be organised upon an affiliating basis, and rejected them mainly on the ground that there must be many colleges before there could be a university. Thus in Burma there were only two colleges, both in Rangoon. To any body of men accustomed to the working of European universities, this would have appeared a positive advantage, since it opened the possibility of organising a strong centralised university, instead of distributing the resources of the province over many weak institutions; to the Commission of 1902 it seemed to make the idea of a university in Burma unthinkable. Again, a University was desired in Nagpur: the Commission condemned the idea, on the ground that even if colleges were set up in every likely place throughout the Central Provinces, they would at the most only number eight.¹

The report of the Commission, therefore, and *the Act of 1904* which was based upon it, *did not aim at the fundamental reconstruction of the Indian University system*. They only proposed a rehabilitation and strengthening of the then existing system of affiliating universities.

(d) It would be recalled that affiliating universities were set up in India in 1857 just one year before affiliation, as the basis of university organization, was abandoned in London. A similar tragedy took place in 1902 also. The report of the Indian Universities Commission submitted in 1902 does not contain, as pointed out above, any discussion of the fundamental problems of university organization, presumably because they were not being then discussed in England. In the very next year, however, the disruption in the federal Victoria University of Northern England was followed by a great discussion of the principles of university administration and led to the abandoning of the federal type of universities. Perhaps India would have profited more had the Commission sat in 1907 instead of in 1902.

(e) The recommendations of the Commission refer mainly to the following five topics:—

- (i) The reorganization of university government.
- (ii) A much more strict and systematic supervision of the colleges by the University, and the imposition of more exacting conditions of affiliation.
- (iii) A much closer attention to the conditions under which students live and work.
- (iv) The assumption of teaching functions by the University, within defined limits.
- (v) Substantial changes in curricula, and in the methods of examination.

The third and the fifth of these groups of recommendations were necessarily left to be dealt with in detailed regulations to

be framed by the reorganized universities. But the first, second and fourth groups of recommendations were embodied later in the Indian Universities Act, 1904, to which we shall now turn.

6. The Indian Universities Act, 1904. The *first* important change proposed by the Act was the enlargement of the functions of a University. It will be recalled that the preamble of the Acts of 1857 restricted the functions of the Universities to the holding of examinations and the conferring of degrees. But Section 3 of the 1904 Act provided that

the University shall be and shall be deemed to have been incorporated for the purpose (among others) of making provision for the instruction of students, with power to appoint University Professors and Lecturers, to hold and manage educational endowments, to erect, equip and maintain University libraries, laboratories and museums, to make regulations relating to the residence and conduct of students, and to do all acts, consistent with the Act of Incorporation and this Act, which tend to the promotion of study and research.

The *second* important change proposed by the Act aimed at making the university senates of a manageable size. The Acts of Incorporation provided that Fellows of Universities were to be appointed by Government for life and did not lay down any upper limit to the number of Senators. During the fifty years that followed, Government did not always exercise this power of appointment in the best interests of the University. Persons were often appointed as Fellows

for purely honorific reasons, and not on the ground of their capacity for, or interest in, academic work.... Many were busy officials, many were ambitious pleaders, anxious for opportunities of winning status and popularity.... It was only by accident that the teachers, upon whom the main work of the University fell, were represented in the Senate or its executive, the Syndicate; many teachers of distinction never had an opportunity of making their voices heard; many colleges never obtained representation. The nominally Academic bodies, Faculties and Boards of Studies, which were responsible for drafting schemes of study and suggesting books, were appointed by the Senate from among their own number, and often consisted largely of men who had no special knowledge of the subjects they had to deal with.¹

It is also interesting to note that, in 1902, the Fellows of the Indian Universities numbered as under :—

<i>University</i>				<i>No. of Fellows</i>
Calcutta	..	..	..	181
Bombay	..	..	..	296
Madras	..	..	..	198
Punjab	..	..	..	136
Allahabad	..	..	..	112

The Indian Universities Act, 1904, proposed, therefore, that the number of Fellows of a University shall *not be less than fifty nor more than a hundred and that a Fellow should hold office for five years only instead of for life.*

The *third* change made by the Act was to introduce the principle of election. The history of the question has been well narrated in the following passage from the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1902-07* :—

In the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras the Acts of Incorporation provided for no elective element in the Senate, the whole of which was to be either ex-officio or nominated, but in 1890 the Chancellor of the Calcutta University set the example, which was followed at Bombay and Madras, of permitting elections to be held at the rate of two or three a year. The electorate was confined at Calcutta to Masters of Arts or holders of corresponding degrees in other faculties, at Bombay to graduates of ten years' standing, and at Madras to Masters of Arts or Law, Doctors of Medicine, or Bachelors of twenty years' standing. The same qualifications were required in the candidates for election as in the electors. In this way the number of elected Fellows at these three Universities respectively stood, before the Act of 1904 was passed, at twenty-one, seventeen and sixteen.

In the Universities of the Punjab and Allahabad, on the other hand, the Acts of Incorporation permitted election by the Senate upto a number not exceeding that of the nominated Fellows; and the practice at Allahabad had been to elect a Fellow as often as one was nominated, so that there were forty-three elected Fellows before the passing of the Act; while in the Punjab the practice of election by the Senate, which had been followed in earlier years, had fallen out of use, so that when the Act came into force there were but two elected Fellows remaining in the province.

The Act of 1904 considerably increased the proportion of elected Fellows in each University except Allahabad, for it required that twenty Fellows should be elected at the three older Universities and fifteen at the other two. Of the elected Fellows at the older Universities ten were to be elected by the registered graduates, who must be Doctors or Masters or graduates of ten years' standing, and ten were to be elected by the faculties, the Chancellor having power to prescribe the qualifications of the Fellows to be elected by the faculties.

At the two junior Universities ten were to be elected by the Senate or by registered graduates and five by the faculties. The practice of election by the Senate was to last until orders should be issued by the Chancellor, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council, for its replacement by election by graduates.¹

The *fourth* change introduced by the Act was to give a statutory recognition to syndicates and also to give an adequate representation to university teachers on the syndicates concerned. Section 15 of the Act runs as under :—

15. (1) The executive government of the University shall be vested in the Syndicate, which shall consist of—

(a) the Vice-Chancellor as Chairman :

- (b) the Director of Public Instruction for the province in which the headquarters of the university are situated ; and in the case of the University of Allahabad, also the Director of Public Instruction of the Central Province ; and
- (c) not less than seven or more than fifteen *ex-officio* or ordinary Fellows elected by the Senate or by the Faculties in such manner as may be provided by the regulations, to hold office for such period as may be prescribed by the regulations.

(2) The regulations referred to in sub-section (1) shall be so framed as to secure that a number not falling short by more than one of a majority of the elected members of the Syndicate shall be Heads of, or Professors in, Colleges affiliated to the University.

The *fifth* change introduced by the Act was to provide stricter conditions for the affiliation of colleges to a university and to provide that all affiliated colleges should be periodically inspected by the Syndicate in order to see that a proper standard of efficiency is being maintained. In this connection Sections 21, 23 and 24 deserve a careful study :—

21. (1) A college applying for affiliation to the University shall send a letter of application to the Registrar, and shall satisfy the Syndicate—

- (a) that the college is to be under the management of a regularly constituted governing body ;
- (b) that the qualifications of the teaching staff and the conditions governing their tenure of office are such as to make due provision for the courses of instruction to be undertaken by the college ;
- (c) that the buildings in which the college is to be located are suitable, and that provision will be made, in conformity with the regulations, for the residence, in the college or in lodgings approved by the college, of students not residing with their parents or guardians, and for the supervision and physical welfare of students ;
- (d) that due provision has been or will be made for a library ;
- (e) where affiliation is sought in any branch of experimental science, that arrangements have been or will be made in conformity with the regulations for imparting instruction in that branch of science in a properly equipped laboratory or museum ;
- (f) that due provision will, so far as circumstances may permit, be made for the residence of the Head of the College and some members of the teaching staff in or near the college or the place provided for the residence of students ;
- (g) that the financial resources of the college are such as to make due provision for its continued maintenance ;
- (h) that the affiliation of the college, having regard to the provision made for students by other colleges in the same neighbourhood, will not be injurious to the interests of education or discipline ; and
- (i) that the college rules fixing the fees (if any) to be paid by the students have not been so framed as to involve such competition with any existing college in the same neighbourhood as would be injurious to the interests

The application shall further contain an assurance that after the college is affiliated any transference of management and all changes in the teaching staff shall be forthwith reported to the Syndicate.

(2) On receipt of a letter of application under sub-section (1), the Syndicate shall—

- (a) direct a local inquiry to be made by a competent person authorized by the Syndicate in this behalf ;
- (b) make such further inquiry as may appear to them to be necessary ; and
- (c) report to the Senate on the question whether the application should be granted or refused, either in whole or in part, embodying in such report the results of any inquiry under clauses (a) and (b).

And the Senate shall, after such further inquiry (if any) as may appear to them to be necessary, record their opinion in the matter.

(3) The Registrar shall submit the application and all proceedings of the Syndicate and Senate relating thereto to the Government, who, after such further inquiry as may appear to them to be necessary, shall grant or refuse the application or any part thereof.

(4) Where the application or any part thereof is granted, the order of the Government shall specify the courses of instruction in respect of which the college is affiliated ; and, where the application or any part thereof is refused, the grounds of such refusal shall be stated.

(5) An application under sub-section (1) may be withdrawn at any time before an order is made under sub-section (3).

23. (1) Every college affiliated to the University, whether before or after the commencement of this Act, shall furnish such reports, returns and other information as the Syndicate may require to enable it to judge of the efficiency of the college.

(2) The Syndicate shall cause every such college to be inspected from time to time by one or more competent persons authorised by the Syndicate in this behalf.

(3) The Syndicate may call upon any college so inspected to take within a specified period such action as may appear to them to be necessary in respect of any of the matters referred to in section 21 (1).

24. (1) A member of the Syndicate who intends to move that the right conferred on any college by affiliation be withdrawn, in whole or in part, shall give notice of his motion and shall state in writing the grounds on which the motion is made.

(2) Before taking the said motion into consideration, the Syndicate shall send a copy of the notice and written statement mentioned in sub-section (1) to the Head of the college concerned, together with an intimation that any representation in writing submitted within a period specified in such intimation on behalf of the college will be considered by the Syndicate ;

Provided that the period so specified may, if necessary, be extended by the Syndicate.

(3) On receipt of the representation or on expiration of the period referred to in sub-section (2), the Syndicate after considering the notice of motion, statement and representation and after such inspection by any competent person authorized by the Syndicate in this behalf, and such further inquiry as may appear to them to be necessary, shall make a report to the Senate.

(4) On receipt of the report under sub-section (3), the Senate shall, after such further inquiry (if any) as may appear to them to be necessary, record their opinion on the matter.

(5) The Registrar shall submit the proposal and all proceedings of the Syndicate and Senate relating thereto to the Government, who, after such further inquiry (if any) as may appear to them to be necessary, shall make such order as the circumstances may, in their opinion, require.

(6) Where by an order made under sub-section (5) the rights conferred by affiliation are withdrawn, in whole or in part, the grounds for such withdrawal shall be stated in the order.

The *sixth* change introduced by the Act was to vest in Government certain powers regarding the regulations to be framed by the Senate. Under the Acts of Incorporation, the sole authority for making regulations was the Senate and Government had only the power to veto inasmuch as all regulations had to obtain the approval of Government. The Indian Universities Act of 1904 provided that while approving the regulations framed by the Senate, Government may make such additions and alterations as may be necessary and even frame regulations itself should the Senate fail to do so within a specified period.

Lastly, the Act empowered the Governor-General-in-Council to define the territorial limits of the universities. This point was left moot in the Acts of 1857 with the result that certain anomalies crept in later on. For instance, some colleges were affiliated to two universities; some others were situated in the jurisdiction of one university but affiliated to another; and so on. Section 27 of the Act, therefore, laid down that "the Governor-General-in-Council may, by general or special order, define the territorial limits within which, and specify the colleges in respect of which, any powers conferred by or under the Act of Incorporation or this Act shall be exercised".

7. Indian Reactions to the Universities Act of 1904. Indian public opinion violently opposed this Act of University reform. The grounds for this opposition have been very ably stated in the speeches of Gokhale who opposed the Act at every stage, and a careful study of his Council speeches on this subject will give one an idea of the bitterness of the controversy that raged over the report of the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 and the Indian Universities Bill of 1903.

It is necessary to remember that Indian public opinion was not opposed to the idea of university reform as such. In fact, it eagerly looked forward to it; and when Lord Curzon spoke

of the need of university reform in 1899, his speech was enthusiastically welcomed throughout India. But certain events connected with the Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction held at Simla in 1901 and the Indian Universities Commission of 1902, created a distrust in the minds of many regarding the motives of Government. It was felt, for example, that, under the pretext of reforms, Government was really trying to vest all power in the hands of European educationists—*i.e.*, the European professors in Government and Missionary colleges—with a view to sabotaging the development of Indian private enterprise in the field of higher education. As Gokhale observed :—

Let the Council for a moment glance at the circumstances which have preceded the introduction of this Bill. More than two years ago, Your Lordship summoned at Simla a Conference of men engaged in the work of education in the different provinces of India. Had the Conference been confined to the educational officers of Government, one would have thought that Government was taking counsel with its own officers only, and of course there would have been no misunderstanding in the matter. But the presence of Dr. Miller at the Conference at once destroyed its official character, and gave room for the complaint that the deliberations were confined to European educationists in India only. The fact that the proceedings of the Conference were kept confidential deepened the feelings of uneasiness already created in the public mind by the exclusion of Indians from its deliberations. Later on, when the Universities Commission was first appointed, its composition, as is well known, afforded much ground for complaint; and though, to meet public opinion half way, Your Lordship took the unusual step of offering a seat on the Commission, almost at the last moment, to Mr. Justice Guru Das Banerjee the objection remained that, while missionary enterprise was represented on the Commission in the person of Dr. Mackichan, indigenous enterprise in the field of education was again left unrepresented. The hurried manner in which the Commission went about the country and took evidence and submitted its report was not calculated to reassure the public mind. Finally, the holding back of the evidence, recorded by the Commission, on the plea that its publication would involve unnecessary expense, was very unfortunate, as other Commissions had in the past published evidence ten times as voluminous and the question of economy had never been suggested. Now, My Lord, every one of these causes of complaint was avoidable and I cannot help thinking that a good deal of apprehension, which every right-minded person must deplore, would have been avoided, if Government had been from the beginning more careful in this matter.¹

When this feeling of distrust and uneasiness was at its height, the Indian Universities Bill was published and its provisions came as a painful surprise, because what the people expected in the shape of reforms was far different from what the Bill proposed to give. As Gokhale observed :—

It was thought that we were on the eve of a mighty reform which would change the whole face of things in regard to higher education in India. A liberal

provision of funds for the encouragement of original research and of higher teaching, the institution of an adequate number of substantial scholarships to enable our most gifted young men to devote themselves to advanced studies, an improvement in the status and mode of recruitment of the Educational Service so as to attract to it the best men available, both European and Indian, the simplification of the preliminary tests, with a single stiff examination at the end of the course for ordinary students, so as to discourage cramming as far as possible—these and other measures of reform appeared to be almost within sight. It was, however, not long before the new-born hope that had thus gladdened our hearts was chilled to death, and we found that, instead of the measures we were looking for, we were to have only a perpetuation of the narrow, bigoted and inexpansive rule of experts.¹

Lord Curzon, whose early speeches on university reform were as zealously welcomed as the Indian Universities Act was violently opposed wondered how it was that the appetite of the educated classes for University Reform, had suddenly died down, but it is easy to see that the explanation of the phenomenon was to be found in the feelings of distrust and disappointment described above.

This opposition of the Indian public to the Indian Universities Act of 1904 centred chiefly round five issues : To begin with, the provisions which enabled the universities to assume teaching functions were not considered so important as Government thought them to be. As Gokhale observed :—

Again in regard to the provisions empowering the universities to undertake teaching functions, I hope I am doing no injustice to the authors of the Bill, if I say that they themselves attach only a theoretical value to these provisions. The Allahabad University has possessed these powers for the last sixteen years, and yet that University is as far from undertaking such functions as any other in India. The truth, My Lord, is that, in addition to other difficulties inherent in the position of our universities, their conversion into teaching bodies, even to the limited extent to which it is possible, is essentially a question of funds, and as there is no reason to assume that private liberality will flow in this direction after the bill becomes law, and Government will not provide the resources necessary for the purpose, these enabling clauses are, as in the case of Allahabad, destined to remain a dead letter for a long time to come. The Government themselves do not seem to take a different view of the matter, as, after including these provisions in the Bill, they are content to leave the rest to time, with the expression of a pious hope that some day somebody will find the money to enable some University in India to undertake teaching functions ! While, therefore, I am prepared to recognise that these provisions embody a noble aspiration, I must decline to attach any great value to them for practical purposes.²

Secondly, Indian opinion welcomed the principle of election introduced by the Bill but pointed out that the seats thrown open to election were very few and that the Act failed to provide for

election by professors who were just the class of persons who had more immediate interest than any other in the deliberations of the University.

Thirdly, while Indian opinion was not opposed to the idea of restricting the total number of Fellows in a University, a fear was expressed that the small numbers fixed by the Act—evidently inspired by the model of the reconstituted London University—were really intended to create a majority for Europeans in the constitution of Indian Universities. As Gokhale observed :—

There is no doubt whatever that under the Bill the proportion of Indian members in the Senates of the different universities will be much smaller than at present. The Fellows elected by graduates will, as a rule, be Indians; the Faculties will consist almost entirely of Government nominees and of such other persons as these nominees may co-opt. There is not much room for the hope that any considerable proportion of the Fellows elected by these Faculties will be Indians. As regards Government nominations, their choice will naturally first fall on European educationists; then will come European Judges, Barristers, Civilians, Engineers, Doctors and such other people. As the numbers of the new Senates are now to be very small, one can easily see that there is hardly any margin for the inclusion of any except a very few most prominent Indians in the Government list. The Senators of the future will thus be dominantly Europeans, with only a slight sprinkling of Indians just to keep up appearances.¹

Fourthly, the stricter provisions for affiliation of colleges were also strongly opposed. This was due to the fear that they were intended chiefly to embarrass Indian private effort in the field of education—a fear that was all the more strengthened by the idea that the reorganized university bodies will mostly consist of Europeans.

But the greatest opposition of all was directed against those aspects of the Act which gave more powers to Government in the administration of universities. These included the power to nominate most of the Fellows, the power to require approval for affiliation or disaffiliation of colleges, the power to alter, or even to frame regulations, etc. It was argued and quite rightly that

¹ *Gokhale's Speeches* (Edition 1920), pp. 243-4. But it is necessary to point out that these apprehensions proved to be groundless later on. For instance, the first Senates of the Universities under this Act were constituted as under :—

University	No. of Fellows		
	European	Indian	Total
1. Calcutta	41	43	84
2. Bombay	41	59	100
3. Madras	36	34	70
4. Punjab	35	40	75
5. Allahabad	39	36	75

under the new Act, the universities became practically a Department of the state.

8. Achievement of the Indian Universities Act of 1904. In the heat of bitter controversy about university reform that raged between the years 1902 and 1905, the importance of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was greatly exaggerated by Government spokesmen who looked upon it as a panacea for all the ills of collegiate education while Indian public opinion misunderstood the Act and condemned it unequivocally as a retrograde measure. But the Act was neither one nor the other ; and at this distance of time, it is possible to view dispassionately its achievements and failures.

The analysis of the Act given in an earlier section will show that it was primarily an administrative measure. Its avowed aim was to make the administration of universities more efficient than it had been hitherto and it must be admitted that it succeeded considerably in this. The Senates of the reorganized universities were more manageable and efficient than earlier ones ; and as the nominations made by Government belied the fears of the Indian public it was soon admitted on all hands that the Act had, on the whole, raised the tone of University administration.

Secondly, the stricter conditions of affiliation and the arrangements for periodical inspection made it difficult for new colleges to spring into existence and even led to the elimination of a number of weak institutions. After the stricter conditions of affiliation were enforced, the total number of colleges affiliated to the Indian Universities fell down to 174 in 1907. The causes of this fall in the total number of affiliated colleges in spite of some new affiliations, are thus explained in the *Quinquennial Review of Progress of Education in India, 1902-07* :—

The changes in the numbers of affiliated institutions which have taken place during the quinquennium are rather apparent than real, and are chiefly due to the removal of fictitious or duplicate entries. Thus the Calcutta University has been shorn of all the colleges situated outside its territorial limits, but these institutions were in many cases also affiliated to the University to which they now exclusively belong, and their affiliation to Calcutta was nominal Secondly, there were some colleges on the lists of the Universities which had only a nominal existence, mere dummies which had once sent students up for degrees but had long since ceased to do so. Thirdly, there were numerous schools (especially schools for European boys) which had at some time or other obtained affiliation up to the Intermediate Standard and which in some years had a class of undergraduates and in other years had not. Some of these have renounced

A considerable number, however, still remain. They are not in truth colleges; the provision which they make for their occasional undergraduate students is neither separate from the school nor permanent nor up to University standards. The schools will continue to disappear gradually from the lists, and their disappearance will cause a further apparent drop in the numbers of the affiliated colleges. Lastly, there are a few real cases of weak institutions that have been obliged to close, owing to their inability to conform to the standards required by the Universities.¹

As anticipated in this review, there was a further decline in the number of affiliated colleges which stood at 170 in 1911-12 in spite of the new affiliations during the quinquennium. But from this time onwards there was a steady increase in the number of affiliated colleges and in 1921-22, it stood at 207.

It must be pointed out, however, that this slight increase in the number of colleges did not mean any setback to the development of collegiate education. For, in spite of the temporary or apparent decrease in the number of colleges noticed between the years 1904-12, the number of students attending them was continually and rapidly increasing between 1902 and 1921. Nor was the growth of Indian private enterprise in the field of collegiate education affected adversely by the Indian Universities Act of 1904. If anything, the growth of colleges conducted by Indians was far more rapid after 1904 than before it. The fears of the opponents of the Act, therefore, proved to be groundless to a considerable extent. On the other hand, the hopes entertained by the framers of the Act that the strict conditions of affiliation would lead to an improvement in collegiate instruction were largely fulfilled. It is, of course, true that it was not the conditions, by themselves, that led to the improvement. Large increase in fee-receipts owing to the rise in the number of students coupled with the prescription of higher rates of fees, liberal grants-in-aid from Government, and considerable endowments from people were also the factors that materially contributed to this end. All the same, the salutary effect of the Act in initiating, maintaining or accelerating this upward trend in efficiency cannot be overlooked or underestimated.

Thirdly, the Act made the Government of India sanction the first grants to Indian universities. Prior to 1904, Government did not give any grants-in-aid to any university except the Punjab which received an annual grant of about Rs. 30,000 because it

conducted the Oriental and Law Colleges. No grant was also felt to be necessary as the only items of expenditure in a university were a small office establishment and examinations. No money was spent even on the payment of travelling expenses of the Fellows who were expected to attend the meetings at their own cost. The total expenditure of a university, therefore, was easily met from the examination fees and often a surplus was left over.

Circumstances were changed by the Act of 1904. Meetings of the Senate and of the Syndicate were now more frequently held; the inspections of affiliated colleges had to be regularly carried out; additional staff had to be entertained to cope with the heavy routine work created by the Act and the regulations; and above all, something had to be done by way of implementing the hopes that were created by Section 3 of the Act. All this meant additional expenditure—a circumstance to which attention had already been drawn by Gokhale in his speeches on the Bill. The Government of India announced, therefore, that they would make a grant of Rs. 5,00,000 a year for 5 years, for the improvement of collegiate education and universities. The first grant was sanctioned in 1904-05 and of the total amount of Rs. 25 lakhs so given, Rs. 11½ lakhs were allotted to universities for administration, inspection, travelling charges, the purchase of land and erection of buildings, and Rs. 13½ lakhs were given to Provincial Governments for improvement of colleges. Although the grant of Rs. 5,00,000 a year was originally meant for five years only, it was later made a permanent recurring grant and a sum of Rs. 1,35,000 out of it was assigned for university education and the remainder was assigned to collegiate education. This was but the beginning of a movement which has continued ever since and needless to say, the system of Government grants to universities which was started by Lord Curzon in 1904-05 has led ultimately to considerable improvement in higher education.

These three were the main achievements of the Act which are beyond all controversy. But in so far as the two sides to the conflict over the Indian Universities Act, 1904, were concerned, both have been proved to be wrong to some extent by the inexorable logic of history. The Indians who opposed the Act under certain apprehensions found that their fears were liars;

it did not throw the monopoly of Indian education in European hands any more than what they already had ; that some additional funds did come in to the universities so that the Act was not, after all, *all control and no funds*. This was, however, a pleasant disillusionment. Lord Curzon, on the other hand, must have felt very sad that his hopes were dupes and that a measure which he planned with such zest and carried through in the midst of such a storm, should fail him in most respects. He did indeed succeed in his plan of control and the Act created, in the words of the Sadler Commission, *the most completely governmental universities in the world*. But in his ambitions of academic improvement, he achieved very little. As Ronaldshay observes :—

One would like to think that labour so great, inspired by ideals so high as those by which the Viceroy had been actuated, had met with a commensurate reward. But with the period which elapsed before the system of higher education came once more under the scrutiny of a Commission open to view, truth compels the admission that the changes actually brought about were small—out of all proportion either to the amount of time and thought which the Viceroy had devoted to them or to the violence of the opposition with which they had been assailed. Important improvements in matters of detail were undoubtedly effected ; but in its broad outline the system of higher education remained much as it had been before. The Commission of 1902 assumed that the affiliating system had come to stay. It did not contemplate the possibility of a radical reconstruction of the existing organisation, but aimed rather at a rehabilitation and strengthening of it. It failed to foresee that, in the circumstances prevailing in India, the strengthening of the system might also further encourage the tendencies which it had developed in its unregenerate days. This is indeed what happened. The rush of students to the literary courses which the universities provided was not checked, but rather stimulated. By 1917, the number of candidates for the matriculation examination of the Calcutta University alone had reached the amazing figure of sixteen thousand. A graphic picture of the situation was painted by the Commission of that year, under the distinguished chairmanship of Dr., afterwards Sir, Michael Sadler, whose services Lord Curzon had himself been anxious to secure as his first Director-General of Education fifteen years before. The summing up of the situation by the Sadler Commission provides a measure of the difficulties with which all reform in India is hedged around. That 'an effective synthesis between college and university was still undiscovered when the reforms of 1904 had been worked out to their conclusion' ; that 'the foundation of a sound university organisation had not yet been laid,' and that 'the problems of high school training and organisation were unresolved'—such conclusions constitute a sufficiently depressing epitaph, surely, upon the tombstone of so much aspiring and strenuously prosecuted endeavour.¹

It is necessary to add one qualifying statement to the above remarks. It is true that the Act of 1904, by itself, did not achieve much. But Curzon will still have the credit of having been the pioneer to start a new movement in university reform which

slowly and laboriously, but nevertheless steadily, has ever been progressing to its destined goal since the days when he and Gokhale fought their unforgettable duels over the Indian Universities Bill.

9. Curzon's Reforms in Collegiate Education. As a corollary to the reforms introduced in the universities, Government had to undertake reforms in collegiate education as well. Larger financial assistance had to be given to private colleges in order to enable them to come to the higher standard expected under the new university regulations and better provision had to be made for libraries, hostels and laboratories. Lord Curzon, therefore, assigned, as already stated, a sum of Rs. 13½ lakhs to collegiate education as additional grants-in-aid between 1904-05 and 1908-09.

The grant was divided amongst the provinces upon principles which took into account their population and the numbers of students in Arts college under private management....In assigning to the several provinces their shares in the grant, the Government of India laid down the following principles as to its application :—

- (1) The main purpose for which the grants were given was to assist in the improvement of the efficiency of colleges in those respects in which an inspection by the University showed them to be defective.
- (2) The growth of the residential system was to be encouraged; and adequate arrangements were to be made for the residence of students who did not lodge with their parents, guardians or relatives, and for the proper supervision of resident students.
- (3) Endeavours were to be made to induce voluntary effort to supplement the aid given by Government.¹

As in the case of the universities, these grants to collegiate education also materially assisted in improving the efficiency of colleges in general and in particular, in making better provision of hostels and the teaching of sciences.

10. Lord Curzon's Policy in Secondary Education. The foregoing review of the reforms in universities and collegiate education carried out by Lord Curzon shows the main features of his new policy in higher education. The old policy of *expansion* and *laissez-faire to private enterprise* which had been in vogue since 1882 was abandoned in favour of a new policy which aimed more at the improvement of existing institutions than at an increase in their number. Strict conditions for the granting of affiliation to colleges and their periodical inspection by the

Syndicate were provided for ; and Government decided to give grants-in-aid to private colleges in order to enable them to come up to the higher standards that were now expected of them. In short, the new policy stressed *quality* rather than *quantity* and preferred the method of *control* to one of *laissez-faire*.

By 1902, the problem of secondary education presented several features which were also common to that of collegiate education. In both, a large and a rapid expansion had been achieved between 1882 and 1902 ; private institutions conducted by Indians formed the largest single group in both the fields ; and just as there existed a number of colleges which depended mostly on fees and thrived rather as *coaching institutions* than as *centres of learning*, there were a number of secondary schools whose efficiency was far from satisfactory. It was, therefore, natural that Lord Curzon should adopt the same policy in secondary education as he had previously adopted in the field of collegiate education under the Indian Universities Act of 1904.

This new policy in secondary education which was put in practice during the years 1904-08 has been categorically stated in the Government Resolution on Educational Policy issued in 1904. It is necessary to analyse it fully and contrast it with the policy recommended by the Indian Education Commission in order to understand the events of this period in their proper perspective.

✓ 11. **Control of Private Enterprise.** The new policy in secondary education had two important aspects—*control* and *improvement*. With regard to the first of these, it may be stated that Government tried to control private enterprise in a number of ways, the most important of which are noticed below :—

(a) *Recognition by the Department*: It had been the opinion of the Indian Education Commission that the Departments should only prescribe the conditions on which grant-in-aid would be paid to private schools and that managers who did not ask for aid (or did not obtain it) should be left free to develop their schools along their own lines. Between 1882 and 1902, therefore, the Departments laid down fairly comprehensive codes for

attempt to regulate *unaided* schools.¹ This view was given up and it was now argued that Government ought to control *all* private secondary schools, whether aided or unaided. The *Government Resolution of 1904* explains this policy in the following words :—

Whether these schools are managed by public authority or by private persons, and whether they received aid from public funds or not, the Government is bound in the interests of the community to see that the education provided in them is sound. It must, for example, satisfy itself in each case that a secondary school is actually wanted ; that its financial stability is assured ; that its managing body, where there is one, is properly constituted ; that it teaches the proper subjects up to a proper standard ; that due provision has been made for the instruction, health, recreation, and discipline of the pupils ; that the teachers are suitable as regards character, number, and qualifications ; and that the fees to be paid will not involve such competition with any existing school as will be unfair and injurious to the interests of education. Such are the conditions upon which alone schools should be eligible to receive grants-in-aid or to send up pupils to compete for, or receive pupils in enjoyment of, Government scholarships ; and schools complying with them will be ranked as ' recognised ' schools.

A comparison of the above conditions of recognition with Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 (quoted in Section 9.5 above) will show that they are practically the same as the conditions prescribed for the affiliation of colleges. These conditions were soon incorporated in the Provincial Codes of grant-in-aid, and since 1904, the Departments began to prescribe the conditions of *recognition* and not of *grant-in-aid* as had been the practice in the past.

(b) *Recognition by the Universities*: In addition to the recognition granted by the Department, secondary schools had to obtain recognition from a University if they desired to present pupils at the Matriculation examination conducted by that University. This could have been a great weapon of control ; but prior to 1904, it had little or no value in practice. The regulations on the subject were generally defective ; and even such regulations as existed were often loosely administered ; the Universities had no agency for the inspection of schools, and consequently had

¹ For this, *vide* the following passage from the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1902-07*, para 187 :

" Of the 2,545 schools under private management, 1,785 receive aid from Government and 760 receive none. The Education Departments attach conditions to the grant of aid, and they have in practice always laid down fairly complete rules for the good government of schools as a condition of their receiving aid from public funds. The enactment of such rules has been effective where the inspecting staff was equal to the duty of enforcing them, where the amount of aid was worth having, and where the schools had resources from which to incur the necessary expense, and it has been ineffective where these three conditions were not satisfied. But in the unaided schools, there had hitherto been no such conditions."

to depend on the information supplied by the schools themselves ; and as the University and the Department worked independently of each other in matters of recognition, a conflict was not infrequent. The following passage from the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1902-07, describes this anomalous position in these words :—

Some control, hardly more than nominal, was previously exercised by some of the universities over the schools which were admitted to the privilege of recognition. In the Calcutta University, for instance, rules were laid down requiring a school to give certain information as to its management before it could be placed upon a list of recognised schools, and empowering the Syndicate to refuse recognition or to discontinue it, if the school were badly conducted or inefficient. In practice recognition was given indiscriminately, and the whole value of the privilege of recognition was undermined by the fact that if recognition were withheld it was open to the pupils of the schools to present themselves for Matriculation not indeed as school candidates, but as private candidates ; but there was no disadvantage to them in appearing under this description except that they were not eligible for Government scholarships. In Bombay, on the other hand, the University kept no list of recognised schools but admitted anybody to the Matriculation examination on production of a certificate of good character ; or if he preferred to appear as a school candidate, with an additional certificate from the school-master merely certifying the fact of his attendance at school.¹

Under the Indian Universities Act of 1904, regulations were framed by all universities for the recognition of schools. These regulations laid down the conditions which must be fulfilled by a *recognised* secondary school and closed the backdoor by forbidding admission to the Matriculation of candidates from *unrecognised* schools. Similarly, regulations were also framed with a view to minimising the conflict between the Department and the University.

(c) *Privileges of Recognition and Enforcement of Conditions of Recognition* : As is quite well known, the mere prescription of conditions for recognition will hardly serve any purpose unless the privileges attached to recognition are so important as to make the schools desire it and unless an adequate machinery is created to enforce the conditions of recognition. Recognition by the University entitled a school to send pupils to the Matriculation. Similarly, it was now laid down that recognition from the Department will entitle a school to—(i) receive a grant-in-aid from Government ; (ii) send up pupils for Government examinations or for the entrance examinations of Government Technical schools ; and (iii) receive pupils holding Government scholarships.

In order to encourage schools to seek for recognition by the Department and to enable them to come up to the higher standards that were now prescribed, Government decided to increase the grant-in-aid to private schools. Government also strengthened the inspecting staff for enforcing the conditions of recognition.

(d) *Prohibition of Transfers from Unrecognised to Recognised Schools*: A careful analysis of the privileges of recognition will show that schools would value departmental recognition for purposes of grants and university recognition for purposes of the Matriculation. But both these inducements would have had no effect on schools which did not receive, or hope for, a grant-in-aid (and hence did not mind recognition by the Department being refused or withdrawn) or which did not teach up to the Matriculation (and hence did not come under the control of the University). As the number of such schools was fairly large, a method had to be devised for bringing them under control. This was done by prohibiting automatic transfers of pupils from unrecognised to recognised schools. As the Director of Public Instruction, Madras, observed :—

As the rules freely allowed transfers from unrecognised to recognised schools, there was a danger that a class of schools would spring up outside departmental supervision and control, and bound by no conditions with respect to fees, staff, equipment, and accommodation, which, at the same time, would be able to draft their pupils freely into recognised high schools. Such schools would not of course be aided, but there were signs that even without aid they might compete unfairly with recognised schools. Accordingly, in 1905, a rule was made, the effect of which was practically to refuse recognition to the transfer certificates of unrecognised schools, and this rule was incorporated in the educational rules of 1906. The rule was quite effective for the purpose ; it closed to the pupils of the unrecognised schools admission to a recognised school and consequently to the Matriculation and Upper Secondary Examination, and under present conditions no secondary school which does not lead to one or other of these examinations can hope to succeed.¹

Unrecognised secondary schools could not have hoped to thrive, or even exist for long, in the face of this disability. Under the new system, recognition ceased to be a mere *advantage* ; it became a *condition of existence* and enabled the Department to bring almost all the secondary schools under its effective control and supervision.

This new policy of control by the Department and University was criticized by Indian public opinion in much the same way

¹ *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1902-07*, Vol. I, p. 71

in which the provisions of the Indian Universities Act were opposed. It was argued, for instance, that the attempt of Government to control private secondary schools was political in origin and was really intended to curb the growth of national feeling and private Indian enterprise. The political aspect of the problem need not be considered here. But even from the educational point of view, it would be difficult to justify the new policy in its entirety. It is, of course, true that the old policy of *laissez faire* had outlived its utility, that it had often degenerated into licence, and that a more rigid control of private enterprise was generally needed. But all the same, the new policy swung the pendulum far too much to the other side. Control is necessary, and, within limits, highly beneficial. But it can be easily exercised in excess and can thus lead to a rigid, mechanical, and uniform system. This development was often noticeable in subsequent years and although, in certain cases, it may have arisen from other causes—such as lack of enterprise or initiative on the part of private entrepreneurs or lack of funds,—it could be traced largely to the rigid grant-in-aid codes of this period and their administration.

12. **Improvement of Secondary Schools.** The *second* aspect of the new Government policy was the *improvement* of secondary schools in preference to an increase in their number. This new policy had three principal features: To begin with, Curzon decided to improve the Government High schools as *models* for private enterprise. As already stated, he was opposed to the doctrine of State-withdrawal and had specifically evolved the theory that, in every branch of education, Government must maintain a few institutions in a high state of efficiency as models for private enterprise. In applying this new doctrine to secondary schools, he proposed that at least one Government High school should be provided in every district. The execution of this policy was slow; but, for several years to come, Government incurred a good deal of expenditure in increasing the number of its secondary schools and in improving the standard of instruction provided in them.

Secondly, Curzon laid down that larger grants-in-aid should be given to private secondary schools in order to enable them to come up to the standard of Government schools. His

examinations also led to the discontinuance of the system of *payment by results* from the secondary stage. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1902-07, stated:—

The system upon which the grants are assessed has undergone a change during the quinquennium in all provinces. The chief feature of these changes is the universal disappearance of the system of assessing the grant-in-aid to a school upon the number of children passing an examination. This system previously existed in most, though not in all, provinces and was the means either of assessing the grants to certain kinds of secondary schools or of assessing part of the grant to all secondary schools. The system was amply condemned by experience and was abolished by the orders of the Government of India, based on general consent.¹

Thirdly, Curzon desired that greater attention should be paid to the training of secondary teachers. He directed that steps should be taken to improve the training colleges and to increase the output of trained secondary teachers. In his *Resolution of Educational Policy* (1904), he issued the following momentous orders on the subject:—

38. If the teaching in secondary schools is to be raised to a higher level—if the pupils are to be cured of their tendency to rely upon learning notes and text-books by heart, if, in a word, European knowledge is to be diffused by the methods proper to it, then it is most necessary that the teachers should themselves be trained in the art of teaching. Even in England, divided counsels have till recent times prevented due progress from being made with this most essential condition of the reform of secondary education. The Indian Education Commission referred to the conflict of opinion upon this fundamental principle, and to the diversity of practice which prevailed; and, while hesitating to lay down a general rule requiring secondary teachers to be trained, recommended “as an inadequate, but the only practicable alternative”, that an examination in the principles and practice of teaching should be instituted, success in which should hereafter be made a condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school. Other and larger views of the subject are now in the ascendant, and the Government of India are glad to know that the principle of providing training institutions for secondary teachers meets with universal acceptance among the Local Governments and Administrations. There already exist at Madras, Kurseong, Allahabad, Lahore, and Jubbulpore, institutions in which students are trained for service as teachers in the highest classes of secondary schools. Such students have either passed the Entrance or the Intermediate Examination of the University or are graduates. These institutions have done good work, and the time has come to extend the system to the provinces where it does not exist, notably Bombay, and to endeavour to create a supply of trained teachers which shall be adequate to the needs of the secondary schools throughout the country. Not only must the supply be increased, but the quality of the training given must be improved.

39. The details of the measures taken with the object are already engaging the attention of the various Local Governments. But the general principles upon which the Government of India desire to see the training institutions developed are these. An adequate staff of well-trained members of the Indian Educational Service

is required, and for this purpose it will be necessary to enlist more men of ability and experience in the work of higher training. The equipment of a Training College for secondary teachers is at least as important as that of an Arts College, and the work calls for the exercise of abilities, as great as those required in any branch of the Educational Service. The period of training for students must be at least two years, except in the case of graduates, for whom one year's training may suffice. For the graduates the course of instruction will be chiefly directed towards imparting to them a knowledge of the principles which underlie the art of teaching, and some degree of technical skill in the practice of the art. It should be a University course, culminating in a University degree or diploma. For the others, the course should embrace the extension, consolidation and revision of their general studies; but the main object should be to render them capable teachers and no attempt should be made to prepare them for any higher external examination. The scheme of instruction should be determined by the authorities of the Training College and by the Education Department; and the examination at the close of it should be controlled by the same authorities. The training in the theory of teaching should be closely associated with its practice, and for this purpose good practising schools should be attached to each college, and should be under the control of the same authority. The practising school should be fully equipped with well-trained teachers, and the students should see examples of the best teaching, and should teach under capable supervision. It is desirable that the Training Colleges should be furnished with a good library, and with a museum in which should be exhibited samples, models, illustrations, or records of the school work of the province. Every possible care should be taken to maintain a connection between the Training College and the school, so that the student on leaving the college and entering upon his career as a teacher may not neglect to practise the methods which he has been taught, and may not (as sometimes happens) be prevented from doing so and forced to fall into line with the more mechanical methods of his untrained colleagues. The trained students whom the college has sent out should be occasionally brought together again, and the inspecting staff should co-operate with the Training College authorities in seeing that the influence of the college makes itself felt in the schools.

It will be seen that even this aspect of the new policy differed materially from the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission. The doctrine of State-withdrawal was openly repudiated; and the improvement of schools and the training of teachers were more strongly emphasized. But Indian public opinion challenged the necessity and utility of this departure from the old policy on several grounds. It was pointed out that this policy came in the way of larger grants to private schools. In an attempt to make "models" of its institutions, Government had to spend large amounts on the few institutions maintained by it and consequently, the more numerous private secondary schools did not obtain that assistance from Government to which they were entitled on the strength of numbers and which was held out to them under official declarations. Also, the ~~very~~ expediency of maintaining "model" institutions was questioned.

It was said, for instance, that the improvement of private schools was mainly a question of funds and that private schools remained inefficient because they did not have adequate financial resources and *not* because there was not a model institution to which they might look up for inspiration and guidance. It was, therefore, urged that Government should close its institutions and use the funds so saved for giving larger grants to private schools in order to enable them to increase their efficiency. It is obvious, therefore, that the controversy was financial rather than educational. There was no questioning of the efficiency as such of Government institutions and the idea of maintaining "models" was not attacked on general grounds either. ~~The whole of the~~ non-official attack was directed against the fact that the policy which required the maintenance of costly Government institutions deprived the private schools of the funds which would otherwise have gone to them. The difficulty could have been overcome in any one of the following three ways :—(a) ~~closure of Government schools~~ ; (b) conversion of Government schools into vocational schools so that the aspect of competition between them and private schools would disappear ; and (c) provision of additional funds for grant-in-aid to private schools. As we shall see later, some action in all these directions was taken by Government at a subsequent date. But in so far as the period under review was concerned, the problem remained highly controversial.

13. **Other Reforms in Secondary Education.** This change in the Government policy from the old one of *expansion and laissez-faire* to the new one of *control and improvement* was the main achievement of Lord Curzon in the field of secondary education. But over and above this, he also carried out some minor reforms. For instance, he emphasized once more the need for the *provision of vocational courses* at the secondary stage and the holding of an alternative examination to the Matriculation. But in this respect he had nothing new to say and was merely emphasizing and elucidating a policy that already existed since 1889. On the other hand, he made a definite contribution to the solution of the problem of *medium of instruction*. It was shown in Chap. VI, section 16 that by 1902, the position regarding the medium of instruction stood as under :—

(a) There was a unanimity of opinion regarding the use

- (b) The question of adopting modern Indian languages at the middle school stage was often discussed without any definite decision being reached ; and
- (c) The stage at which the study of English as a language should be begun was also a disputed point.

On the last two issues, Curzon gave a definite and, from the point of view of that period, a progressive ruling. As the *Government Resolution on Educational Policy* dated 1904, observed :—

26. Except in certain of the larger towns of Madras, where like Urdu in Northern India, it serves to some extent the purpose of a *lingua franca*, English has no place, and should have no place, in the scheme of primary education. It has never been part of the policy of Government to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. It is true that the commercial value which a knowledge of English commands, and the fact that the final examinations of the high schools are conducted in English, cause the secondary schools to be subjected to a certain pressure to introduce prematurely both the teaching of English as a language and its use as the medium of instruction ; while for the same reasons the study of the vernacular in these schools is liable to be thrust into the background. This tendency however requires to be corrected in the interest of sound education. As a general rule a child should not be allowed to learn English as a language until he has made some progress in the primary stages of instruction and has received a thorough grounding in his mother-tongue.

It is equally important that when the teaching of English has begun, it should not be prematurely employed as the medium of instruction in other subjects. Much of the practice, too, prevalent in Indian schools, of committing to memory ill-understood phrases and extracts from text-books or notes, may be traced to the scholars' having received instruction through the medium of English before their knowledge of the language was sufficient to enable them to understand what they were taught. The line of division between the use of the vernacular and of English as a medium of instruction should, broadly speaking, be drawn at a minimum age of 13. No scholar in a secondary school should, even then, be allowed to abandon the study of his vernacular, which should be kept up until the end of the school course. If the educated classes neglect the cultivation of their own languages, these will assuredly sink to the level of mere colloquial dialects possessing no literature worthy of the name, and no progress will be possible in giving effect to the principle, affirmed in the Despatch of 1854, that European knowledge should gradually be brought, by means of Indian vernaculars, within the reach of all classes of the people.

The policy outlined in this passage marked a definite advance over the vague recommendations of the Indian Education Commission and was generally carried out in all Provinces. The following chart shows the position of English in the

secondary courses of the major Provinces as it stood at the end of the Quinquennium 1902-07 :—

PRIMARY & SECONDARY COURSES IN INDIA 1902-1907:		
MADRAS	Infant. I II III IV V VI VII standard.	Vernacular (Elementary).
	Infant. I II III IV  Form.  Form.	Secondary (English).
BOMBAY	Infant. I II III IV V VI VII standard.	Vernacular (Primary).
	 at.	High and Middle (English).
BENGAL	Infant. I II III IV V VI standard.	Middle (Vernacular).
	Infant. VIII c VII b VI a V b IV a  class.	High and Middle (English).
C. P.	Preparatory I II III IV V VI class.	Middle (Vernacular).
	Preparatory I II III IV V VI  class.	High and Middle (English).
PUNJAB	I Infant. II III IV V  class.	Middle (Vernacular).
	I Infant. II III IV V  class.	High and Middle (English).
G. P.	Infant. I II III IV  class.	Lower Secondary (Vernacular).
	Infant. I II III IV  class.	High and Middle (English).
ASSAM	b VII a VI V IV III II I class.	Middle (Vernacular).
	b VII a VIII VII VI V  class.	High and Middle (English).
High Stage  Middle Stage  Primary Stage  English teaching began — E English as medium of instruction.  Passage to English Schools.-----> English as medium of — instruction in some subjects. 		

14. Lord Curzon's Lead in Primary Education. Turning to the field of primary education, we find that Curzon's policy was slightly different. In higher education, he emphasized *quality* as against *quantity*. But in primary education he emphasized *expansion* side by side with *improvement*. On the first of

these issues, he held the view (a) that the need for expansion of primary education was greater then than at any time in the past; (b) that the expansion of primary education had always been slow and that, if anything, the pace of expansion had become slower still since 1882; and (c) that the principal cause of the slow progress of primary education was the inadequacy of grants from Government funds. For instance, in his speech at the Simla Conference, he made the following observations:—

Primary Education—by which I understand the teaching of the masses in the vernacular—opens a wider and a more contested field of study. I am one of those who think that Government has not fulfilled its duty in this respect. Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian text-books, the elementary education of the people in their own tongues has shrivelled and pined. This, I think has been a mistake, and I say so for two principal reasons. In the first place, the vernaculars are the living languages of this great continent. English is the vehicle of learning and of advancement to the small minority; but for the vast bulk it is a foreign tongue which they do not speak and rarely hear. If the vernaculars contained no literary models, no classics, I might not be so willing to recommend them. But we all know that in them are enshrined famous treasures of literature and art; while even the secrets of modern knowledge are capable of being communicated thereby in an idiom and in phrases which will be understood by millions of people to whom our English terms and ideas will never be anything but an unintelligible jargon. My second reason is even wider in its application. What is the greatest danger in India? What is the source of suspicion, superstition, outbreaks, crime—yes, and also of much of the agrarian discontent and suffering among the masses? It is ignorance. And what is the only antidote to ignorance? Knowledge. In proportion as we teach the masses, so we shall make their lot happier, and in proportion as they are happier, so they will become more useful members of the body-politic.

In the same way, in the *Resolution on Educational Policy* dated 11th March, 1904, he observed:—

14. Primary education is the instruction of the masses, through the vernacular, in such subjects as will best stimulate their intelligence and fit them for their position in life. It was found in 1854 that the consideration of measures to this end had been too much neglected and a considerable increase of expenditure on primary education was then contemplated. The Education Commission recommended in 1883, that 'the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement should be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should be directed in a still larger measure than before.' The Government of India fully accept the proposition that the active extension of primary education is one of the most important duties of the State. They undertake this responsibility, not merely on general grounds, but because, as Lord Lawrence observed in 1868, "among all the sources of difficulty in our administration, and of possible danger to the stability of our Government, there are few so serious as the ignorance of the people." To the people themselves, moreover, the lack of education is now a more serious

cultivator has been brought into contact with the commercial world, and has been involved in transactions in which an illiterate man is at a great disadvantage. The material benefits attaching to education have at the same time increased with the development of schemes for introducing improved agricultural methods, for opening agricultural banks, for strengthening the legal position of the cultivator, and for generally improving the conditions of rural life. Such schemes depend largely for their success upon the influence of education permeating the masses and rendering them accessible to ideas other than those sanctioned by tradition.

16. While the need for education grows with the growth of population, the progress towards supplying it is not now so rapid as it was in former years. In 1870-71, there were 16,473 schools with 607,320 scholars; in 1881-82 there were 82,916 with 2,061,541 scholars. But by 1891-92 these had only increased to 97,109 schools with 2,837,607 scholars,¹ and the figures of 1901-02 (98,538 schools with 3,268,726 scholars¹) suggest that the initial force of expansion is somewhat on the decline; indeed the last year of the century showed a slight decrease as compared with the previous year. For purposes of exact comparison some allowances have to be made for differences in the basis of the statistics but their broad effect is not altered by these modifications. Nor has the rate of growth of primary schools kept pace with that of secondary schools, in which the number of scholars has considerably more than doubled during the last twenty years. It may be said indeed that the expansion of primary schools has received a check in recent years from the calamities of famine and plague; and it is further impeded by the indifference of the more advanced and ambitious classes to the spread of primary education. These, however, are minor obstacles, which would soon be swept away if the main difficulty of finding the requisite funds for extending primary education could be overcome.

17. The expenditure upon primary education does not admit of exact statement, since the cost of the instruction given in the lower classes of secondary schools is not separately shown, nor is the expenditure on the administration and inspection of primary schools capable of separate calculation. But the direct outlay from public funds upon primary schools stands as follows:—

	1886-87.	1891-92.	1901-02.
From Provincial Funds	16,00,239	13,43,343	16,92,514
From Local & Municipal Funds ..	26,07,624	35,86,208	46,10,387
Total ..	42,07,863	49,29,551	63,02,901

18. On a general view of the question the Government of India cannot avoid the conclusion that primary education has hitherto received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of the public funds. They consider that it possesses a strong claim upon the sympathy both of the Supreme Government and of the local Governments, and should be made a leading charge upon provincial revenues; and that in those provinces where it is in a backward condition, its encouragement should be a primary obligation. The Government of India believe that local Governments are cordially in agreement with them in

desiring this extension, and will carry it out to the limits allowed by the financial conditions of each province.

After having thus diagnosed the true cause of the slow progress of primary education, Curzon at once proceeded to rectify the position. He sanctioned large non-recurring grants to primary education in order to counteract the effects of plague and famine which affected most parts of the country towards the close of the nineteenth century. But what is even more important, he assigned large recurring grants to primary education which enabled the Provincial Governments to raise the rate of grant-in-aid to Local Boards and Municipalities from *one-third* to *one-half* of total expenditure and to pay better grants to private primary schools. This liberal policy at once led to a large increase in the number of primary schools and pupils. The following statistics compare the enrolment in primary schools for the years 1881-82, 1901-02 and 1911-12 :—

	1881-82.	1901-02.	1911-12.
1. Number of recognised primary schools	82,916	93,604	1,18,262
2. Number of scholars in above ..	20,61,541	30,76,671	48,06,736

N.B.—Figures of all years include some Indian States and exclude Burma. The year 1911-12 is taken because the full effect of Curzon's policy was noticeable only by this time.

It will be seen that the increase in the enrolment of primary schools in the ten years from 1901-02 to 1911-12 was nearly twice the increase in the enrolment during the twenty years following the report of the Indian Education Commission.

But wedded as he was to the doctrine of improvement, Curzon could not rest satisfied with mere increase in numbers. With a view to improving the quality of primary education, therefore, he directed (a) that greater expenditure should be incurred on buildings and equipment in primary schools ; (b) that the training and prospects of primary teachers should be improved ; (c) that the courses of primary schools should be revised and special attention paid to the differentiation of curricula between urban and rural schools ; and (d) that the system of payment by results be abandoned and replaced by simpler and better methods of grants-in-aid. A little detailed consideration of some of these points is necessary.

(a) *Training of Primary Teachers* : Curzon emphasized the necessity of providing a larger number of training institutions for primary teachers, particularly in Bengal, where the percentage of trained teachers was low. He also directed that, as a rule, the total period of training should not be less than two years. But by far his greatest contribution to the subject was to emphasize the training of rural primary teachers in elementary agriculture. This reform is clearly explained in the following words of the *Quinquennial Review of Progress of Education in India* (1902-07) :—

Among the improvements introduced into the curriculum of the training colleges are not only an extended use of Kindergarten methods and object lessons and drawing, but also agricultural courses, which have been introduced in some provinces for the benefit of vernacular schoolmasters in training. When properly arranged, the purpose of these courses is not to turn the village schoolmasters into agricultural teachers ; but to cultivate in the teachers the habit of observation as applied to the ordinary surroundings of rural schools, and to furnish them with a basis of some positive knowledge of the principles of the growth of plants, in order that they may be better qualified, when serving in rural schools, to give suitable object lessons. Opinions seem to be settling towards the view that the proper place at which to provide these agricultural courses is the training institutions themselves. In the Central Provinces the system has been to draft the teachers from the training institution to a farm school for a six months' course. A similar system was intended to be pursued in the Punjab by the drafting of teachers to the Agricultural College at Lyallpur, but this project has not been carried out, and one obstacle to it is the lack of inducement to the student to undergo additional training without receiving additional pay ; consequently in the Punjab, some training of this kind is at present given at the normal schools, three of which have rented small plots for illustrating the agricultural lessons, but it is stated that only one of the instructors has any qualifications for giving this kind of instruction. In Madras and Bombay it has been thought preferable to attach agricultural teachers to the training institutions themselves. In the United Provinces, ' an agricultural class was opened at the Moradabad Normal school in 1902-03 for training teachers in the principles of agriculture, with a view to their serving as agricultural instructors in vernacular schools, but as there was no demand among the agricultural population of these provinces for such teachers the class did not justify the expenditure incurred upon it and after two years it was closed '.¹

Curzon himself reviewed these changes, in his *Resolution on Educational Policy* (1904), as follows :—

Steps are also being taken to supply courses of training specially suited for teachers of rural schools. These do not attempt the impossible task of reforming the agricultural practice of the peasantry by the agency of village school masters imbued with a smattering of scientific theory. They serve the more limited and practical purpose of supplying the village schools with teachers whose stock-in-trade is not mere book learning, and whose interests have been aroused in the

objects which are familiar to the children in the country schools. Various plans are being tried, such as drafting the teachers from the normal school to a Government farm and training them there for six months, or giving a continuous course at the normal school itself by means of lectures combined with practice in cultivating plots of ground or school gardens. Experience will show which methods work best in different provinces, and it is not necessary to pronounce in favour of one plan to the exclusion of others.¹

(b) *Revision of Curricula* : Curzon emphasized the necessity of imparting a liberal education in primary schools which would go as much beyond the 3 R's as possible. He was not at all in favour of a move to simplify the curriculum which had been recommended by the Indian Education Commission. On the other hand, he desired an enrichment of the curriculum. Reference has already been made to his desire to include agriculture as a subject of study in primary schools, particularly in those situated in rural areas. Moreover, he desired that the teaching of object lessons and the adoption of Kindergarten methods should become more common, especially where competent teachers were available, "as calculated to correct some of the inherent defects of the Indian intellect, to discourage exclusive reliance on the memory, and to develop a capacity for reasoning from observed facts". Physical exercise was another subject which he desired to be made universal. But his most significant contribution to the curriculum problem was the view that the curricula of rural primary schools should be different from those of the urban ones. He said :—

The instruction of the masses in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life involves some differentiation in the courses for rural schools, especially in connection with the attempts which are being made to connect primary teaching with familiar objects. In Bombay a separate course of instruction, with standards of its own, is prescribed. In the Central Provinces a system of half-time schools has been successfully established, providing simple courses of instruction in the mornings for the children of agriculturists, who work in the fields during the rest of the day. This system seems worthy of imitation, elsewhere ; at present a similar experiment made in the Punjab has met with less success. The aim of the rural schools should be, not to impart definite agricultural teaching, but to give to the children a preliminary training which will make them intelligent cultivators, will train them to be observers, thinkers, and experimenters in however humble a manner, and will protect them in their business transactions with the landlords to whom they pay rent and the grain dealers to whom they dispose of their crops. The reading books prescribed should be written in simple language, not in unfamiliar literary style, and should deal with topics associated with rural life. The grammar taught should be elementary, and only native systems of arithmetic should be used. The village map should be thoroughly understood ; and a most useful course of instruction should

in the accountant's papers, enabling every boy before leaving school to master the intricacies of the village accounts and to understand the demands that may be made upon the cultivator. The Government of India regard it as a matter of the greatest importance to provide a simple, suitable, and useful type of school for the agriculturist, and to foster the demand for it among the population.¹

In his main demand that the instruction in a rural primary school ought to be integrally related to the local environment, Curzon was fundamentally right. But unfortunately, his ideas were not properly worked out. They were mechanically interpreted either to imply the teaching of agriculture as an additional subject or to provide a simpler course than that taught in urban schools. The following passage from the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India* (1902-07) shows the general nature of these trends :—

Every province in which the teachers are told to base their instruction upon objects familiar to the children and are given some freedom in constructing the curriculum may be said to provide the frame-work for differentiating between urban and rural primary schools. Only four provinces, *viz*, Bombay, Bengal, the Punjab and the Central Provinces, prescribe differences in the curriculum according as the school is rural or urban. There are different ways of making the distinction. Bombay provides for the rural schools a smaller range of subjects than for the urban, and easier standards; Bengal provides the same curriculum and the same standards for both kinds of school, with the sole difference that in the scientific readers used in rural schools the parts relating to physics and chemistry are replaced by parts relating to agriculture; in the Punjab there is a difference of curriculum, *viz.*, the omission of Persian, a difference of syllabus, *viz.*, the teaching of arithmetic by native methods, a difference of standard in geography and a difference in the language of the reading books, Punjabi being admissible instead of, or in addition to, Urdu. In the Central Provinces, the main difference is that the rural curriculum is for half-timers, the theory being that the children can assist in agricultural operations during the other half of the day; but there is also a difference in the subjects studied, for the rural curriculum consists of the following compulsory subjects :—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and agriculture, besides a little drawing of geometrical forms and physical exercises. The same subjects are compulsory in the urban curriculum, but there is added thereto either history, freehand drawing or grammar. To the extent to which the two curricula coincide, the standards are identical. In Bombay, the schools for agriculturalists with the lower standards are distinct institutions from the schools with the higher standards. In the Punjab, all schools outside the largest cities are likely to adopt the rural curriculum. In the Central Provinces, half-timers and full-timers attend the same institutions, and the two curricula are taught in the same school.

Curzon was aware that the qualitative reforms in primary education would involve a revision of the pay of primary teachers which varied greatly (from Rs. 5 p.m. in Bengal to about Rs. 18 p.m. in Bombay) and which was often too low to attract or retain a satisfactory class of persons in the profession. But he could

not achieve much in this direction, partly for lack of time and partly for lack of funds. Consequently, the projected reforms of quality did not materialise appreciably, while the expansion he had aimed at soon became a *fait accompli*.

(c) *Abandoning of the System of Payment by Results* : Consequent upon the recommendation of the Indian Education Commission, the system of payment by results was universally adopted, between 1882 and 1902, as a means (though not the only means) of assessing grants to private schools. In Madras and Bombay, well-managed primary schools were aided on a system of fixed grants ; but the number of schools so aided was extremely small as compared with those aided on the system of payment by results. In Bengal, the result grant reigned supreme, while in the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, and Assam, the result grant was only a part of the annual grant to the school, the remaining being either fixed or dependent upon other tests. But in accordance with the policy of Lord Curzon, the system of payment by results was universally abandoned and replaced by more scientific and advanced methods of grant-in-aid.

It is not necessary to go into the details of all the complicated systems of aid that grew up in the several provinces. But the following passage from the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1902-07, will give an idea of their general features :—

The systems of grant-in-aid as they stand after the wholesale reconstruction which has taken place during the quinquennium have now been enumerated. At first sight they are almost bewildering in their manifold variety. They range from the extreme of simplicity in Madras to the extreme of complication in Bengal and Burma. Some of the grants run annually, some for a term of years ; some are of an amount exactly ascertainable beforehand and prescribed in the Code, others are determined at the end of the year on fixed principles, others depend upon the discretion of the authorities after considering the circumstances of the school. In one province they are paid by the department out of provincial revenues, in others they are paid by local boards upon a scale departmentally laid down, in others the local boards may, within prescribed limits, determine the scale and its basis. Some provinces make no conditions as to the funds that shall be forthcoming from private sources to meet the grant, others make conditions under which the amount to be supplied from private sources ranges from one-sixth (Assam) to two-thirds of the expenditure (Bombay) ; one excludes the fees and another includes the fees, when reckoning the private sources. The bases on which the grants are assessed consist of the following, taken separately or together :—

Number of teachers.

Qualifications of teachers.

Number of scholars in attendance.

Regularity of attendance.

Subjects taught.

Efficiency of the teaching as judged by inspection.

Efficiency of the teaching as judged by examination.

Efficiency of the teaching as judged by the number of children in upper classes.

School premises and apparatus.

General need and merits of the school.

Contributions from private sources.

Central managing body receiving lump grants.¹

These changes were, on the whole, helpful to the cause of primary education although the amount of aid given to schools was still inadequate. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1902-07, observed the result grant had carried "the principle of stimulus" to excess, and "the change to a greater stability in the rates of grant had been generally beneficial."

15. Other Educational Reforms of Lord Curzon. Lord Curzon carried out several important reforms in the field of vocational education, especially in respect of Schools of Art, Agricultural Education, and Technical Education. But these will be dealt with in detail in Chapter XI; and the foregoing review of his work in Indian education may be conveniently closed with a brief notice of a few other educational reforms that he carried out during this Viceroyalty.

(a) *Education of Women*: Here Curzon had nothing to suggest beyond the appointment of suitable teachers, organisation of *model* schools, and provision of larger funds. He said:—

Here the figures exhibit a relatively very backward state of affairs. Indeed, Mr. Cotton in the last *Quinquennial Review* described it as "the most conspicuous blot on the educational system of India." In the past year there were only 425,000 girls attending all classes of schools out of the entire population, and of these nearly one-third were in Madras, where the native Christian and Eurasian populations are unusually large. Moderate as I have shown the number of boys to be who go to school, only one girl attends for every ten of the male sex, and only 2½ per cent of the female population of school-going age is at school; and the total expenditure upon Female Education in Primary and Secondary Schools from all public funds (I exclude fees, subscriptions, and endowments) was last year only 11 lakhs, as compared with 80 lakhs on boys. Female Education has to suffer from many drawbacks in this country. It is contrary to the traditions and prejudices of the people. Their native customs, particularly that of early marriage, and the idea that women ought not to be trained up to remunerative employment, are unfavourable to it. In so far as it is practised, it is almost entirely confined to girls of the lower classes, who go to the Primary Schools to pick up the three R's. Parents in the higher classes will not send their girls

to school. They prefer to have them educated in the zenana at home. It is too much, with all these obstacles in the way, to expect that Female Education in India will make any sudden or rapid strides. But I think that we might do more to foster its growth by providing suitable teachers, and, perhaps by encouraging the formation of a few model schools.¹

✓ (b) *Moral Education*: The question of religious education was discussed again at the Simla Conference. That the State schools should remain secular was so established a tradition now that it was not challenged at all. On the other hand, the suggestion made by the Indian Education Commission, 1882-83 to the effect that a *moral primer or text-book* should be prescribed in colleges was also brushed aside as inadequate. 'If pupils can cram Euclid', said Curzon, 'there is nothing to prevent them from cramming ethics'.² The Conference, therefore, took up the consideration of a very practical issue, *viz.*, how moral and spiritual values can be realised in an educational system that is bound to be secular. The views of Curzon's administration on this topic were very sound and deserve a careful study. In his *Resolution on Educational Policy* (1904), he said:—

25 In Government institutions the instruction is, and must continue to be, exclusively secular. In such cases the remedy for the evil tendencies noticed above is to be sought, not so much in any formal methods of teaching conduct by means of moral text-books or primers of personal ethics, as in the influence of carefully selected and trained teachers, the maintenance of a high standard of discipline, the institution of well-managed hostels, the proper selection of text-books, such as biographies, which teach by example, and above all in the association of teachers and pupils in the common interests of their daily life.

On the other hand, Curzon believed that aided schools should preferably give religious education and did not even suggest the adoption of a conscience-clause!

✓ (c) *Creation of the Department of Archæology*: A really great contribution of Curzon to India was the creation of the Department of Archæology. He found that the ancient monuments in India were not properly being cared for and, therefore, created a special department for the purpose. He was also responsible for passing the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904. This was a very valuable piece of work and the Department has done yeoman service to Indian culture by its archæological studies and by the efficient preservation of all important ancient monuments.

♪ (d) *Appointment of a Director-General of Education in India*: One of the greatest contributions of Curzon was to create the

¹ Lord Curzon in India, Vol. II, pp. 52-4.

post of a Director-General of Education in India. He held very emphatic views regarding the responsibility of the Government of India for education and said :—

My last topic is the desirability of creating a Director-General of Education in India. Upon this point I will give my opinions for what they may be worth. To understand the case we must first realise what the existing system and its consequences are. Education is at present a sub-heading of the work of the Home Department, already greatly overstrained. When questions of supreme educational interest are referred to us for decision, we have no expert to guide us, no staff trained to the business, nothing but the precedents recorded in our files to fall back upon. In every other department of scientific knowledge—sanitation, hygiene, forestry, mineralogy, horse-breeding, explosives—the Government possesses expert advisers. In education, the most complex and most momentous of all, we have none. We have to rely upon the opinions of officers who are constantly changing, and who may very likely never have had any experience of education in their lives. Let me point to another anomaly. Under the system of decentralisation that has necessarily and, on the whole, rightly been pursued, we have little idea of what is happening in the provinces, until, once every five years, a gentleman comes round, writes for the Government of India the Quinquennial Review, makes all sorts of discoveries of which we know nothing, and discloses shortcomings which in hot haste we then proceed to redress. How and why this systemless system has been allowed to survive for all these years it passes my wit to determine. Now that we realise it, let us put an end to it for ever. I do not desire an Imperial Education Department, packed with pedagogues, and crusted with officialism. I do not advocate a Minister or Member of Council for Education. I do not want anything that will turn the Universities into a Department of the State, or fetter the Colleges and schools with bureaucratic handcuffs. But I do want some one at headquarters who will prevent the Government of India from going wrong, and who will help us to secure that community of principle and of aim without which we go drifting about like a deserted hulk on chopping seas. I go further, and say that the appointment of such an officer, provided that he be himself an expert and an enthusiast, will be of immense assistance to the local Governments. His wider outlook will check the perils of narrowness and pedantry, while his custody of the leading principles of Indian Education will prevent those vagaries of policy and sharp revulsions of action which distract our administration without reforming it. He would not issue orders to the local Governments ; but he would be in frequent communication with them ; and his main function would be to advise the Government of India. Exactly the same want was felt in America, where decentralisation and devolution are even more keenly cherished, and had been carried to greater lengths, than here ; and it was met by the creation of a Central Bureau of Education in 1867, which has since then done invaluable work in co-ordinating the heterogeneous application of common principles. It is for consideration whether such an official in India as I have suggested should, from time to time, summon a representative Committee or Conference, so as to keep in touch with the local jurisdictions, and to harmonise our policy as a whole.¹

The post was soon created and the first official to hold it was H. W. Orange. The Despatch of 1854, it will be recalled, created Departments of Education in the Provinces ; the credit of

creating the first nucleus of such a Department in the Government of India goes to Curzon.

16. Curzon's Contribution to Indian Education. We are now in a position to estimate Curzon's contribution to Indian education. In his own time, Curzon came in for very bitter criticism, for reasons already explained. Even so impartial and poised a speaker as Gokhale used unusually strong words while speaking of Curzon at the Benares Congress (1905). He said :—

Gentlemen, how true it is that to everything there is an end ! Thus even the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon has come to a close ! For seven long years all eyes had constantly to turn to one masterful figure in the land—now in admiration, now in astonishment, more often in anger and in pain, till at last it has become difficult to realize that a change has really come. For a parallel to such an administration, we must, I think, go back to the times of Aurangzeb in the history of our own country. There we find the same attempt at a rule excessively centralized and intensely personal, the same strenuous purpose, the same overpowering consciousness of duty, the same marvellous capacity for work, the same sense of loneliness, the same persistence in a policy of distrust and repression resulting in bitter exasperation all round. I think even the most devoted admirer of Lord Curzon cannot claim that he has strengthened the foundations of British rule in India. In some respects his Lordship will always be recognized as one of the greatest Englishmen that ever came out to this country. His wonderful intellectual gifts, his brilliant powers of expression, his phenomenal energy, his boundless enthusiasm for work—these will ever be a theme of just and unstinted praise. But the gods are jealous, and amidst such lavish endowments, they withheld from him a sympathetic imagination, without which no man can ever understand an alien people ; and it is a sad truth that at the end of his administration Lord Curzon did not really understand the people of India. This was at the root of his many inconsistencies and made him a perpetual puzzle to most men. And thus the man, who professed in all sincerity, before he assumed the reins of office, his great anxiety to show the utmost deference to the feelings and even the prejudices of those over whom he was set to rule, ended by denouncing in unmeasured terms not only the present generation of Indians, but also their remote ancestors and even the ideals of their race which they cherish above everything else ; he, who in the early part of his administration, publicly warned the official classes that ' official wisdom is not so transcendent as to be superior to the stimulus and guidance of public opinion ' and who declared that in the present state of India ' the opinion of the educated classes is one which it is not statesmanship to ignore or to despise,' ended by trampling more systematically upon that opinion than any of his predecessors, and claiming for his own judgment and that of his official colleagues a virtual character of infallibility. The fact is that Lord Curzon came to India with certain fixed ideas. To him India was a country where the Englishman was to monopolize for all times all power and talk all the while of duty. The Indian's only business was to be governed, and it was a sacrilege on his part to have any other aspiration. In his scheme of things there was no room for the educated classes of the country ; and having failed to amuse them for any length of time by an empty show of taking them into his confidence he proceeded in the end to repress them. Even in his last farewell speech at the Byculla Club in Bombay, India exists only as a scene of the Englishman's labours, with the teeming millions of the country—eighty per cent of the population—

in the background. The remaining twenty per cent., for aught they are worth, might as well be gently swept into the sea. Taking Lord Curzon at his highest, we find him engaged in a Herculean attempt to strengthen the Englishman's monopoly of power in India and stem the tide of popular agitation and discontent by rousing the members of the bureaucracy to a sense of duty similar to his own and raising the standard of administrative efficiency all round. The attempt has failed, as it was bound to fail. Never was discontent in India more acute and widespread than when the late Viceroy laid down the reins of office ; and as regards the bureaucratic monopoly of power, I think we are sensibly nearer the time when it will be successfully assailed.¹

But these criticisms are, to a large extent, obsolete at present. We are no longer blinded by the controversies of the day ; with her characteristic catholicity of heart, India has forgiven the insults which Curzon directed at her patriotic children, just as she forgave the vilifications of Charles Grant or Macaulay ; and now that that we can see the scene more clearly, it is possible to evaluate Curzon's work in an objective and critical manner. In fact, the tide has already turned and the commonest sentiment towards him in educational circles today is one of appreciation and understanding. Curzon, it is now admitted, did yeoman service to the cause of education. He was the author of the great movement for educational reconstruction which started in the beginning of this century. He laid the foundation of the reform of Indian universities which gathered such momentum in later years ; his attempts to raise the standards in higher education did considerably useful service. In primary education, it was he who started a drive for expansion, although his successors did not keep it up. Agricultural education received a tremendous impetus at his hands and he was the founder of the Department of Archæology in India. It was he who started the movements for Central responsibility in educational finance and the creation of an Education Department in the Government of India. He was also responsible for greatly encouraging the study of the modern Indian languages. In short, it may be said of Curzon that he touched almost every aspect of Indian education and touched nothing that he did not reform. Today, it is these services that India remembers and *not* his high-handed political policies. As Professor Amarnath Jha put it :—

Now that the ashes of the numerous strifes are cold, all Indians are grateful to the wise statesmanship of the great Viceroy who did so much to preserve our ancient monuments and raise our educational standards. By these achievements he still lives, and generations of Indians will bless him for them.²

CHAPTER TEN

A PERIOD OF TRANSITION

(1905-21)

Lord Curzon left India in 1905 ; and in order to lull the storms created by his administration, certain of his policies were reversed by later Viceroys. For instance, his partition of Bengal was undone in deference to popular opinion ; the educated intelligentsia began to receive a more sympathetic and respectful treatment at the hands of the bureaucracy ; and although Curzon had consistently refused to make concessions to educated Indians by giving them seats in Councils, his successor was farsighted enough to introduce the well-known *Morley-Minto* Reforms of 1909 under which a much greater representation in Legislative Councils was vouchsafed to the Indian people than at any time in the past. But in so far as education is concerned, hardly any of Curzon's policies were abandoned ; in fact, most of them were continued with even greater zeal than that of Curzon himself. Consequently, the period between 1905, when Curzon left India, and 1921 when the Education Department was transferred to Indian control, may really be described as a period of transition in which the policies laid down by Curzon were being worked out in a resolute and zealous manner. The Indian public, of course, continued to oppose them. But the opposition could never reach the magnitude of the struggle over the Indian Universities Bill, except probably in the discussion over Gokhale's bill for compulsory education. This lessening of the violence of opposition was due to several reasons such as (a) the generally sympathetic attitude now adopted by Government as opposed to Curzon's insolence ; (b) the official acceptance of some of the views of the opposition ; (c) the ever-increasing absorption of public attention in politics which left little time for educational reform ; and (d) the organisation of the schemes of national education without any reference to the official machinery. But despite this lowering down of the tempo of the opposition the major conflicts between official and non-official policies in education continued to be substantially the same even after the departure of Lord Curzon. The struggle of the period 1905-1921

can, therefore, be conveniently studied against the background of Curzon's plans of educational reconstruction in India.

2. Government Resolution on Educational Policy (1913) : University Education. It did not take long for people to recognise that the Indian Universities Act, 1904, could not achieve much ; while conserving the work done by the Act, therefore, it was felt equally necessary to broaden the policy of Government in the matter of university education. This movement was also considerably strengthened through influences from England. The period of 1903-13 is of great importance in the history of British Universities. During this period, the fundamental problems of University organization were brought under review in England and expert opinion came to the conclusion that the federal type of university was not satisfactory because it was difficult to work and not conducive to rapid progress. The federal type of organization was, therefore, abandoned by about 1913 and most British Universities were reconstituted (wherever necessary) as unitary, teaching and residential organizations. These developments had their echo in India also and Government had, therefore, to review the question almost within a decade of the passing of the Universities Act of 1904. This was done in the Government Resolution on Educational Policy, dated 21st February 1913, which stated :—

Good work, which the Government of India desire to acknowledge, has been done under conditions of difficulty by the Indian Universities ; and by common consent the Universities Act of 1904 has had beneficial results ; but the condition of University education is still far from satisfactory, in regard to residential arrangements, control, the courses of study and the system of examination. The Government of India have accordingly again reviewed the whole question of University education.

It is important to distinguish clearly on the one hand the federal university, in the strict sense, in which several colleges of approximately equal standing separated by no excessive distance or marked local individuality are grouped together as a university—and on the other hand the affiliating university of the Indian type, which in its inception was merely an examining body, and although limited as regards the area of its operation by the Act of 1904 has not been able to insist upon an identity of standard in the various institutions conjoined to it. The former of these types has in the past enjoyed some popularity in the United Kingdom, but after experience it has been largely abandoned there ; and the constituent colleges which were grouped together, have for the most part become separate teaching universities, without power of combination with other institutions at a distance. At present there are only 5 Indian Universities for 185 arts and professional colleges in British India besides several institutions in native

area over which the affiliating universities have control by securing in the first instance a separate university for each of the leading provinces in India and secondly to create new local teaching and residential universities within each of the provinces in harmony with the best modern opinion as to the right road to educational efficiency. The Government of India have decided to found a teaching and residential University at Dacca and they are prepared to sanction under certain conditions the establishment of similar universities at Aligarh and Benares and elsewhere as occasion may demand. They also contemplate the establishment of universities at Rangoon, Patna and Nagpur. It may be possible hereafter to sanction the conversion into local teaching universities, with power to confer degrees upon their own students, of those colleges which have shown the capacity to attract students from a distance and have attained the requisite standard of efficiency. Only by experiment will it be found out what type or types of universities are best suited to the different parts of India.

Simultaneously the Government of India desire to see teaching faculties developed at the seats of the existing universities and corporate life encouraged, in order to promote higher study and create an atmosphere from which students will imbibe good social, moral and intellectual influence. They have already given grants and hope to give further grants hereafter to these ends. They trust that each university will soon build up a worthy university library, suitably housed, and that higher studies in India will soon enjoy all the external conveniences of such work in the West.

In order to free the universities for higher work and more efficient control of colleges, the Government of India are disposed to think it desirable (in provinces where this is not already the case) to place the preliminary recognition of schools for purposes of presenting candidates for Matriculation in the hands of the Local Governments and in the case of Native States of the durbars concerned while leaving to the universities the power of selection from schools so recognised. The university has no machinery for carrying out this work and in most provinces already relies entirely on the departments of public instruction, which alone have the agency competent to inspect schools. As teaching and residential universities are developed the problem will become even more complex than it is at present. The question of amending the Universities Act will be separately considered.

The Government of India hope that by these developments a great impetus will be given to higher studies throughout India and that Indian students of the future will be better equipped for the battle of life than the students of the present generation.

3. The Calcutta University Commission (1917-19). The Resolution may be described as a turning point in the history of Indian universities. It practically laid the foundation for the future expansion of university education in India by declaring that a university would be established for each Province, that teaching activities of universities would be encouraged, and that the colleges located in mofussil towns would be developed into teaching universities in due course. But no action along the lines indicated herein was taken by Government partly because it was believed that an expert enquiry into the question was essential before any definite steps could be taken and partly

because of the outbreak of the Great World War. But as early as 1917, Government appointed the Calcutta University Commission to study and report on the problem. This is also known as the *Sadler Commission* from its President, Dr. (later Sir) M. E. Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds. The other members of the Commission were Dr. Gregory, Mr. (later Sir) Philip Hartog, Professor Ramsay Muir, Sir Asutosh Mookerji, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, and Dr. (later Sir) Zia-ud-din Ahmad. The Commission was asked to enquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta and to consider the question of a constructive policy in relation to the problems which it presented. The terms of reference of the Commission also stated that the Commission might, for purposes of comparison, study the organization and working of the universities in India other than that of Calcutta. The Commission did feel the need of such comparative study and visited most other Indian universities also.

The report of the Commission, published in 1919, is a document of inter-provincial importance. Although it deals with the Calcutta University only, the problems that it has studied are more or less common to the other Indian universities. Hence, the report of the Commission had far-reaching consequences upon the development of university education in India as a whole.

The main recommendations of the Commission have been noticed below :—

(a) We have seen that the Commissions of 1882 and 1902 could not do full justice to the subject of higher education because the first was precluded from reporting on the universities and the second was precluded from studying the problems of secondary education. The Calcutta University Commission, on the other hand, studied the problems of secondary education as well as those of university teaching because it held the view that improvement of secondary education was an essential foundation for the improvement of university teaching itself. The Commission, therefore, made radical recommendations regarding the re-organization of secondary schools. These may be briefly stated as under :—

(i) The dividing line between the university and secondary courses is more properly drawn at the Intermediate examination than at the Matriculation.

Medicine, Engineering, Teaching, etc. These colleges might either be run as independent institutions or might be attached to selected high schools.

(iii) The admission test for universities should be the passing of the Intermediate examination.

(iv) A Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education consisting of the representatives of Government, University, High Schools, and Intermediate Colleges should be established and entrusted with the administration and control of secondary education.

The fate of this proposal will be discussed in Chapter XI.

(b) The Commission came to the conclusion that the numbers of colleges and students under the Calcutta University were too great to be dealt with by a single organization. The Commission, therefore, recommended that—

(i) a unitary teaching university should be established immediately at Dacca ;

(ii) the teaching resources of the Calcutta City should be pooled together with a view to the establishment of a teaching university at Calcutta ; and

(iii) the colleges in the mofussil should be so developed as to make it possible to encourage the gradual rise of new university centres by the concentration of resources for higher teaching at a few points.

The first recommendation was carried out in 1920.

The fate of the second recommendation can be seen from the following quotation :—

In order to give effect to these recommendations the Government of India drafted a bill for the reconstruction of the University of Calcutta. Questions of finance and questions of detail delayed the introduction of the bill in the Imperial Legislature. The position was altered by the constitutional changes that took place in 1921. It was decided to transfer the control of the Calcutta University from the Government of India to the Government of Bengal and to leave any further initiative for the reform of the University to be taken by the local Government. An Act was passed in March 1921 substituting the Governor of Bengal for the Governor-General as the Chancellor of the University. Except for this change and for the excision of the Dacca University area from the control of the Calcutta University, the report of the Commissioners has had little effect on the conditions of the University which they were called in to advise. . . . Although a resolution was passed in the Bengal Council in July 1921 advocating an increase in the elective element of the Senate, no general movement in favour of a more extensive adoption of the Commission's proposals was evident in Bengal during the period under review.¹

The third recommendation has yet remained a pious hope.

(c) The Commission made the following general recommendations regarding University work :—

(i) The regulations governing the work of the universities should be made less rigid ;

¹ *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1917-22, Vol. I, p. 52.*

(ii) Honours courses, as distinct from pass courses, should be instituted in the universities in order to make provision for the needs of abler students ;

(iii) The duration of the degree course should be three years after the intermediate stage ;

(iv) Appointments to professorships and readerships should be made by special selection committees, including external experts ;

(v) Having regard to the comparatively backward condition of the Muslim community in regard to education, every reasonable means should be taken to encourage Muslim students and to safeguard their interests ;

(vi) In view of the necessity for paying greater attention to the health and physical welfare of students, a Director of Physical Training, holding the rank and salary of a professor, should be appointed in each university ; a Board of Students' Welfare, including medical representatives, should be one of the standing boards or committees of each university ; and special efforts should be made to supervise the conditions of students' residence.

(d) On several other questions, the Commission made important recommendations some of which are summarised below :—

✓(i) *Female Education*.—Purdah schools should be organized for Hindu and Muslim girls whose parents are willing to extend their education to 15 or 16 ; a Special Board of Women's Education should be established in the Calcutta University and should be empowered to propose special courses of study more particularly suited for women, and to organize co-operative arrangements for teaching in the women's colleges, more particularly for the training of teachers, and in preparation for medical courses.

(ii) *Training of Teachers*.—The output of trained teachers should be substantially increased ; Departments of Education should be created in the Universities of Dacca and Calcutta ; Education should be included as a subject for the Intermediate and B.A. examinations.

(iii) *Technology*.—It is an important and, indeed, a necessary function of a university to include applied science and technology in its courses and to recognize their systematic and practical study by degrees and diplomas.

(iv) *Professional and Vocational Training*.—On this important subject, the Commission made the following observations :—

35. We have been deeply impressed by the general disregard among University students in Bengal of the possibility of finding careers in practical—professional and technical—work, other than law and (to a less extent) medicine ; by the deficiency of opportunities for obtaining training for such careers, and by

has its roots in historical and social facts which especially affect the classes from which the bulk of the students are drawn. But it must be amended ; and any scheme of educational reform which does not place in the forefront the need for such an amendment must fall short of the country's needs.

36. The strong hold which the University and its courses possess upon the minds of the educated classes in Bengal has led to the suggestion that if only the University offers degree courses and examinations in practical and technical subjects the prejudice against careers of this type will be overcome. There is something to be said for this view, and undoubtedly action ought to be taken by the universities, and will have a useful influence upon opinion. But in this sphere even more than in others, it is training above all which is needed, and as training is costly and demands elaborate equipment in nearly all vocational subjects, no course of study should be defined until there is a responsible assurance that the necessary provision of teaching and equipment is forthcoming. And unfortunate results may follow, and the whole movement towards practical careers suffer a check, if men are turned out in large numbers with an equipment of a kind for which there is very little demand. There is a real danger in the idea that, if an examination is provided and a degree course defined, all that is necessary is done.

37. But the provision of courses of study by the University, even on the most adequate scale, is not enough. Degree courses in technical and professional subjects, other than those for the established professions of medicine and law, are required by a comparatively restricted number of persons even in highly industrialised countries. The highly trained scientific experts whom the industries of a country can absorb—and it is only with the training of such that a university should be concerned—must always be relatively few in number. On the other hand, industry, especially in a country where it is just entering upon a period of expansion, needs a very large number of men who are intelligent and educated, and whose training has given them some introduction to the sciences at the base of their calling, but who cannot be called scientific experts. The need for such men is probably the greatest need of today in Bengal ; though the others also are needed. And from this point of view the system of intermediate colleges with their varied courses—each with some vocational bias though still general in character—must be of very great value. They will be of value also in providing students with a more efficient preliminary training, not only for technical courses of study, but also for the older professional courses. They represent, in short, the essential foundation of a new and sounder system of training.¹

4. Creation of New Universities. The Government Resolution on Educational Policy dated 21st February 1913, and the report of the Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19, led to the creation of a large number of new universities in the period 1917-22. It may be noted here that, after the incorporation of the Allahabad University in 1887, no new university was established in India till 1916, and that during these 30 years, there had occurred a tremendous rise in the number of colleges and of students attending them. The work of the existing universities

¹ *Report*, Vol. V, pp. 334-5.

had, therefore, increased considerably as the following statistics of 1917 will show :—

University.							Colleges.	Students.
Calcutta	..	..	..	..	..	..	58	28,618
Bombay	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	8,001
Madras	..	..	..	..	..	..	53	10,216
Punjab	..	..	..	..	..	..	24	6,558
Allahabad	..	..	..	..	..	..	33	7,807
Total							185	61,200

The decision of the Government of India to start as many new universities as possible was, therefore, a wise, if a belated, move. It was further strengthened by the desire of the people themselves to have a larger number of universities and to found teaching and residential universities wherever possible. The result of this joint effort was that the number of universities in India increased from five in 1916 to twelve¹ in 1921-22! The following brief notes are offered here on the new universities so created :—

(a) *MYSORE*.—A university of the affiliating type was established at Mysore in 1916 for the area of the State itself. The incorporation of this university led to a considerable diminution in the work done by the Madras University.

(b) *PATNA*.—A university was established at Patna in 1917 for the Province of Bihar and Orissa. This university was generally modelled on the older universities but its constitution showed certain deviations from the model of 1904. It is interesting to note these deviations because they show how Government had to yield finally to the demands of Indian public opinion which had been summarily ignored in 1904. The *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1912-17*, describes these deviations in the following words :—

An important deviation from the provisions of the Act of 1904 is that whereby Government is deprived of its independent judgment regarding affiliation and disaffiliation of colleges and its power of final decision is limited to those cases which have been forwarded with the approval of the Syndicate and the Senate. The powers of Government are curtailed in other ways also and popular control is increased. It is not expressly stated that the Vice-Chancellor shall be a

whole-time officer of the university (though the first Vice-Chancellor does fulfil this condition). The nominated element in the Senate is cut down to a maximum of 25 members and the elected element raised to a maximum of 50. In addition to the registered graduates, new electorates have been introduced—the teaching staff of colleges, graduate teachers of schools, associations and public bodies. The Syndicate contains four *ex-officio* members and 14 elected by the Senate, of whom at least seven must be on the staff of the university or the colleges. Hence, while it will be preponderatingly professorial (the *ex-officio* members being the Vice-Chancellor, the Director and the principals of the two chief colleges) the nominated element is eliminated from the Syndicate.¹

(c) *BENARES*.—A teaching and residential university was established at Benares by an Act of 1915 and began its operations in 1917. This university is known popularly as the Benares Hindu University, and owes its existence to the great work of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

(d) *ALIGARH*.—Similar in objects is the Muslim University at Aligarh which was established in 1920. This university stands in the same relation to the Muslims as the Benares University does to the Hindus. It grew out of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh whose history was narrated in Chapter V. The university is a living memorial to the great work of the late Sir Syed Ahmed.

Both these denominational universities are directly under the Government of India. It must also be noted that both the Universities are open to students of all castes and creeds.

(e) *DACCA*.—A unitary, teaching, and residential university was established at Dacca in 1920. Its history is best told in the words of the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1917-22* :—

It has been said that the Dacca University owes its birth to local and communal patriotism. The decision announced in December 1911 to revise the partition of the provinces of north-eastern India gave rise to grave apprehensions among the Mussulman community, who constituted the majority in the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, that their educational progress would suffer by the coming change. In response to an expression of that apprehension made by a deputation in January 1912, the Viceroy—Lord Hardinge—promised to found a new university that would be open to all sections of the community and for the benefit of all. The Government of India later announced their intention that the Dacca University should be a model institution of a new kind—a unitary residential university. The first plans for the new university were drawn up by a Committee presided over by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Nathan. The execution of these plans was delayed for various causes, including the war, until the Calcutta University Commission had published their report in 1919. The

Commissioners urged that the university should be established without delay and the Dacca University Act was passed in 1920. . . .

The University of Dacca was the first to adopt the revised form of constitution recommended by the Calcutta University Commission. Since this constitution with modifications has been adopted in all subsequent university legislation, a short description of it is necessary. In places of the Senate and Syndicate of the older universities, whose constitution and functions were described in the last Quinquennial Review, there are three main university bodies :—

- (i) A large body called the Court, on which are represented the chief interests of the community, either by election or by nomination. The functions of the Court are to make statutes and to pass recommendations on the financial accounts and the annual report, submitted by the Executive Council. They also have power to cancel ordinances made by the Executive Council, if a majority of two-thirds decides on such cancellation. Thus, every important change made in the University is brought to the notice of the Court and can be discussed by them, while in matters of university legislation they have important powers not only of discussion but of check.
- (ii) The Executive Council, in whom the executive authority in regard to finance and university appointments and also all residual powers are vested.
- (iii) The Academic Council, who are responsible for the control, general regulation and maintenance of standards of instruction, education and examination within the University, and for the initiation of all changes in academic matters and without whose consent no changes in such matters can be made. The Academic Council consists almost entirely of university teachers and is designed so as to secure the representation of the various departments of study undertaken by the university. (Paras. 82-3).

(f) *LUCKNOW*.—A university was established at Lucknow in 1920. Its constitution and organization closely follow the model of the Dacca University.

(g) *OSMANIA*.—The Osmania University was established at Hyderabad (Deccan) by H.E.H. the Nizam in 1918. It holds a unique place among the universities of India because the medium of instruction in the university is Urdu and not English.

In addition to the incorporation of the seven universities mentioned above, Government also reconstituted the Allahabad University on the Dacca model in 1921, with this important difference that in addition to the teaching and residential side, the Allahabad University also had an external side comprising a number of colleges situated in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Central India and Rajputana. These colleges were formerly *affiliated* to the University ; but under the Act of 1921,

5. Financial Assistance to Universities (1905-21). Lord Curzon, as already stated, sanctioned a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs a year for universities and collegiate education, for a period of 5 years only in the first instance. This grant was later on made a permanent recurring grant and a sum of Rs. 1,35,000 out of it was assigned for university education. Over and above this, Government, in 1911-12, sanctioned a non-recurring grant of Rs. 16,00,000 and a recurring grant of Rs. 2,55,000 for university education. The total recurring grant to universities thus came to Rs. 3,90,000 a year and was distributed as follows among the various provinces :—

<i>University</i>	<i>Grant</i>
Madras	Rs. 90,000
Bombay	„ 55,000
Calcutta	„ 1,15,000
Allahabad	„ 85,000
Punjab	„ 45,000
TOTAL	Rs. 3,90,000

This policy of liberal financial assistance was continued in the quinquennium of 1912-17, when non-recurring grants to the tune of Rs. 43 lakhs were sanctioned as under :—

<i>University</i>	<i>Amount of non-recurring grant sanctioned in 1912-17</i>
1. Calcutta	Rs. 22,00,000
2. Bombay	„ 5,00,000
3. Madras	„ 7,00,000
4. Punjab	„ 4,00,000
5. Allahabad	„ 5,00,000
TOTAL	Rs. 43,00,000

Moreover, the recurring grant paid to the Calcutta University for the Minto Chair of Economics since 1910 was raised from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 13,000 in 1913. A grant of Rs. 12,000 a year was also sanctioned in 1914-15 to the Bombay University for instituting a Chair of Economics and Sociology. Annual recurring grants of Rs. 1,00,000 each were sanctioned for the Benares and Aligarh Universities. Large non-recurring grants were also sanctioned for the newly created universities. It may be pointed out that in 1908-09, the Government sanctioned a grant of Rs. 1,00,000 to the Calcutta University for the purpose of erecting a library building.

was that of Rs. 29,380 paid to the Punjab University and the total expenditure of the Universities was as under :—

<i>University</i>	<i>Total expenditure</i>
1. Calcutta	Rs. 2,10,455
2. Madras	„ 1,91,688
3. Bombay	„ 1,15,541
4. Allahabad	„ 49,184
5. Punjab	„ 1,54,435
TOTAL	Rs. 7,21,303

It is interesting to compare this with the following table of total expenditure in 1921-22 :—

Province.	Expenditure from.				Total Expenditure.
	Govt. funds.	Board funds.	Fees.	Other sources.	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Madras	85,480	..	3,28,245	54,629	4,68,354
Bombay	67,000	..	2,46,612	58,172	3,71,784
Bengal	8,65,132	..	12,65,218	3,87,540	25,17,890
United Provinces ..	6,84,673	..	2,19,131	22,59,982	31,63,786
Punjab	2,84,400	..	3,22,803	..	6,07,203
Bihar and Orissa ..	64,927	..	1,08,762	1,07,581	2,81,270
Central Provinces and Berar	..	..	..	..	..
Assam	..	..	..	..	..
North-West Frontier Province	..	75	..	..	75
Minor Administration.	2,862	..	..	..	2,862
Total ..	20,54,474	75	24,90,771	28,67,904	74,13,224

6. Teaching Work done by the Universities (1905-21). As may be easily anticipated, the large financial resources which the universities came to possess due to Government grants and improvement in the revenue from other sources, not only enabled them to erect buildings and maintain or expand libraries and laboratories, but also to undertake teaching activities. Of the twelve Indian universities that existed in 1921, five were purely teaching universities. The University of Allahabad, as has been pointed out above, was a teaching as well as an affiliating university. The remaining six universities were mainly of an affiliating type although they undertook some teaching work

This teaching work of the affiliating universities took one or more of the following three forms :—

- (a) organization of special series of lectures by eminent men of learning, invited to visit the university from other parts of India or from abroad, or
- (b) institution of university chairs in certain subjects, or
- (c) the establishment of honours schools or post-graduate classes directly conducted by the university.

The delivery of courses of lectures by distinguished scholars was a particular feature of the work of the Calcutta, Madras, and Punjab Universities. Chairs in various subjects such as Sociology, History, Economics, etc., were also established by several Indian universities. The Punjab University organized the system of Honours Schools in which the teaching was controlled by a whole-time officer of the university entitled *the Dean of University Instruction* and where an attempt was made "to give an improved type of instruction, with some personal contact between teacher and pupil and lesser recourse to lectures and text-books, to the abler minority among the students in the belief that this improved teaching, though in the first instance limited to a minority, will in the long run react on the spirit and methods of teaching throughout affiliated colleges of the University".¹ Similarly, the Calcutta University organized a post-graduate department and took over to itself all teaching for the M.A. except in a few colleges in the mofussil.

It is now acknowledged on all hands that the best type of university organization is that of a unitary, teaching, and residential university and that the efforts of Government as well as of the public must be directed to the creation of as many universities of this type as possible. But in a vast and poor country like India, the creation of new residential and teaching universities cannot be very rapid; and the affiliating type of university will be indispensable for a long time to come. Indeed, there are many who believe that in this land of distances and poverty, the affiliating university can never be dispensed with. Be that as it may, the teaching work that was undertaken by the affiliating Indian universities at this period was certainly a hopeful sign. Although it could not be a substitute for a unitary teaching

university, it had an undoubted value in improving the tone of instruction in the affiliated colleges.

7. Position of Universities in India in 1921-22. We shall close this brief review with the following table which gives an idea of university education in India as it was in 1921-22 :—

University.	Faculties.	No. of Colleges or Departments.	No. of Students.
Calcutta ..	A., Sc., L., M., Eng. ..	49	23,044
Bombay ..	A., Sc., L., M. ..	21	8,493
Madras ..	A., Sc., L., M., Eng. ..	73	12,653
Punjab ..	A., Sc., L., M., Ag., Com., O.	35	7,372
Allahabad ..	A., Sc., L., M., Com. ..	35	6,445
Mysore ..	A., Sc. ..	5	1,050
Benares Hindu ..	A., Sc., L., Th., O. ..	5	1,469
Patna ..	A., Sc., L., Ed. ..	13	2,417
Osmania ..	A., L., Th. ..	1	345
Aligarh Muslim ..	A., Sc., L., Th. ..	3	702
Lucknow ..	A., Sc., L., M., Com. ..	5	632
Dacca ..	A., Sc., L. ..	3	1,030
Total		248	65,652

*Abbreviations :—*A. = Arts ; Sc. = Science ; L. = Law ; M. = Medicine ; Ed. = Education ; Eng. = Engineering ; Ag. = Agriculture ; Com. = Commerce ; Th. = Theology ; O. = Oriental learning.
N.B.—The Delhi University had 3 Colleges with 706 Students in 1921-22.

8. Development of Colleges of General Education between 1905 and 1921. This period, as we saw in the last Chapter, began with a movement for the reform of Collegiate education with the passing of the Indian Universities Act of 1904. We have also seen how the strict conditions of affiliation imposed by this Act made it difficult for new colleges to come into existence and how they even led to the elimination of a number of existing ones. In spite of this handicap, however, the number of students at the University stage increased very rapidly during the first two decades of this century. For example, in 1901-02, the total number of students reading in 138¹ colleges (out of the total of 168 in the whole of India) was stated to be 17,000. In 1921-22 the number of students reading in the colleges of general education in British India only was 45,418 and that of students reading in the colleges of India as a whole was 54,473 ; in other words, the number of students going in for the Arts and Science courses of

¹ The 30 colleges excluded mostly belong to Indian States. For details *vide* *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1907-1909*, Vol. I, para. 200. (We have excluded the figures for

the Indian Universities increased by over 200 per cent in twenty years.

This was due to the same causes that led to expansion of collegiate education in the nineteenth century but with a different emphasis. As we have seen, the securing of a good post under Government was, in the last century, the most powerful motive for entering a university. At that time, the out-turn of graduates was small and almost every holder of a university degree obtained employment under Government. By 1902, the situation had materially altered. The out-turn of graduates was now considerably greater and it was no longer easy for the holder of a university degree to secure a post under Government. By 1921, the spectre of *educated unemployment* had already raised its ugly head in the field of collegiate education. Hence the desire to obtain employment under Government was no longer the most important cause of the expansion of collegiate education. *On the other hand, a large number of students were now driven to colleges of general education merely for a lack of alternative openings.* The provision of alternative vocational courses at the upper secondary stage was extremely inadequate; the professional colleges were few and had limited accommodation; and the industries of the country were not developed. Consequently, very few openings in trade or industry were available for qualified young men, and an ever-increasing number of pupils in secondary schools was driven to the Matriculation in the first instance and thence to the Arts and Science Colleges of the universities. This aimless increase in the number of students in colleges of general education was, therefore, more a sign of disease than of robust growth.

Another notable feature of this period was the great improvement that was brought about in the standard of collegiate education. The colleges of this period were generally better staffed, better equipped, and better housed than those of the earlier period. As stated in the last Chapter, this was partly due to the stricter conditions of affiliation imposed by the Act of 1904. The main cause, however, was the improvement in the finances of collegiate institutions due to increased receipts by way of fees, more endowments and subscriptions, and larger grants from Government.

The most important source of revenue to the colleges is that

increase in the income from this source partly because of the raising of fees and partly because of the increase in the number of students. In 1901-02, the incidence of fees per student was Rs. 57 per annum whereas it rose to Rs. 84 per annum in 1921-22. Secondly, the average strength of the college which was 123 in 1901-02 increased to 263 in 1921-22. The combined effects of these causes led to an increase in the income from fees thus enabling the managers to take effective steps to improve their institutions.

Similarly, the income from endowments and subscriptions increased considerably during the period under review and Government also came forward with larger grants. A grant of Rs. 5 lakhs a year was sanctioned by the Government of India from 1905 onwards for the improvement of the universities. Out of this a sum of Rs. 13½ lakhs was devoted to the improvement of collegiate education in the first five years. The grant was then made a permanent recurring grant and out of it a sum of Rs. 3,65,000 a year was earmarked for collegiate education and was distributed as under among the Provinces :—

<i>Province</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Madras	Rs. 80,000
Bombay	„ 45,000
Bengal	„ 1,10,000
United Provinces	„ 40,000
Punjab	„ 20,000
Eastern Bengal & Assam	„ 60,000
Central Provinces & Berar	„ 10,000
TOTAL	Rs. 3,65,000

In the quinquennium of 1907-1912, a further recurring grant of Rs. 2.45 lakhs was sanctioned by the Government of India for improvement of colleges. Moreover, Government gave large non-recurring grants, particularly for the construction of hostels. Another recurring grant of Rs. 2.84 lakhs was made in the next quinquennium. In 1921-22, the total Government expenditure on collegiate institutions of general education was Rs. 49.26 lakhs, of which an amount of Rs. 15.28 lakhs was given as grant-in-aid to private colleges.¹ The statistics of expenditure on colleges in 1901-02 and 1921-22 are given on the next page:

¹ Figures for Arts, Science and Oriental Colleges in British India only. (Figures for Burma are

(All figures in thousands of Rupees)

	Expenditure on Colleges of General Education from						
	Provincial Revenues.	Local Funds.	Municipal Funds.	Fees.	Endowments and Donations.	Subscriptions.	Total.
Colleges managed by Government ..	6,69	1	..	3,60	32	..	10,62
Colleges managed by Local and Municipal Funds	5	..	3	15	2	..	25
Colleges aided by Government or Local or Municipal Funds	2,50	7	16	3,87	3,36	48	10,44
Unaided Colleges	..	..	..	2,04	1,91	29	4,24
Total for the year 1901-02 ..	9,24	8	19	9,66	5,61	77	25,55
Colleges managed by Government ..	33,77	..	2	9,48	25	17	43,69
Colleges managed by Local and Municipal Funds	20	..	5	9	17	1	52
Colleges aided by Government or Local or Municipal Funds	15,28	18	23	20,45	3,17	14,48	53,79
Unaided Colleges	..	..	..	7,77	1,52	3,00	12,38
Total for the year 1921-22 ..	49,25	18	30	37,79	5,11	17,75	1,10,38

The Statistics of both the years include two colleges in Burma, and while the statistics of 1921-22 are for British India only, those of 1901-02 include three colleges from Indian States and exclude one from British India.

X

It will be seen from these figures—

- (i) that the total expenditure on collegiate education in British India (inclusive of Burma) increased by Rs. 84,83 thousands ;
- (ii) that this increase was mostly made up by an increase of Rs. 40,01 thousand in Government expenditure, of Rs. 28,13 thousand in fees, and of Rs. 16,48 thousand in the receipts from subscriptions and endowments ; and
- (iii) that a major part of the increase in Government expenditure (Rs. 27,08 thousand) was incurred on Government institutions while a comparatively smaller part (Rs. 12,78 thousand) was devoted to the improvement of private colleges.

9. **Professional Education in India in 1921-22.**¹ This expansion and improvement of colleges of general education can be easily contrasted with the slow development of the colleges of professional education. In Chapter III, we pointed out that the most important aim of Government in introducing liberal education in India was to spread Western knowledge and science rather than to train officers for Government service. But this can hardly be said of the institutions for professional education that came to be established. Most of these were started for the training of subordinate officers under Government. For instance, the Thomason Civil Engineering College at Roorkee was established because trained engineers were required for the Ganges Canal ; several technical institutions owe their existence to the demands made by the railways ; Veterinary Colleges arose out of the needs of the Army Department ; and so on. Even as late as 1904, Lord Curzon admitted that “ technical education in India has hitherto been mainly directed to the higher forms of instruction required to train men for Government service as engineers, mechanics, electricians, overseers, surveyors, revenue officers, or teachers in schools, and for employment in railway workshops, cotton mills and mines ”.² This feature of the development of professional colleges, therefore, forms an important contrast to that of the colleges of general education.

¹ The statistics given in this section are taken from University figures. They exclude colleges not

The development of professional education in this period will be dealt with fully in Chapter XI. Here it is only necessary to call attention to the following main features of professional colleges as they stood in 1921-22 :—

- (a) The professional colleges in India were far fewer than colleges of general education. In 1921-22, the former numbered only 44 as against 207 colleges of Arts and Science.
- (b) The number of students reading in all professional colleges taken together was only 11,885, as compared with 54,473 in colleges of general education.
- (c) A closer scrutiny of the statistics of professional colleges shows that the large bulk of the institutions and students belonged to the black-coated professions of teachers, doctors, and lawyers and very few to trade, industry, or commerce. For instance, of the 44 professional colleges, 12 were colleges of education, 7 of medicine and 13 of law. Colleges of Engineering and Commerce were only 5 each. Although two-thirds of the population in India lives on agriculture, the number of agricultural colleges was just 2! The distribution of the 11,885 students was as under :

Colleges of Education	..	519
„ Medicine	..	3,863
„ Law	..	5,895
Total for black-coated professions	..	10,277
Colleges of Engineering	..	803
„ Commerce	..	479
„ Agriculture	..	326
Total for trade and industry	..	1,608
Grand total for all professional colleges	..	11,885

- (d) The utter backwardness of professional education from the point of view of trade and industry is fully realised when it is remembered that even out of the 1,608 students reading in colleges for this purpose, the main objective of most was to seek employment under Government.

10. Position of Collegiate Education in 1921-22. We have so far traced the gradual evolution of the system of collegiate education in India between the years 1857, when the Universities

were established, and 1921, when the Department of Education was transferred to Indian control. Its main *achievements* were: (i) the introduction of Indians to Western languages, culture, literature, science and art, (ii) the emancipation of Indian mind from *the thralldom of old-world ideas*, and (iii) the inauguration of a renaissance in all fields of Indian life and thought. On the other hand, it also developed some serious defects. For instance, the whole system was *top-heavy, predominantly literary, and unhelpful for the industrial and commercial regeneration of the country*. This result was the logical conclusion of some aspects of the policy outlined in the Despatch of 1854, *viz.*, (a) the spread of Western knowledge and science, (b) the training of Indians in such professions as will make them good employees of Government, and (c) the development of a system which will make India the supplier of raw materials to, and the purchaser of the finished products of, British industries. Perhaps the best comment on the defects of the system can be found in the following passage from the report of the Calcutta University Commission. The figures quoted in the extract are of 1917 and of Bengal only. But the picture they present is true of India as a whole:—

One of the most remarkable features in the recent history of Bengal, and indeed, of India, has been the very rapid increase in the number of university students which has taken place during the last two decades, and more especially since the Universities Act of 1904. In 1904, 2,430 candidates presented themselves for the intermediate examination of the University of Madras, 457 for that of Bombay, and 3,832 for that of Calcutta. These numbers in themselves were striking enough, considering that the universities were in 1904 less than fifty years old. But the numbers in 1917 were 5,424 for Madras, 1,281 for Bombay, and no less than 8,020 for Calcutta. This means that while the increase in numbers has everywhere been striking, it has been much greater in Bengal than in any other part of India; nor is it easy to find any parallel to it in any part of the world. The flood of candidates for university training has put so heavy a strain upon the university and its colleges as to lead almost to a breakdown. It has brought out in high relief every deficiency of the system. And if justice is to be done to a great opportunity, and the eagerness of young Bengalis for academic training is to be made as advantageous to their country as it ought to be, it has become manifest that bold and drastic changes and improvements in the system are necessary.

2. The full significance of these facts can perhaps be most clearly brought out by a comparison between Bengal and the United Kingdom. The populations of the two countries are almost the same—about 45,000,000. By a curious coincidence the number of students preparing for university degrees is also almost the same—about 26,000. But since in Bengal only about one in ten of the population can read and write, the proportion of the educated classes of

3. Nor is this the most striking part of the contrast. The figures for the United Kingdom include students drawn from all parts of the British Empire, including Bengal itself; those of Bengal are purely Indian. Again, in the United Kingdom a substantial proportion of the student population consists of women; in Bengal, the number of women-students is—and in view of existing social conditions is likely long to remain—very small indeed. Still more important, in the United Kingdom a very large proportion of the student-population are following professional courses, in medicine, law, theology, teaching, engineering or technical science. In Bengal, though the number of students of law is very great, the number of medical students is much smaller than in the United Kingdom; there are very few students of engineering; students of theology, whether Hindu or Islamic, do not study for university degrees; students of teaching are extraordinarily few; and there are, as yet, practically no students of technical science, because the scientific industries of Bengal are in their infancy, and draw their experts mainly from England.

4. It appears, therefore, that while an enormously higher proportion of the educated male population of Bengal proceeds to University studies than is the case in the United Kingdom, a very much smaller proportion goes to the University for what is ordinarily described as vocational training. The great majority—over 22,000 out of 26,000—pursue purely literary courses which do not fit them for any but administrative, clerical, teaching and (indirectly) legal careers. In the United Kingdom (if the training of teachers be regarded as vocational training) it is possible that these proportions would be nearly reversed. A comparison with any other large and populous state would yield similar results. Bengal is unlike any other civilised country in that so high a proportion of its educated classes set before them a University degree as the natural goal of ambition, and seek this goal by means of studies which are almost purely literary in character, and which therefore provide scarcely any direct professional training.¹

11. **Secondary Education (1905-21).** As pointed out in the last Chapter, the new policy enunciated by Lord Curzon in secondary education aimed at a stricter control and improvement rather than an increase in numbers. But as later events turned out, this period witnessed an unprecedented expansion in secondary education in spite of the fact that Curzon's policy was in force throughout. Consider, for instance, the following statistics :—

	1881-82.	1901-02.	1921-22.
Number of Secondary Schools ..	3,916	5,124	7,530
Number of Pupils in Secondary Schools	2,14,077	5,90,129	11,06,803

This expansion was achieved mainly through private Indian enterprise and was due to the great social and political awakening that took place in this period.

¹ Vol. I, pp. 19-21.

On the qualitative side, however, not much improvement was noticeable. It is true that larger numbers of pupils, more income from fees, and the comparatively more liberal grants-in-aid that now became available helped to improve the financial position of several schools and led to improvement in teaching. Better buildings and equipment, a larger percentage of trained teachers and better methods of teaching were among the principal achievements of this period. But as the following brief notes will show, the chief problems that had dogged the footsteps of secondary education in the earlier period had yet remained unsolved.

(a) *Provision of Vocational Courses*: According to the policy laid down by Lord Curzon in his Resolution on Educational Policy (1904), the attempts at providing alternative vocational courses at the upper secondary stage and at instituting School Leaving Examinations—which had been already undertaken in the period 1882-1902—were continued during the period under review, although the success obtained was hardly encouraging. The *Government Resolution on Educational Policy, 1913*, reviewed the whole position again and observed as under :—

24. The introduction of a school course complete in itself and of a practical character, freed from the domination of the Matriculation Examination, was recommended in the first instance by the Education Commission of 1882. In some Provinces, and particularly in Madras, real progress has been made in the accomplishment of this reform. The figures for 1901-02 and 1910-11 are:—

	1901-02:		1910-11.	
	School Final (Candidates).	Matriculation (Candidates).	School Final (Candidates).	Matriculation (Candidates).
Madras and Coorg ..	194	7,682	7,317	782
Bombay	1,162	3,731	1,360	3,766
United Provinces ..	452	1,704	946	2,206
Central Provinces ..		473	538	702

In other Provinces, the School Final Examination has not yet been established except for special purposes. The total number of candidates in 1910-11 for the School Final Examination or Leaving Certificate in all British Provinces was 10,161; that of candidates for Matriculation was 16,962.

This optimistic statement is likely to be a little misleading if the results are examined more closely. The following

(i) It will be seen that the *School Leaving Certificate Examination of Madras* proved to be extremely popular and practically supplanted the Matriculation Examination. The origin and description of the scheme is best told in the words of the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1907-12* :—

219. In view of the failure of the upper secondary examination in Madras a committee was constituted consisting of the director and four official and four non-official members to draw up a scheme which should serve as an Entrance Test to public service, to technical institutions and to university courses, and as evidence of the satisfactory completion of a secondary course. The Committee went further than their instructions and decided that what was required was the award of a School Leaving Certificate giving complete information as to the character and career of the pupil without any statement of his having attained a fixed standard or passed any examination. Any pupil who had gone through the secondary course to the satisfaction of his headmaster could, under this scheme, receive a certificate the value of which for any particular purpose could be estimated by any person of the necessary competence such as an officer of Government or the principal of a college. Sir A. Bourne thus describes it :—

“ The list of subjects includes all those now studied in schools as well as others which it is thought to be provided for, and may be enlarged by any that the department may hereafter approve. The subjects are grouped in three divisions known as A, B and C. The A subjects, English, Vernacular composition and translation, and Elementary Mathematics, will, it is assumed, not ordinarily be omitted in any school and an annual public examination is held in them. The B subjects, Geography, Indian History, Elementary Science, Drawing, Physical Training and for girls, Domestic Economy and Needlework, should similarly find a place in every school course. Experience shows, however, that the subjection of pupils to a public examination in these subjects prevents variety and originality of treatment, induces cramming and impairs their value as mental training. It is impossible to say moreover what, if any, fixed quantity of knowledge in them is necessary for entrance on any career. There is therefore no public examination in them. The C subjects are indefinitely numerous. They include all those subjects proficiency in one or more of which is plainly necessary for entering the university, a technical institution, or business, or is recognized as forming part of a good school education. Among them are the more specialized parts of elementary mathematics and science, algebra, geometry, physics, chemistry, and botany : English history : classical, foreign and vernacular languages : commercial subjects, shorthand, typewriting, book-keeping, commercial arithmetic, practice : and geography, agriculture, music, needlework, dress-making and lace-making. Since heads of colleges, officers of Government and others require precise information as to the progress made by a pupil who claims to have to some extent specialized in any of these subjects a public examination is held in them.

It is to be observed that the scheme makes no subject compulsory. The department expects schools to take up the A and B subjects and a school will not be allowed to omit any of them without good reasons, but will, on the other hand, admit such reason. In schools for girls, for instance, it might be desirable to omit English or mathematics. It is also intended that each school shall take more than one of the C subjects, and it is hoped that schools will increasingly

common. There is ample scope, moreover, for the framing of exceptional courses for exceptional schools. The scheme can be applied for instance, with no difficulty to European schools, to girls' schools, or to schools in which English is not taken.

With a view to correcting the prevalent view of school work as a mere preparation for examinations and to securing continuity of effort throughout the school course the scheme provides for the entry in the certificate of marks granted in school in all subjects taken up for not less than two terms in each of the higher forms, and this is the only evidence of a pupil's progress in the 'B' subjects. The certificates are completed by the entry of the marks obtained in the A and C subjects in the public examination for which pupils can only appear if considered fit when their certificates show attendance for a minimum number of days for a year in each of the higher forms. The certificates do not contain any statement that a pupil has or has not 'passed' the public examination. They contain entries of the average marks gained in the various subjects in the presidency and in the particular school and a comparison of the marks of any pupil with these should afford necessary information as to his proficiency."

Provision is also made for pupils who obtain certificates of a low standard to return to school for a year or more and to improve their marks in any subject they have taken or to take up new subjects.

It is easy to see why such an examination should prove most popular. In the *first* place, there was no declaration of pass or fail in the examination—a novel idea which came as a great relief to an examination ridden system. *Secondly*, the certificate admitted to the University. In fact, entrance to the University now became easier. Under the old system, only those who had *passed* the Matriculation could be admitted to the University, whereas, under the system of School Leaving Certificates, a student could be admitted to a college at the *discretion* of its Principal—a privilege that led to several abuses in the earlier years. *Thirdly*, the examination also qualified a candidate for employment under Government. It will, therefore, be seen that the School Leaving Certificate examination had all the advantages of the old Matriculation and, in addition, provided a more varied course and a better and less rigid method of testing the pupil's abilities. It is, therefore, hardly a matter of surprise, if the new examination practically supplanted the Matriculation.

It must be noted, however, that the new examination did not *divert* the scholars into *various walks of life* which ought to have been the real aim of a bifurcation of studies at the upper secondary stage. On the other hand, the pupils of secondary schools continued to enter the University in large numbers as they had done before. If anything, the new scheme only ac-

regard to the innumerable subjects in list C. They are likely to lead one to a belief that provision was made for teaching them in most schools. But this was hardly the case. The subjects that came to be usually taught were elementary mathematics and science, algebra, geometry, etc. ; and subjects like agriculture, lace-making, dress-making, etc., could claim only a microscopic minority of pupils. The new scheme, therefore, was hardly a measure of advance in carrying out the directions of the Despatch of 1854 which had desired the imparting of such instruction as would make its possessors "more useful members of society in every condition of life".

(ii) The same remarks can be made regarding the *United Provinces School Leaving Certificate Examination* which admitted to the University and was also regarded as a qualifying test for employment under Government. As stated in the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1907-12* :—

The plan of the examination consists of four compulsory subjects and eleven optional subjects, and in order to obtain a certificate candidates must pass in the four compulsory subjects, and one optional subject. The compulsory subjects are English, mathematics, the history of India with the outline of the system of administration, geography, and a vernacular. The optional subjects are (1) one of the classical languages—Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian with Arabic, and Latin, (2) commerce, (3) physics and chemistry, (4) physiography, (5) a further course in mathematics including mechanics and trigonometry, (6) botany, (7) agriculture, (8) drawing, (9) manual training, (10) a modern European language, and (11) domestic science. The courses are in principle only model courses, and schools are at liberty to propose alternative courses of equal difficulty to suit their requirements. But in practice this liberty has not been exercised and the courses drawn up by the board have, except in one instance, been universally adopted.

New important features of the examination are the following :—First, no particular text-book is prescribed for English, headmasters being allowed to use with the sanction of the department books selected by themselves. The same is the case for the vernacular. But it is the duty of the Text-book Committee to recommend books suitable for study, and a separate list of such books is published annually for the guidance of headmasters in making their selection. Secondly, number and length of the written papers are reduced to a minimum. Thirdly, to make up for this, the written examination is supplemented by an oral test in English and a modern European language, and by practical tests in physics and chemistry, commerce, further mathematics and manual training. In the first year there were also oral tests in classical languages and the vernacular, but they were discontinued partly because they were considered less necessary, and partly because it was difficult to make satisfactory arrangements for them. Fourthly, the records of the work done during the course of preparation by the masters and boys are inspected at the school *in situ* by the oral and practical examiners, and the headmasters' recommendations are also considered.

possible and extend its influence over the regular work done in school. It will be observed that, although the co-operation of teachers is sought by taking their opinions of their pupils and the records of their work into consideration, the examination, oral and written, occupies a primary position as the criterion for determining the merits of the candidates. (Para. 221.)

(iii) *The Conduct of the Bombay School Final Examination* was handed over to the Education Department in 1904. Unlike the two examinations noticed above, the Bombay examination qualified for Government Service (the Matriculation did not) but not for the University. It also gave fewer options than the other two. It had four compulsory subjects (English, a modern Indian language, Arithmetic and History of India with general Geography) and one optional to be selected from a limited list. There were also oral tests in English and modern Indian language. An important point to be noticed is the fact that, even at this early date, pupils were given the option to answer questions in history, geography and classical language in their mother-tongue.

It will be seen from the above analysis that the aspect of the problem changed considerably during the period under review. The object of the bifurcation scheme recommended by the Indian Education Commission was to train up young men and women for trade, commerce, industry, etc., with a view to diverting the flood of candidates that rushed to the Universities. But the alternative examinations provided in the period 1902 to 1921 were more in the nature of attempts either at the reform of the examination system or at the enrichment of the secondary course by providing a number of optional subjects. They did not succeed in providing vocational or pre-vocational courses; nor did they divert students into various walks of life.

This new aspect of the problem is thus explained by the *Government Resolution on Educational Policy, 1913* :—

25. The principal objects of the school final examination are adaptability to the course of study and avoidance of cram. In those provinces in which a school final examination or school leaving certificate has not been introduced the Government of India desire that it should be instituted as soon as practicable. They suggest for the consideration of Local Governments and Administrations further developments of the system in regard to the character of the tests by which certificates are granted at the end of the school course. Before proceeding further, however, they restate and emphasise the three principles laid down by the Indian Universities Commission in paragraph 170 of their report.

“(1) The conduct of a school final or other school examination should be

(2) It would be of great benefit to the universities if the Government would direct that the matriculation examination should not be accepted as a preliminary or full test for any post in government service. In cases where the matriculation examination qualifies for admission to a professional examination the school final examination should be substituted for it.

(3) It would be advantageous if the school final examination could, in the case of those who propose to follow a university career, be made a sufficient test of fitness to enter the university. Failing this, the best arrangement would appear to be that the matriculation candidate should pass in certain subjects in the school final examination, and be examined by the university with regard to any further requirements that may be deemed necessary."

The value of external examination cannot be overlooked. It sets before the teacher a definite aim and it maintains a standard ; but the definite aim often unduly overshadows instruction, and the standard is necessarily narrow and in view of the large numbers that have to be examined must confine itself to mere examination achievement, without regard to mental development or general growth of character. On the other hand, the drawbacks of external examinations are becoming more generally apparent, and attention was prominently drawn to them in the report of the Consultative Committee on examinations in secondary schools in England. They fail, especially in India, in that they eliminate the inspecting and teaching staff as factors in the system, that they impose all responsibility upon a body acquainted but little (if at all) with the schools examined, that they rely upon written papers, which afford no searching test of intellect, no test at all of character or general ability, and that they encourage cram.

The problem need not be pursued further : and we shall close this discussion with the following summary of the conclusions which may be drawn from the discussion of the problem.

(i) The measures that ought to have been adopted for the introduction of vocational or pre-vocational courses at the upper secondary stage were the following :

- (1) Preparing carefully planned schemes of vocational instruction in consultation with the representatives of employers of educated labour, such as Banks, Railways, Commercial Firms, etc.
- (2) Providing for the teaching of these courses in Government institutions ;
- (3) Awarding special grants to private schools in order to enable them adequately to staff and equip their schools for teaching such courses ;
- (4) Conducting special institutions for training teachers required for these special courses ; and
- (5) Developing the trade and industries of the country with a view to creating more openings for the similar

(ii) But these measures—some of which, at any rate, had been visualised by the Indian Education Commission—were not adopted. On the other hand, *the real problem at issue got side-tracked by the belief that an alternative examination would meet all the needs of the situation*. It was to the creation of such an examination that most of the efforts were directed between 1882 and 1921.

(iii) These attempts did not, therefore, succeed in introducing vocational or pre-vocational education, although they led to some enrichment of the secondary course and to some reforms in the method of examinations.

(iv) On the other hand, it must be admitted that there was no keen demand from the public for the introduction of vocational courses and that the attempts made at introducing them often became unpopular. This was due to several causes among which the following may be mentioned :—

- (1) Until very late in this period, the problem of educated unemployment had not become serious. It was still possible for a person with a knowledge of English to get some employment either under Government or in private schools or trade. In other words, a knowledge of English led to *employment* and was, therefore, still equivalent to *vocational training*; and so long as this situation did not alter, real vocational training did not have much chance of becoming popular.
- (2) The pupils of the upper secondary standards came mostly from the middle-classes (from the economic stand-point) who were accustomed for centuries to live by intellectual work rather than by manual labour. It was not surprising that these pupils did not take kindly to manual work and vocational training.
- (3) Lastly, the lack of provision of hand-work, etc., at the primary and lower secondary stage proved to be another obstacle to the introduction of vocational courses at the upper secondary stage. Children who were brought up in an entirely bookish curriculum could not naturally be expected to take kindly to manual work in the tenth year of study. What was really needed was a good deal of the *doing element* in the school course right from its very beginning.

* (b) *Improvements in the Teaching of English*: It was shown in Chapter VI that by 1902, the teaching of English became the prime object of the secondary course. This exaggerated importance attached to the study of English continued throughout the period under review, with the result that official attempts were very largely directed to improvements in the teaching of English. As the Indian Universities Commission observed :—

The declared object of the policy which led to the establishment of the Indian Universities was the extension of European knowledge by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction. The proper teaching of English must for this reason be regarded as the most important matter in the curriculum of the higher schools and of the universities. Notwithstanding the prominent position given to English throughout the course, the results are most discouraging. Students after matriculation are found to be unable to understand lectures in English when they join a college. In some cases the difficulty is said to disappear after a short time : but it appears to be the case that many students pass through the entire university course without acquiring anything approaching to a command of the language, and proceed to a degree without even learning to write a letter in English correctly and idiomatically. Even those who have acquired considerable facility in speaking and composition are, as we ourselves had many occasions of observing, lamentably deficient in pronunciation. The evil begins in the schools. The great object of parents and guardians is to pass their boys through the school course as rapidly as possible, and pressure is brought to bear on managers of schools to promote pupils regardless of their fitness for such promotion. Boys begin to learn English as a language, and also to learn other subjects through the medium of English, long before they are capable of understanding it, and in the lower classes are taught by ill-paid teachers, who have no claim to be regarded as qualified to teach the language. Faults acquired at this stage are seldom completely eradicated, and even when a boy reaches the higher classes of a high school, he is generally taught by a teacher whose vernacular is not English and who is wanting in the capacity to teach the language properly. Numbers of students reach the stage of matriculation without ever having heard an Englishman speak, and incapable of understanding English as spoken by those whose mother-tongue it is. It is beyond our province to enter into details of management of the schools but it is patent that if the universities are to turn out good students in English, boys must be better taught in this subject at school. We therefore venture to express our opinion that it is desirable that the study of English should not be permitted to be begun till a boy can be expected to understand what he is being taught in that language, that the classes at schools should be of manageable size, and that teachers, whose mother-tongue is not English, should be passed through a training college where they may be tested in expression and elocution by an Englishman before they are given certificates to teach.¹

Various means were employed to improve the teaching of English. Newer methods of teaching, such as the direct method, were introduced ; as far as possible, only trained teachers were appointed to teach English ; the teaching of English in the lower

standards was put in the hands of the most competent teachers available in the school; prescription of text-books or their abolition, the raising of the minimum percentage of marks required for passing, adoption of stricter standards of examination, etc., were also tried. But if the reports of examiners are any guide to the attainments of candidates, the standard of English in 1921-22 was not much different from that of 1901-02. In fact, one cannot help feeling that the educationists of this period were attempting an impossible task. They wanted to give every one who came to the secondary school a command over the English language. This was not possible except for a small minority, and, therefore, the emphasis on a command over English practically meant torture for the average pupil. It took up a good deal of his time; it hindered the proper study of liberal subjects in the curriculum; and for all the efforts that he made to master the alien language, he was left with a very inadequate sense of achievement.

(c) *Medium of Instruction*: This exaggerated importance attached to a command over English considerably hindered the movement for the use of modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the secondary stage.

We have seen already how Curzon directed that the modern Indian languages should be used as media in the lower secondary standards. His recommendations were generally carried out during the period under review; and by 1921-22, the modern Indian languages came generally to be used as the media of instruction at the middle school stage. But the question of abandoning the use of English as the medium at the high school stage was again left undecided. The following resolution on the subject was moved in the Imperial Legislative Council by Mr. S. Rayaningar on 17th March 1915:—

That this Council recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council to have, in consultation with the Provincial Governments and Administrations, steps taken for making the Indian Vernaculars media of instruction and the study of English as second language compulsory for Indian pupils in all secondary schools.

The resolution was opposed on several grounds some of which are given below:—

- (1) The pupil's knowledge of English would deteriorate if English is not used as a medium of instruction;
- (2) Suitable text-books in Modern Indian Languages were not available;

- (4) Suitable teachers were not available to teach non-language subjects in the Modern Indian Languages ;
- (5) There being several languages current in each Province, it would be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to make provision for imparting instruction through the media of Modern Indian Languages, and the attempts would involve very large expenditure ;
- (6) As English is a language of inter-provincial importance, the proposed measure would interfere with the unification of the Indian people.

In summing up the debate, Sir Harcourt Butler, the Member in Charge of Education, observed as under :—

This is a question not of *educational policy* but of *educational economy*, and is a question which would require many minds to solve. I can only tell you that in my own experience and in the experience of many competent educationists with whom I have discussed the question, there is a markedly greater intelligence in the boy whose education has been conducted through the medium of vernacular until the highest classes of the school are reached than the boy who has had his education conducted in English in what used to be called in some Provinces the Upper Middle School. That also was the conclusion which the Education Commission of 1882 came to in regard to Bengal. But I am far from thinking that my own experience in the matter is at all conclusive. It is a matter which requires a large amount of experience before we can come to any conclusion. We must also remember that the supply of education is to a large extent governed by the demand for it. Every educational system in the world is beating itself against this bed-rock fact that A is not willing to learn what B is eager to teach. Many modern theories on education have come to grief from ignoring this bed-rock fact. My own idea is that it is essentially a case for experiment, and that it is a condition of the experiment being successful that the teaching of English as a compulsory second language should be of the very highest order in the hands of very good teachers ; and the number of these is limited in India at present. The Hon'ble Pandit (Madan Mohan Malaviya) suggests a committee. I think that a committee for all India would be out of the question. The subject is one in which different views may very well be taken in different provinces and even in different parts of a province with reference to local conditions. I think myself that there is sufficient demand in this Council for inquiry to refer the matter as an open question to Local Governments drawing attention to this debate, and suggesting for their consideration whether the time has come to appoint provincial committees to inquire into the subject. But, in view of the opposition which the Resolution has excited in this Council, I think it better to say that this reference to Local Governments will not be made until after the war.¹

Accordingly, a representative conference was held at Simla in 1917 under the chairmanship of Sir C. Shankaran Nair who was then the Member in Charge of Education. Unfortunately, the conference was inconclusive and English continued to be the medium of instruction at the high school stage throughout the period under review. The whole position regarding the medium

of instruction as it stood in the several Provinces of British India in 1921-22 is given in the charts on this page and the next:—

SCHEME OF PRIMARY & SECONDARY SCHOOL CLASSES (1921).		
MADRAS.	I II III IV V VI VII VIII	VERNACULAR.
	I II III IV V  VI VII VIII 	ENGLISH.
BOMBAY.	Inf I II III IV V VI VII	VERNACULAR.
	 VIII IX X XI XII	ENGLISH.
(WEST) BENGAL (EAST).	Inf Inf I II III IV V VI	VERNACULAR.
	Inf Inf VII _b VII _a VI _b VI _a V IV III II I	ENGLISH.
	I ₁ I ₂ II III IV V VI VII	VERNACULAR.
	I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX X	ENGLISH.
UNITED PROV.	Prep Prep I II III IV V VI VII	VERNACULAR.
	Prep Prep I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX X special classes	ENGLISH.
PUNJAB.	 VIII IX X XI XII	VERNACULAR.
	I II III IV  V VI VII VIII IX X special classes.	ENGLISH.
High Stage  Middle Stage  Primary Stage  English teaching began — E. English as medium of instruction.  Passage to English Schools. —> English as medium of instruction in some subjects. 		

(d) *Training of Teachers*: Better results, however, could be obtained in the field of the training of teachers for secondary schools. Reference has already been made to the momentous declaration of Lord Curzon which initiated a new era in the training of secondary teachers. By 1912, there were 15 training

instruction to nearly 1,400 students. The *Government Resolution on Educational Policy*, 1913, marked a still further advance by stating that "eventually under modern systems of education

SCHEME OF PRIMARY & SECONDARY SCHOOL CLASSES.(1921)		
BIHAR & ORISSA		VERNACULAR.
		ENGLISH.
CENTRAL PROV.		VERNACULAR.
		ENGLISH.
ASSAM.		VERNACULAR.
		ENGLISH.
N. W. F. PROV.		VERNACULAR.
		ENGLISH.
High Stage Middle Stage Primary Stage English as medium of instruction. English as medium of instruction in some subjects. Passage to English Schools → English teaching began E		

no teacher should be allowed to teach without a certificate that he has qualified to do so". It also stated that Government wished to multiply and improve training colleges so that trained teachers might be available for public and private institutions. Conse-

of the facilities for the training of secondary teachers. In 1921-22, the number of Training Colleges for secondary (English) teachers had increased to 13 as against 6 in 1904. The following quotation from the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1917-22*, describes the position as it was in 1921-22 :—

In no feature of their secondary education systems do the provinces differ more than in their employment of trained teachers in secondary schools. In Government schools in the United Provinces two-thirds of the teachers are trained and the proportion of the trained to the untrained teachers in secondary schools under private management is about 1 to 8.

In Bombay a percentage of 24·1 of the total number of teachers is shown as trained ; but every teacher who passes the Secondary Teachers' Certificate examination is returned as trained. Actually only a few of the teachers of English and those almost entirely employed in Government schools have received training of any kind. In the Punjab, although the total number of teachers employed in secondary schools had increased in five years from 5,380 to 9,223 yet the percentage of trained teachers, 70 per cent has been maintained by an increase from 3,761 to 6,446. The maintenance of the proportion of trained teachers in the Punjab is all the more satisfactory in view of the very large increase in the number of secondary schools in that Province. In Madras, of 7,184 teachers employed in secondary schools no less than 4,954 possess professional certificates, though the number of trained teachers of the collegiate grade is only 18 per cent. In the Central Provinces, the increase in the percentage of trained teachers in high schools from 26·5 to 67·5 is remarkable. Of 190 teachers in Government schools in this Province, 167 are graduates. In the North-West Frontier Province, 363 out of 576 teachers are trained and 93 graduates. On the other hand in Bihar and Orissa only 146 out of a total of 1,774 teachers of English and Classics are trained though the percentage of trained vernacular teachers in secondary schools is 70. The case of Bengal is similar. The number of Anglo-Vernacular teachers and teachers of classical languages in all secondary schools is 12,906, out of whom only 357 are trained though 3,392 are graduates. The percentage of trained vernacular teachers is, however, about 48 (3,595 out of 7,498).¹

The achievements of the period 1902-21 in secondary education, therefore, were both *qualitative* as well as *quantitative*. During these two decades, the number of secondary schools and scholars rose very considerably. At the same time, there was a marked improvement in quality due mainly to stricter conditions of recognition, increase in expenditure from all sources, and a larger output of trained teachers. The main problems that yet remained to be solved were (i) the adoption of modern Indian languages as the media of instruction at the High school stage, and (ii) the provision of vocational or pre-vocational courses. It was to the solution of these that attempts were directed in the next period (*i.e.*, 1921-37) the narrative of which will be resumed in the next chapter.

¹ Vol. I, pp. 94-5. The figures are for Secondary Schools for boys only.

12. Gokhale's Attempts for Compulsory Primary Education (1910-12). We saw in Chapter IX that there arose, towards the beginning of the present century, a great movement in favour of the reform of the educational system as a whole. The repercussions of this movement on secondary and university education have already been dealt with in the preceding sections. Even more important than these, however, were its repercussions on primary education. Indian public opinion had now begun to demand rapid expansion of primary education and the introduction of compulsion. Official opinion, presumably inspired by events in England where a new era in elementary education had been introduced by the Education Act of 1902, began to demand substantial improvement in quality through such measures as the training of primary teachers, enhancement in their salaries, provision of adequate equipment, etc. Lord Curzon had initiated a new policy of larger grants to primary education which had brought about a considerable expansion of primary education between 1905 and 1912. But the official preference for qualitative improvement soon began to make itself felt and Government, instead of accepting the principle of compulsory primary education, began to occupy itself more and more with qualitative improvements. This development was not liked by Indian nationalist opinion which began to press Government for the introduction of compulsory education. It was pointed out that even in 1911-12, the percentage of literacy in India was only about 6 and that only 23.8 per cent of the boys of school-going age were at school. The percentage of the girls of school-going age at school was as low as 2.7! It was also urged that although the rate of increase in the number of pupils in primary schools had become faster, it had not become fast enough; that the rate of increase was very slow compared with the distance that had to be travelled before primary education could be universally diffused; and that even if the number of boys at school continued to increase at the then rate of increase and even if there was no increase in population, several generations would elapse before all the boys of school age got into school! Indian opinion, therefore, began to demand the introduction of compulsion which alone could secure universal education within the shortest time. This demand was strengthened by the fact that the Gaekwar of Baroda introduced compulsory education throughout his State in 1906. The public were not slow to point

out that what was done by the Gaekwar for his State, may easily be done by the British Government for its own territories.

The great exponent of this demand was Shri G. K. Gokhale, who, as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, made heroic attempts to persuade Government to accept the ideal of compulsory education. He did not agree that in so far as mass education is concerned, quality should have priority over quantity. Referring to those educationists who urged that a programme of qualitative improvement of primary education must *precede* the introduction of compulsion, he said :—

(Some) urge that it is undesirable to extend the kind of education that is at present given in primary schools for it is worse than useless. Most of the teachers are not trained teachers, the school buildings are unfit for holding classes in, and therefore until these defects are moved, until there is a sufficient supply of trained teachers forthcoming, until ample decent school accommodation is available, the question of extension should wait. My Lord, those who raise these objections ignore what is the primary purpose of mass education. The primary purpose of mass education is to banish illiteracy from the land ; the quality of education is a matter of importance that comes only after illiteracy has been banished. Now, the primary purpose being to banish illiteracy, teachers who could teach a simple curriculum of the 3 R's, and houses hired by or voluntarily placed by owners at the disposal of school authorities, must do for the present. In Japan, when they began compulsion, they held classes in the verandahs of private houses. I think what was not beneath the dignity of Japan need not be beneath the dignity of this country. Of course I do not deprecate the value and importance of trained teachers and decent school-houses. But I say that we cannot wait till all these defects are first put right before taking up the question of banishing illiteracy from the land. Let that work be resolutely taken in hand, and as we go along let us try to secure for the country better teachers and better school-houses.¹

On the other hand, he had a great faith in universal, compulsory, and free primary education, even if it be of the humblest kind. As he once observed :—

An American legislator, addressing his countrymen more than half a century ago, once said that if he had the Archangel's trumpet, the blast of which could startle the living of all nations, he would sound it in their ears and say : " Educate your children, educate all your children, educate every one of your children ". The deep wisdom and passionate humanity of this aspiration is now generally recognised, and in almost every civilised country, the State to-day accepts the education of the children as a primary duty resting upon it. Even if the advantages of an elementary education be put no higher than a capacity to read and write, its universal diffusion is a matter of prime importance, for literacy is better than illiteracy any day, and the banishment of a whole people's illiteracy is no mean achievement. But elementary education for the mass of the people means something more than a mere capacity to read and write. It means for them a keener enjoyment of life and a more refined standard of living. It means the greater moral and economic efficiency of the individual. It means a higher level

advantages might as well doubt the value of light or fresh air in the economy of human health. I think it is not unfair to say that one important test of the solicitude of a Government for the true well-being of its people is the extent to which, and the manner in which, it seeks to discharge its duty in the matter of mass education. And judged by this test, the Government of this country must wake up to its responsibilities much more than it has hitherto done, before it can take its proper place among the civilised Governments of the world.¹

Between 1910 and 1913, therefore, Gokhale made heroic efforts to make Government accept the principle of compulsory primary education. On 19th March 1910, he moved the following resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council :—

That this Council recommends that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country, and that a mixed commission of officials and non-officials be appointed at an early date to frame definite proposals.

In a very able speech, Gokhale drew a touching picture of the educational backwardness of India, and with a view to spreading mass education as quickly as possible, suggested a concrete programme for adoption by Government. This programme consisted of several proposals, some of which were later on embodied in his bill for compulsory education. The remaining were as under :—

(a) There should be a Secretary specially for education.

(b) Education should be made a *divided head*, that is to say, the cost of education should be shared between the Provincial and Central Governments. There should be a definite programme for education, just as there was a programme for railways, and it should be carried out steadily year after year.

(c) A statement describing the progress of education should be included in the budget statement.

Gokhale withdrew the resolution on an assurance from Government that the whole question would be examined most carefully. It is, however, interesting to note that of the three proposals mentioned above the first was immediately accepted by Government and a Department of Education was created under the Government of India in 1910. Similarly, the third proposal of Gokhale was also accepted and the Government of India began to publish yearly reviews of educational progress in India. Unfortunately, however, the most important proposal—the second—was rejected mainly on the ground that education was a subject almost wholly within the sphere of Provincial Governments.

On 16th March 1911, Gokhale returned to the attack and introduced his bill *to make better provision for the extension of*

elementary education which embodied most of the proposals of his speech dated 19th March 1910. This bill was based mainly on the Compulsory Education Acts of England, 1870 and 1876, and on the Irish Education Act of 1892. As it had a great influence on the subsequent development of compulsory education in India, it deserves a detailed analysis.

The following quotation from the statement of objects and reasons gives a clear idea of the main features of the bill :—

The object of this Bill is to provide for the gradual introduction of the principle of compulsion into the elementary education system of the country. The experience of other countries has established beyond dispute the fact that the only effective way to ensure a wide diffusion of elementary education among the mass of the people is by a resort to compulsion in some form or the other. And the time has come when a beginning at least should be made in this direction in India. The Bill is of a purely permissive character and its provisions will apply to areas notified by municipalities or district boards which will have to bear such proportion of the increased expenditure which will be necessitated, as may be laid down by the Government of India, by rules. Moreover, no area can be notified without the previous sanction of the Provincial Government and further it must fulfil the test which the Government of India may, by rules, lay down as regards the percentage of children already at school within its limits. Finally the provisions are intended to apply in the first instance only to boys, though later on a local body may extend them to girls ; and age limits proposed are only six and ten years. It is hoped that these are sufficient safeguards against any rash or injudicious action on the part of local bodies. This measure is essentially a cautious one, indeed to some it may appear to err too much on the side of caution.

The following points deserve special notice :

(i) The bill merely *permits* the local bodies, on fulfilment of certain conditions, to introduce compulsion. It does not make the introduction of compulsion obligatory either on local bodies or on Government.

(ii) Secondly, the bill proposes that it should be local bodies, and not Government, who should take the initiative in the matter of introducing compulsion. The reasons for this proposal were thus explained by Gokhale :—

My Lord, it is urged by those who are opposed to the introduction of compulsion in this country that though the Gaekwar, as an Indian Prince, could force compulsion on his subjects without serious opposition, the British Government as a foreign Government, cannot afford to risk the unpopularity which the measure will entail. Personally, I do not think that the fear which lies behind this view is justified because the Government in Ceylon is as much a foreign Government as that in India and in Ceylon the authorities have not shrunk from the introduction of compulsion. But to meet this objection, I am quite willing that the first steps in the direction of compulsion should be taken by our local bodies, which reproduce in British territory conditions similar to those which

idea of compulsion, the Government may take the succeeding steps without any hesitation or misgiving.¹

(iii) Thirdly, the Bill does not bind Government to pay any definite proportion of the additional cost of compulsion. It only says that Government may make rules regarding the appropriation of the cost of compulsion between Government and the local body concerned. In 1911-12, Government contributed Rs. 45,29 thousand to primary education while the local boards contributed Rs. 64,03 thousand and the municipalities contributed Rs. 16,94 thousand.² It was evident that under a system of compulsory education, the total cost of primary education would rise very considerably and that, the resources of the local bodies being inelastic and incapable of large expansion, most of the additional cost would have to be borne by Government. This financial aspect of compulsion was of fundamental importance and the success or failure of the scheme was dependent on the willingness and capacity of Government to bear the extra-financial burden involved in the introduction of compulsion. Gokhale had realised this and he also had his own proposals on the subject; but electing, as he had done, to follow the line of least resistance, he left the point moot in the Bill itself. In his introductory speech, however, he made the following observations :—

It is obvious that the whole working of this Bill must depend, in the first instance, upon the share, which the Government is prepared to bear, of the cost of compulsory education, wherever it is introduced. I find that in England, the Parliamentary grants cover about two-thirds of the total expenditure on elementary schools. In Scotland it amounts to more than that proportion, whereas in Ireland it meets practically the whole cost. I think that we are entitled to ask that, in India, at least two-thirds of the new expenditure should be borne by the State.³

While introducing the Bill, Gokhale made a very brilliant speech which ended with the following peroration :—

This, my Lord, is briefly the whole of my Bill. It is a small and humble attempt to suggest the first steps of a journey, which is bound to prove long and tedious, but which must be performed, if the mass of our people are to emerge from their present condition. It is not intended that all parts of the Bill should be equally indispensable to the scheme, and no one will be more ready than myself to undertake any revision that may be found to be necessary in the light of helpful criticism. My Lord, if I am so fortunate as to receive from the Council the leave I ask at its hands, it will probably be a year before the Bill comes up here again

for its further stages. Meanwhile, its consideration will be transferred from this Council to the country, and all sections of the community will have ample opportunities to scrutinise its provisions with care. My Lord, this question of a universal diffusion of education in India depends, almost more than any other question, on the hearty and sympathetic co-operation of the Government and the leaders of the people. The Government must, in the first instance, adopt definitely the policy of such diffusion as its own, and it must, secondly, not grudge to find the bulk of the money, which will be required for it, as Governments in most other civilised countries are doing. And this is what we are entitled to ask at the hands of the Government in the name of justice, for the honour of the Government itself, and in the highest interests of popular well-being. The leaders of the people, on their side, must bring to this task high enthusiasm, which will not be chilled by difficulties, courage, which will not shrink from encountering, unpopularity, if need be, and readiness to make sacrifices, whether of money or time or energy, which the cause may require. I think, my Lord, if this Bill passes into law, the educated classes of the country will be on their trial. It is my earnest hope that neither they nor the Government will fail to rise to the requirements of this essentially modest and cautious measure. My Lord, one great need of the situation, which I have ventured again and again to point out in this Council for several years past, is that the Government should enable us to feel that, though largely foreign in personnel, it is national in spirit and sentiment; and this it can only do by undertaking towards the people of India all those responsibilities which national Governments in other countries undertake towards their people. We, too, in our turn, must accept the Government as a national Government, giving it that sense of security which national Governments are entitled to claim, and utilising the peace and order, which it has established, for the moral and material advancement of our people. And of all the great national tasks which lie before the country, and in which the Government and the people can co-operate to the advantage of both, none is greater than this task of promoting the universal diffusion of education in the land, bringing by its means a ray of light, a touch of refinement, a glow of hope into lives that sadly need them all. The work, I have already said, is bound to be slow, but that only means that it must be taken in hand at once. If a beginning is made without further delay, if both the Government and the people persevere with the task in the right spirit, the whole problem may be solved before another generation rises to take our place. If this happens, the next generation will enter upon its own special work with a strength which will be its own security of success. As for us, it will be enough to have laboured for such an end—laboured even when the end is not in sight. For, my Lord, I think there is not only profound humility but also profound wisdom in the faith which says:—

I do not ask to see that distant scene :

One step enough for me.¹

The Bill was circulated for opinion and came up for discussion again on the 17th of March 1912. The debate lasted for two days, and it became evident that Government was not then prepared to accept even a modest bill like this. As the official members were in a clear majority in the Central Legislature of that time, and as a number of non-official members also were opposed to it for some reason or the other, the Bill had no chance

of success. The following, amongst others, were the grounds on which the Bill was opposed :—

(a) It is a sound maxim of educational policy that persuasion should be exhausted before compulsion is resorted to. It was, therefore, argued that what the situation needed most was not a hasty enforcement of compulsion, but an expansion of education on a voluntary basis by the provision of additional funds, by opening more schools, by improving schools and teachers and so on.

(b) No popular demand for compulsory education had been felt.

(c) The Provincial Governments were not in favour of the Bill.

(d) A section of educated Indians were opposed to it.

(e) The local authorities, it was stated, would be unwilling to increase existing taxes or to impose new ones in order to finance schemes of compulsion.

(f) It was also argued that there would be numerous administrative difficulties in the practical enforcement of compulsion. For example, it was said that the attendance committees would not work satisfactorily, that the attendance officers might harass the people, and that the punitive measures would lead to great hardship to poor parents.

In a spirited reply, Gokhale successfully met every objection raised against his Bill and fervently appealed to all to support his effort. He said :—

My Lord, I have done. No one is so simple as to imagine that a system of universal education will necessarily mean an end to all our ills, or that it will open out to us a new heaven and a new earth. Men and women will still continue to struggle with their imperfections and life will still be a scene of injustice and suffering, of selfishness and strife. Poverty will not be banished because illiteracy has been removed, and the need for patriotic or philanthropic work will not grow any the less. But with the diffusion of universal education the mass of our countrymen will have a better chance in life. With universal education there will be hope of better success for all efforts, official or non-official, for the amelioration of the people—their social progress, their moral improvement, their economic well-being. I think, my Lord, with universal education the mass of the people will be better able to take care of themselves against the exactions of unscrupulous moneylenders or against the abuses of official authority by petty men in power. My Lord, with 94 per cent of our countrymen sunk in ignorance, how can the advantages of sanitation or thrift be properly appreciated, and how can the industrial efficiency of the worker be improved? With 94 per cent of the people unable to read or write, how can the evil of superstition be effectively combated, and how can the general level of life in the country be raised? My Lord, His Majesty the King-Emperor, in delivering his message of hope to the people of this country before he left Calcutta, was pleased to say : ' And it is my wish too that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge, with what follows in its train—a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health'. No nobler words were ever uttered. May we not hope that the servants of His Majesty in this country will keep these words constantly before their minds and will so discharge the responsibility which they impose that future generations in this country will be enabled to turn to His Majesty's declaration with the same fervent and reverent gratitude with which the people of Japan recall their Emperor's famous rescript of 1872 ?¹

But all this pleading went in vain and when the motion to refer the Bill to the Select Committee was put to vote, it was thrown out by 38 votes against 13. This did not, of course, come as a surprise to anybody, least of all to Gokhale himself. He had read the situation correctly and, earlier in the debate, had already referred to the expected result of the voting in the following majestic words :—

My Lord, I know that my Bill will be thrown out before the day closes, I make no complaint. I shall not even feel depressed. I know too well the story of the preliminary efforts that were required even in England, before the Act of 1870 was passed, either to complain or to feel depressed. Moreover, I have always felt and have often said that we, of the present generation in India, can only hope to serve our country by our failures. The men and women who will be privileged to serve her by their successes will come later. We must be content to accept cheerfully the place that has been allotted to us in our onward march. The Bill, thrown out today, will come back again and again, till on the stepping-stones of its dead selves, a measure ultimately rises which will spread the light of knowledge throughout the land. It may be that this anticipation will not come true. It may be that our efforts may not conduce even indirectly to the promotion of the great cause which we all have at heart and that they may turn out after all to be nothing better than the mere ploughing of the sands of the sea-shore. But, my Lord, whatever fate awaits our labours, one thing is clear. We shall be entitled to feel that we have done our duty, and, where the call of duty is clear, it is better even to labour and fail than not to labour at all.¹

Thus closed the first chapter in the history of compulsory education in India, and for all the zeal and ability with which Gokhale worked at the cause, his main object was not realised. The principles underlying the bill—modest as they appear today—were really far in advance of the times and the cautious and conservative officials of those days would not accept them as practical propositions. But Gokhale's efforts were not entirely in vain ; they led, as we have seen, to the creation of a Department of Education under the Government of India ; they considerably strengthened the movement in favour of mass education ; they awakened Government to the duty regarding the education of the masses ; and the great activity of Government in the field of primary education in the quinquennium 1912-17, was largely the indirect result of the efforts of Gokhale.

13. Government Resolution of 1913. Although Government had turned down Gokhale's bill, it could not entirely ignore the growing popular demand for the spread of mass education. It had, therefore, to take some steps in the matter and a great

occasion for the same was given by the visit of His Majesty King George V to India in 1911-12. At the Coronation of His Majesty, a recurring grant of Rs. 50,00,000 was assigned to popular education. The general attitude of Government towards the education of the people was expressed in the following reply of His Majesty to the address presented by the Calcutta University on 6th January 1912 :—

It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life. And it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled, and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart.

This was followed by the *Government Resolution on Educational Policy*, dated 21st February 1913, which laid down the following principles for the expansion and improvement of primary education :—

10. The proposition that illiteracy must be broken down and that primary education has, in the present circumstances of India, a predominant claim upon the public funds, represent accepted policy no longer open to discussion. For financial and administrative reasons of decisive weight the Government of India have refused to recognise the principle of compulsory education ; but they desire the widest possible extension of primary education on a voluntary basis. As regards free elementary education, the time has not yet arrived when it is practicable to dispense wholly with fees without injustice to the many villages which are waiting for the provision of schools. The fees derived from those pupils who can pay them are now devoted to the maintenance and expansion of primary education, and a total remission of fees would involve to a certain extent a more prolonged postponement of a provision of schools in villages without them. In some provinces elementary education is already free and in the majority of provinces liberal provision is already made for giving free elementary instruction to those boys whose parents cannot afford to pay fees. Local governments have been requested to extend the application of the principle of free elementary education amongst the poorer and more backward sections of the population. Further than this, it is not possible at present to go.

11. For guidance in the immediate future, with necessary modifications due to local conditions, the Government of India desire to lay down the following principles in regard to primary education :—

(i) Subject to the principle stated in paragraph 8(1) supra, there should be large expansion of lower primary schools teaching the three R's with drawing, knowledge of the village map, nature study and physical exercise.

(ii) Simultaneously upper primary schools should be established at suitable centres and lower primary schools should, where necessary, be developed into upper primary schools.

(iii) Expansion should be secured by means of board schools, except where this is financially impossible, when aided schools should be established.

be given to maktabas, pathshalas and the like which are ready to undertake simple vernacular teaching of general knowledge. Reliance^{*} should not be placed upon 'venture schools', unless by subjecting themselves to suitable management and to inspection they earn recognition.

(iv) It is not practicable at present in most parts of India to draw any great distinction between the curricula of rural and of urban primary schools. But in the latter class of schools there is special scope for practical teaching of geography, school excursions, etc., and the nature study should vary with the environment, and some other form of simple knowledge of the locality might advantageously be substituted for the study of the village map. As competent teachers become available a greater differentiation in the courses will be possible.

(v) Teachers should be drawn from the class of the boys whom they will teach; they should have passed the middle vernacular examination, or been through a corresponding course, and should have undergone a year's training. Where they have passed through only the upper primary course and have not already had sufficient experience in a school, a two years' course of training is generally desirable. This training may in the first instance be given in small local institutions, but preferably, as funds permit, in larger and more efficient central normal schools. In both kinds of institutions adequate practising schools are a necessary adjunct, and the size of the practising school will generally determine the size of the normal school. As teachers left to themselves in villages are liable to deteriorate, there are great advantages in periodical repetition and improvement courses for primary school teachers during the school vacations.

(vi) Trained teachers should receive not less than Rs. 12 per month (special rates being given in certain areas); they should be placed in a graded service; and they should either be eligible for a pension or admitted to a provident fund.

(vii) No teachers should be called on to instruct more than 50 pupils; preferably the number should be 30 or 40; and it is desirable to have a separate teacher for each class or standard.

(viii) The continuation schools known as middle or secondary vernacular schools should be improved and multiplied.

(ix) Schools should be housed in sanitary and commodious but inexpensive buildings.

12. While laying down these general principles the Government of India recognise that in regard to primary education conditions vary greatly in different provinces. In the old Province of Bengal, for instance, where there is already some sort of primary school for a little over every three square miles of the total area of the province, the multiplication of schools may very well not be so urgent a problem as an increase in the attendance and an improvement in the qualifications of the teachers. In some parts of India at the present time no teacher in a primary school gets less than 12 rupees a month. In Burma all conditions are different and monastic schools are an important feature of the organization. Different problems, again, present themselves where board schools and aided schools respectively are the basis of the system of primary education. Nor must it be supposed that the policy laid down in these general terms for the immediate future limits the aspirations of the Government of India or the local governments. Indeed the Government of India hope that the day is not far distant when teachers in primary schools will receive considerably higher remuneration, when all teachers will be trained, and when it will be possible to introduce more modern and elastic methods in primary schools.

It is the desire and hope of the Government of India to see in the not distant future some 91,000 primary public schools added to the 100,000 which already exist for boys and to double the $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions of the pupils who now receive instruction in them.

This statement of policy hardly needs any comment. It is evident that the struggle between quality and quantity—which had hitherto been confined to collegiate and secondary education—had now entered the field of primary education also. It is true that the Resolution expressed a hope that, although improvement would be the main aim of Government, it would not neglect expansion and that steps would be taken to double the number of schools and pupils. But as later events showed, these hopes did not materialise.

14. The Patel Act (1918) and other Provincial Acts for Compulsory Primary Education. The work of Gokhale was taken up at Provincial level by Shri Vithalbhai J. Patel, another great leader of the Indian Nationalist Movement. His Bill for the introduction of compulsory primary education in municipal areas was accepted by the Bombay Legislative Council and became the Bombay Primary Education (District Municipalities) Act of 1918, known popularly as the Patel Act. The following are its salient provisions :—

- (a) The Act was applicable only to urban areas excluding the City of Bombay.
- (b) A municipality could launch a scheme of compulsory education for either or both sexes within the area of its jurisdiction provided that
 - (i) such decision was supported by two-thirds of the members present at the meeting and by half the total number of municipal councillors, and
 - (ii) was approved by Government.
- (c) The age-period of compulsion was from 7 to 11 years of age.
- (d) Every parent residing within the area of compulsion was called upon to cause the child to attend a recognised primary school. If he failed to do so, he was liable to a fine of not more than five rupees.
- (e) A fine of not more than Rs. 25 was prescribed for a person who employed children of compulsory age.
- (f) Compulsory education was also to be free.
- (g) To meet the rise in expenditure on account of the introduction of compulsion, municipalities were empowered to impose fresh taxes or to increase any of the existing ones.
- (h) It was not obligatory on Government to give a grant-in-aid to schemes of compulsion submitted to it. If Government decided to share the cost with the municipality, its grant-in-aid to the municipality was to be at such percentage of the total expenditure on the scheme as might be fixed by Government.

It will be seen that the Act was a mild and a cautious measure.

assist schemes of compulsion, its financial provisions were definitely unsatisfactory. But in spite of these defects, the Act was a great landmark in the history of primary education, not only in the Province of Bombay but in that of India as a whole. It gave a legal status to the popular demand for compulsory education and students of education will gratefully remember the name of Vithalbhair Patel as that of a pioneer who caused Government to accept the principle of free and compulsory primary education for the first time.

The example of Shri Vithalbhair Patel was imitated very extensively. Based on the general plan of his Bill, the following Acts for compulsory primary education were passed before 1921:—

Year.	Province.	Name of the Act.	Compulsion whether for Boys or Girls.	Whether applicable to Rural or Urban areas.
1919	Punjab	Primary Education Act	Boys	Both
"	United Provinces	"	Both	Municipal
"	Bengal	"	Boys (extended to girls by an amendment in 1932)	" ✓
"	Bihar and Orissa	"	Boys	Both
1920	Bombay	City of Bombay P. E. Act	Both	Applicable to City of Bombay only
"	Central Provinces	P. E. Act	"	Both
"	Madras	Elementary Education Act	"	"

The detailed provisions of these Acts will be examined in Chapter XI. Here it is enough to state that these Acts were passed with great enthusiasm and that they have a historical and theoretical value as the first recognition of the principle of compulsion by the Provincial Governments concerned. The official reports of this period, however, complain that very little action was taken under them. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1917-22*, observes:—

It cannot be said that local bodies have shown any alacrity in availing themselves of the opportunity afforded them by these Acts. In Bengal, Madras, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces no local body; in Bombay five municipalities (Bandra, Surat, Dakore, Byadgi and Satara); in the Punjab two

of the success of these eight experiments. The percentage of boys of compulsory age at school has risen with the introduction of compulsion in Multan from 27 to 54 and in Lahore from 50 to 62. Since no provision has been made at either place for the education of the children belonging to the depressed classes and no proceedings have yet been taken against any defaulting parent, it is improbable that a much higher percentage of attendance can be expected in the near future. Compulsion has been introduced under the Act of 1920, in a number of wards in the city of Bombay. There has been a fifty per cent increase in the number of schools and school children and in the number of trained teachers and a proportional increase in the general and medical inspectorate; a novel feature has been the appointment of lady superintendents. The total expenditure on education in the municipality has increased 350 per cent.¹

But this is hardly a fair approach. The experiment was really too recent then to show any appreciable results. Whether the results should or should not be so meagre is not at all the issue at stake, as the Review seems to think. That the principle of compulsory education was accepted by Government after a popular struggle of nearly 40 years was the principal victory and the workers of his period may well feel proud of this achievement of theirs.

15. Quantitative Position of Primary Education (1921-22). Owing partly to the absence of compulsion and partly to the official predilection for quality rather than quantity, the expansion of primary education after 1911-12 was relatively slow and in 1921-22, the quantitative position of primary education in India was far from happy. The following statistics tell their own tale:—

Province.	Population (1921 Census)	No. of pupils in Primary Schools.	Percentage of pupils to popu- lation. (This ought to be about 15 p.c.).
	(in thousands)	(in thousands)	
Madras	4,23,19	15,47	3.6
Bombay	1,93,48	7,99	4.1
Bengal	4,66,96	14,36	3.1
United Provinces	4,53,76	8,33	1.8
Punjab	2,06,85	3,18	1.5
Bihar & Orissa	3,40,05	6,88	2.1
Central Provinces & Berar	1,39,13	2,60	1.8
Assam	76,06	1,69	2.2
N.W.F. Province	22,51	30	1.3
Minor Administrations	15,68	29	1.9
Total	23,37,67	61,09	2.6

The following statistics of literacy of the census of 1921 are equally disappointing :—

<i>Province</i>	<i>Percentage of Literacy</i>
Madras	8.6
Bombay	8.5
Bengal	9.0
United Provinces	3.7
Punjab	4.3
Bihar and Orissa	4.7
Central Provinces and Berar	4.6
Assam	6.3

Commenting on the above statistics of literacy, the Hartog Committee observes :—

Between 1892 and 1922, the percentage of male literates of five years and over in British India increased by only 1.4 per cent (from 13.0 to 14.4) and that of female literates by 1.3 per cent (from 0.7 to 2.0). The percentage of literates of both sexes and all ages was only 7.2 in 1921. Progress has been extremely slow.¹

26. Qualitative Improvements in Primary Education (1905-1922). If Government thus failed to bring about a rapid expansion of primary education, it would have been some compensation at least if the official drive to improve quality had borne material success. But even this did not happen.

(a) *Training of Teachers*: By far, the best qualitative achievement of this period was the improvement in the training of primary teachers. Ever since the momentous directions given by the Indian Education Commission (1882-83), the problem of the training of primary teachers had received considerable attention, especially in the period 1901 to 1921. Its main events may be summarised as under :—

(i) Government accepted the recommendation of the Commission that the training of primary teachers was a responsibility of the State. Consequently, a large number of training institutions came to be conducted directly by Government. Moreover, Government gave substantial financial assistance to training institutions conducted by local bodies or private agencies.

(ii) There was a steady expansion of training institutions during the period under review. In 1921-22, there were, in British India including Burma, 926 training institutions for men (with an enrolment of 22,774 students) and 146 training institutions for women (with an enrolment of 4,157 students). Out

of these, 433 were conducted by Government, 483 by Local Boards and Municipalities with the assistance of Government grants, and 156 were conducted by private bodies, out of which 151 were aided and 5 unaided. The training institutions conducted by Missions numbered 92.

(iii) The following statistics of trained and untrained teachers working in recognised primary schools in 1921-22 (excluding the teachers of English or classical languages) in British India including Burma are available :—

Primary Schools managed by				Trained teachers.	Untrained teachers.	Total.
Government	..	..	..	1,155	888	2,043
Local Boards	..	..	..	38,757	31,002	69,759
Municipalities	..	..	..	5,898	5,767	11,665
Aided	..	..	..	20,689	65,229	85,918
Unaided	..	..	..	1,114	10,787	11,901
Total				67,613	1,13,673	1,81,286

The percentage of trained teachers works out to 38 of the whole. It was highest in schools conducted by Government—these were mostly practising schools attached to training institutions and were consequently conducted as model institutions—and lowest in unaided schools.

(iv) It has to be remembered, however, that the term *trained teacher* did not have the same connotation in all the provinces. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1917-22, observes :—

Any generalisations about the number of trained elementary teachers in India and the percentage which they bear to the total number of teachers are misleading. The different provinces vary widely in the qualifications required of the candidates for training, the character of the institutions in which training is given and the length of the training courses. The term 'trained teacher' consequently has a very uncertain significance.¹

The following analysis of the training systems of the several provinces of British India in 1921-22 will, therefore, be found interesting :—

(i) *Bengal* : Most of the primary schools were aided private schools and the general education of the teachers working in them was ordinarily poor. Hence, the training of a teacher did not

mean training him in the art of pedagogy ; on the contrary, it meant an attempt to improve his general education *with a top-dressing of the Art and Theory of Teaching superadded*. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1917-22*, observes :—

By holding out the bribe of a stipend, and perhaps by the use of some thinly veiled compulsion, there are gathered into the *guru*-training schools a number of teachers whose knowledge of the subjects they teach is little above that of the unfortunate taught. Here they attempt, in one year or in two, to go through the whole upper primary or middle vernacular course with a top-dressing of the Art and Theory of Teaching superadded. There are no foundations on which to build, so that it is not surprising, to quote the Inspector, Dacca Division, that " the actual work done by the trained teachers in primary schools is cruelly disappointing ". It is in fact a misnomer to class the ordinary product of the *guru*-training school under the head of " trained ". To undergo training implies the acquisition of professional and technical skill. Training as interpreted in relation to primary education in Bengal is merely a despairing attempt to supply by special means some part of what is wanting in the teachers' general equipment.¹

(ii) In *Bihar and Orissa*, the problem was similar to that of Bengal. Hence an attempt was being made to encourage students who had passed the middle-school examination (*i.e.*, had seven years' general education) to undergo training. Two courses were drawn up, a course of one year for *middle pass* candidates and another of two years for candidates with lower qualifications.

(iii) Although the primary schools in *Madras* were mostly aided private schools as in Bengal and Bihar, primary teachers with a better general education than in the other two provinces were ordinarily available. The Madras training institutions were of two types : higher elementary and lower elementary. The minimum qualification for admission to the former institution was a pass in the middle-school examination while the latter admitted students who had completed the upper primary course. The duration of the training course was two years in both cases.

(iv) In *Bombay*, the large majority of primary schools were conducted by local bodies and hence the problem in this province was essentially different from that in Bengal, Bihar, or Madras. The minimum qualification for admission to a training institution was a pass in the P.S.L.C. Examination which marked the completion of the primary course. The full training course was of three years—the training being generally intermittent.

(v) In the *United Provinces*, the primary teachers were generally trained in small classes of about eight students attached to selected middle-schools—each class being put in the charge of a special instructor appointed for the purpose. The system did not work satisfactorily.

(vi) In the *Punjab*, primary teachers were trained in a course of one year's duration after passing the middle-school examination.

(vii) It may be pointed out here that educationists were keenly divided at this time regarding the proper size of a training institution. In the *United Provinces*, it was the smallest. Next came *Bihar* where the size of a training school was generally fixed at about 20 students each. Then came *Bengal* with about 40 students per institution. The largest units were adopted in *Bombay* and the *Central Provinces*—as many as 150 students being trained in a single institution.

It will be seen that the position regarding the training of primary teachers was far from happy even in 1921-22. Amongst the various defects of the system, we may mention the following:—

(i) The general education of the average primary teacher was poor and hardly better than that of the pupils whom he was expected to teach. This was not a happy position. It was, therefore, being urged that the general education of primary teachers must be of not less than the Matriculation standard, and that the best way of securing such teachers would be to organise high schools teaching through the mother-tongue.

(ii) Short training courses of one year, or intermittent training had generally failed to give good results.

(iii) Training institutions of a very small size as in the *United Provinces* had not given satisfactory results, because the whole work of training had to be left to a single instructor of ordinary capacity. On the other hand, big institutions as in the *Central Provinces* had also not proved successful. Their very size necessitated their location in towns or cities and hence the training of teachers was generally divorced from the rural conditions in which most of them had to work later on. What the situation needed was a localised training institution of a moderate size in each district so that an effective attempt could be made to co-ordinate training with local environment.

(iv) It was, however, realised by this time that the funda-

as that of their pay and service conditions. It was the absence of a satisfactory remuneration that was mainly responsible for leaving the profession of primary teachers in the hands of poorly educated persons; and so long as this important problem remained unsolved, there was no great hope of attracting able persons to the profession and of placing the general education and training of primary teachers on an efficient footing.

(b) *Remuneration of Primary Teachers*: In this respect, considerable improvements were effected in some Provinces. The Province of Bombay gave a very good lead. Here, most of the schools were local authority schools and the problems was, therefore, easier. In 1901-02, the average pay of a primary teacher was only Rs. 8 or so and there were no incremental scales of pay. By 1921-22, definite incremental scales had been introduced and the average pay of a primary teacher was raised to Rs. 33 p.m. Similar, if not the same progress, was made in other Provinces like the Punjab or C.P. where most of the primary schools were conducted by local bodies.

Equally good results could not, however, be obtained in Provinces like Bengal, Bihar or Madras where most of the primary schools were private. In Bengal, for instance, the average pay continued to be as low as Rs. 8 p.m. This was mainly due to the fact that the Provincial Government did not spend adequately on primary education or pay liberal grants-in-aid to primary schools.

Another drawback in the picture was the rise in the cost of living that had occurred since 1902 and particularly after the first World War. According to Adam, a primary teacher in Bengal got about Rs. 3 to 5 p.m. in 1835. By 1921, this had increased to Rs. 8 or so p.m. But in the meanwhile the cost of living had increased so many times that it would be perfectly correct to say that the teacher of an indigenous school of 1835 was really better off than a teacher in the aided school of 1921. When salaries at two different periods are compared in terms of money, due allowance has to be made for the rise or fall in the purchasing power of the rupee. If such allowance is made, it will have to be admitted that the improvement in the economic condition of the primary teachers (except perhaps in Bombay) was not very appreciable.

(c) *Curricula*: The general trend of curricular revision

and to add subject after subject. Over and above the subjects that had already entered the curriculum by 1902, School-gardening and Nature-study which were the two favourite subjects of this period were introduced in the primary curricula of several provinces. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education*, 1917-22 observes :—

In Bombay a course in nature-study and school-gardening is now followed in schools which have the necessary facilities. In the Central Provinces an officer of the Agricultural Department was lent to the Education Department for the special purpose of advising it on the adaptation of village schools to rural needs. 'The immediate aim was to connect the school gardens more closely with the instruction given in the village schools, and to make work in these gardens a means of keeping pupils in touch with agricultural surroundings.' Attempts have also been made to give definite instruction in practical agriculture in village schools in the Central Provinces. School gardens have received considerable attention in the United Provinces. Occasional success is reported, but 'there is little doubt that the boards generally speaking are indifferent to school gardening. Teachers as a class are not interested in the growing of flowers, vegetable or crops, and have little or no knowledge of how to use the school garden for lessons in nature-study. They are always ready to justify their indifference by a variety of excuses such as lack of water, insecurity of the plots from raids by goats, cattle and other animals, and so on.' In Madras a committee appointed by the Government to deal with rural education reported in 1919 and recommended the inclusion of compulsory nature-study in the scheme of studies for the elementary school.¹

But it is also interesting to note that Curzon's idea of differentiating between urban and rural schools generally came to be discredited by 1921. In Bombay, the separate rural standards that existed since 1877-8 were abolished altogether in 1916-17 on the following grounds :—

- (i) The object of the average boy who entered the primary school and studied there for five or six years was to complete the primary course and to qualify himself for service under Government. The rural course did not give him this qualification; so it came to be disliked.
- (ii) The village people thought that the rural course was a sign of backwardness in education. If the rural course was introduced in a school, the village people sent petition after petition to change it to the ordinary course. This opposition of the villagers was mistaken no doubt. But it succeeded in making this course very unpopular.

- (iii) The pupils who have studied under the rural course were at a handicap when they went to the English school. The desire for English education was now spreading in the villages and, therefore, the rural course became more and more unpopular.

A similar tale was repeated in most Provinces where Curzon's idea was taken up and as early as 1916-17, it was reported that "the differences between curricula for rural and for urban schools are slight and tend to disappear. The main difference now consists in the objects offered for observation lessons".¹ Curzon's idea was really the first attempt to adapt the teaching in rural schools to their environment. But quite unable to work out the idea, the Department gave it up within less than 15 years of its first appearance. In fact, they even began to argue that Curzon's ideas of *rural needs* did not coincide with the real needs of the rural people at all.

It is often assumed that the education given in a village school is despised because it is not practical enough. In many cases, however, the parent's objection is just the opposite. He has no desire to have his son taught agriculture, partly because he thinks he knows far more about that than the teacher, but still more because his ambition is that his boy should become a teacher or clerk. The solution which is so frequently put forward of popularising schools by adapting rural education to rural needs has little or no meaning in the absence of an agreement as to rural needs between the rustic and the reformer. The reformer has in mind the introduction of utilitarian studies such as agriculture into the village school course. The rustic sends his child to school to learn to read and write. He has no doubt of the fact that the village *guru* knows less of agriculture than he does himself and that what the boy needs in the matter of agricultural knowledge he can learn by doing in the fields. It is a view altogether sensible; and some sympathy may be felt for the parents in one backward area who went so far as to beat the *guru* for setting their boys to work in the school garden.²

In 1921, therefore, the Department practically ruled out the experiment of ruralising primary education which Curzon had conceived. On the other hand, it suggested that an effective way of popularising rural primary schools would be to introduce the teaching of English.

"A subject which is far more likely to attract pupils to primary schools is English. The teaching of English in primary classes is permitted in Madras, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and in the higher or secondary classes in Bombay".³

What a sequel to the attempt of a Viceroy who desired to introduce a tinge of agricultural education in primary schools!

¹ *Quinquennial Review* (1912-17), Vol. I, p. 116.

² *ibid.* (1917-20), p. 122.

(d) *Buildings and Equipment*: Some improvement was made in these respects; but the rate of expansion of primary education was far more rapid so that, comparatively speaking, conditions regarding buildings and equipment deteriorated rather than improved for the country as a whole.

(e) *Study of Qualitative Aspects*: The official emphasis on quality, led to discussions out of which arose some very important concepts by which the quality and effectiveness of a system of primary education was to be judged. For instance, the ideas of *average duration of a pupil's school life, stagnation, wastage, lapse into illiteracy, single-teacher schools, irregular attendance, adjustment of holidays to local conditions*, etc., began to come into the discussions of the problem. Of course, there was a good deal of vague talk and not infrequently, even wrong methods of calculation were adopted. But it was a great step ahead to have discovered certain objective standards to judge the efficiency of primary education. Prior to 1921, these ideas had just begun; but, as we shall see later, they began to dominate the scene in the next period.

On the whole, what exactly was the qualitative position of primary education in 1921-22? The answer cannot be said to be very complimentary to the officers who laid so much emphasis on qualitative reforms throughout this period. The curriculum of primary education was originally devised to convey Western knowledge to the people through their mother-tongue; later it added two other objectives—to prepare pupils for secondary schools and for the lower ranks of public service where a knowledge of English was not essential. These three aims still held the field even in 1921-22, all revisions of curricula notwithstanding; wastage and stagnation were large; the duration of school life was short in the case of boys and shorter still in the case of girls; not infrequently, the improved curriculum remained on paper only and the standard of teaching actually obtaining in schools was often unsatisfactory either because it was not possible to supply trained teachers to all schools, or because the equipment was poor or the supervision, inadequate; and no successful experiment had been made effectively to co-ordinate the teaching in rural schools with their environment. It would, therefore, be correct to say that in qualitative matters also the success

17. Modern Indian Languages. It was shown in Chapter VI, that the study of the modern Indian languages had generally been neglected by the Indian universities in the Victorian Era. Madras was the only university which allowed a modern Indian language as an alternative to a classical language at all examinations ; Punjab tried, although on a small scale and in an indifferent manner, to adopt modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the university stage. Bombay was possibly the worst culprit because it did not allow a modern Indian language at any examinations except the entrance (where it was optional) and the M.A. (since 1901 only). But instead of commending the Madras example, it is to be regretted that the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 recommended the Bombay example. It said :—

89. One of the most important questions in connection with the second language which has been raised before us is whether, as between a classical language and its allied vernaculars, the classical language alone should be recognized in the courses at the Universities, or whether any of those vernaculars may also be recognized. It is only in the Madras University that candidates are allowed the option of a vernacular or classical language. The evidence adduced at that University was conflicting, but the balance appeared to us to be against the existing practice. Whilst we are strongly impressed with the need for the more careful study of vernacular languages, we do not think, for several reasons, that to allow a student to study a vernacular in substitution for a classical language will secure that object or be advisable from the point of view of general education. We much prefer the plan suggested in paragraph 86 of introducing a vernacular language combined with English as a subject for the M.A. degree. In the first place, if the alternative of a vernacular language is permitted, many students will lose the benefits to be derived from a knowledge of a classical language containing a rich literature and embodying a record of the thought and action of one or other of the great races of mankind. There is no Indian vernacular, according to the strongest advocate of the alternative study of vernacular languages, that is as rich in literature as Sanskrit. In the second place, the amount of mental training which the study of classical language ensures is much greater than that required for the study of a vernacular language. Thirdly, the study of classical languages is of the utmost importance for the improvement of their allied vernaculars. That the vernacular languages and literature have advanced more rapidly in Bengal and Bombay than in Madras appears to us to afford a striking illustration of this principle

94. We have already noticed two important matters connected with the study of vernacular languages, and have expressed the opinion that (a) the vernacular languages of India should not be recognized as second languages side by side with the allied classical languages for any of the University examinations above the Entrance, and that (b) the vernacular languages should be introduced (as at Bombay) in combination with English as a subject for the M.A. Examination. The M.A. Examination in the vernacular should be of such a character as to ensure a thorough and scholarly study of the subject. The encouragement of such study by graduates who have completed their general course should

95. Speaking generally, we fear that the study of vernacular languages has received insufficient attention and that many graduates have a very inadequate knowledge of their mother-tongue. We hope that the inclusion of vernacular languages in the M.A. course will give an impetus to their scholarly study ; and as we propose that courses of advanced study should be under the supervision of the University, we consider that the establishment of professorships in the vernacular languages is an object to which University funds may properly be devoted. We also think that vernacular composition should be made compulsory in every stage of the B.A. course, although there need be no teaching of the subject. The vernacular is already indirectly recognized where it is the language into which the student is required to translate. The evidence on this subject tends to show that translations are sometimes marked for the verbal accuracy of the rendering only ; the principle should be recognized that no translation is satisfactory unless it is properly and grammatically composed. Further encouragement might be given by the offer of prizes for literary and scientific works of merit in the vernacular languages.

96. Unless however, a good training in the vernacular is given in the schools no effort of the University will avail. At present the subject is frequently neglected and the teaching is relegated to ill-paid and incompetent instructors. As in the case of English, so in the case of the vernaculars, better teachers are a primary need. Every boy should, on the completion of his school course, be required to pass an examination severe enough to show that he has a knowledge of his own language sufficient to enable him to express himself with ease and propriety.

In the same way, the Commission refused to recommend the Punjab experiment of trying modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the university stage. It said :—

98. We are not prepared, however, to recommend that the example of the Punjab should be followed by any other University for the present. We look upon the Punjab system as an experiment which has not yet justified itself by its results but which may have possibilities which we are not now in a position to forecast or measure.

These recommendations cannot be called happy ; they are an improvement over the earlier position no doubt ; but the pity is that they were not sufficiently radical. Curzon desired the utmost development possible of the modern Indian languages ; and if his goal was to be achieved, a more vigorous policy ought to have been adopted. It was mainly owing to these tame recommendations that the study of modern Indian languages in our universities did not, during this period, thrive as largely as they should have done.

Nevertheless, the position of modern Indian languages in university courses began to improve after the Indian universities Act of 1904. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1902-07*, says :—

University courses except in Madras where they were alternative to a classical language. Now there are two Universities, *viz.*, Calcutta and Madras, which have made the vernacular language a compulsory subject of study for the Intermediate examination, and one University, Calcutta, which requires an exercise in the vernacular from all candidates for the B.A. degree ; while Madras, though not requiring a vernacular to be studied for the B.A. permits the vernacular history and literature to be chosen from among the various alternatives. In the other Universities the vernaculars find no place either as optional or compulsory subjects of study.¹

The Calcutta University Commission, however, was far more emphatic. It said :—

The policy here (*i.e.* in the Despatch of 1854) laid down is enunciated in perfectly unambiguous terms. That policy is to make English and the Indian vernacular languages co-ordinate factors in working out in India a harmonious combination of eastern and western civilisation. It is a matter for surprise that notwithstanding the generous policy boldly outlined by the Court of Directors, the claims of the vernaculars have not been adequately recognised. Indeed in the University of Calcutta, where successful attempts have been made only in recent years to encourage the study of vernaculars, their claims have received what cannot but be deemed reluctant recognition. The regulations for the matriculation examination require that every candidate be tested in composition in his vernacular. The duty is laid on the Syndicate to prescribe, on the recommendation of the Board of Studies, a small number of standard works, not exceeding six, to be read as models of style ; but this is coupled with the provision that candidates shall not be asked to answer any questions on the subject-matter of the books recommended or on the history of vernacular literature. Similar provisions are to be found in the regulations for the intermediate examination. A slight modification is introduced in the regulations for the B.A. examination where the object of the paper on vernacular is described as ' a test of composition and of a general knowledge of the subject-matter of the books recommended'. The inadequacy of the rules we have mentioned is emphasised by another provision to be found amongst the conditions of study in affiliated colleges, *viz.*, that no lectures need be delivered on vernacular composition. Surely it is not a matter for wonder that under these conditions the study of vernacular is generally neglected by students as well in schools as in colleges. No young man in England would be considered to have received a sound and good education unless he possessed a mastery over his own vernacular, had learnt to avoid grammatical errors and had acquired a taste for the niceties of the idioms of his mother tongue. Again, an English student in a foreign university, can easily take notes, in his own language, of the lectures delivered, say, in French or German. We believe a considerable proportion of Indian students would find a similar attempt to take notes, in their vernacular, of lectures delivered in English, not a pleasant exercise, but a tedious and repulsive trial. We are emphatically of opinion that there is something unsound in a system of education which leaves a young man, at the conclusion of his course, unable to speak or write his own mother tongue fluently and correctly. It is thus beyond controversy that a systematic effort must henceforth be made to promote the serious study of the vernaculars in secondary schools, intermediate colleges and in the University. The elaborate scheme recently adopted by the University for the critical, historical and comparative study of the Indian vernaculars for the M.A. examination is but the coping stone

it is only when such a structure has been completed that Bengal will have a literature worthy of the greatness and civilization of its people.¹

But action on these recommendations had not yet been taken when the period under review came to a close. On the whole, therefore, it may be said that the study of modern Indian languages was not sufficiently emphasized in Indian universities even in 1921-22, mainly owing to an emphasis on English and classical languages, and that this neglect materially affected the development of these languages and their adoption as the media of instruction.

18. Education Departments. Reference has already been made in Chapter V to the organisation of the I.E.S. which was to hold all superior posts in the Department and was to be recruited in England. In other words, the creation of the I.E.S. was equivalent to the creation of a bureaucratic steel-frame in which all power would rest eternally with British officers. This was not, however, an isolated instance because similar all-India services were created for all other important departments also. In his characteristic manner, Lord Curzon described this policy of Government in the following words :—

Let me begin by stating what I conceive to be the general principles that regulate the situation. They are two in number. The first is that the highest ranks of civil employment in India, those in the Imperial Civil Service, though open to such Indians as can proceed to England and pass the requisite tests must, nevertheless, as a general rule, be held by Englishmen, for the reason that they possess, partly by heredity, partly by upbringing, and partly by education, the knowledge of the principles of Government, the habits of mind, and the vigour of character, which are essential for the task, and that, the rule of India being a British rule, and any other rule being in the circumstances of the case impossible, the tone and standard should be set by those who have created and are responsible for it. The second principle is that outside this *corps d'elite* we shall, as far as possible, and as the improving standards of education and morals permit, employ the inhabitants of the country, both because our general policy is to restrict rather than to extend European agency, and because it is desirable to enlist the best native intelligence and character in the service of the State. This principle is qualified only by the fact that in certain special departments where scientific or technical knowledge is required, or where there is a call for the exercise of particular responsibility, it is necessary to maintain a strong European admixture, and sometimes even a European preponderance.²

Indian opinion was strongly opposed to all these public services recruited in England. They argued that this policy was equivalent to a betrayal of the promises given in the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 to the effect

that Indians could hope to rise to the highest posts under Government. They also resented the implications of the moral and intellectual inferiority of the Indian people which this policy implied. Thirdly, they argued that Indianisation of services was the first essential step in a programme of giving self-government to the people. Fourthly, the large salaries of the members of these services were often criticized and it was urged that a poor country like India could never afford such a pay-roll. Finally, a feeling was gaining ground that these central services were opposed to national aspirations. For instance, take the following passage from the pen of Sir C. Shankaran Nair, a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India :—

The result on the other hand was a stiffening of the Civil Service opposition to Indian progress mainly on the ground that English ideals are not suited to India. Gokhale said that unanimity in expressions of good-will, various proposals of reforms by individuals, general opposition to every particular proposal, indifference, if not refusal, to carry out the clear intentions and orders of the British nation have characterised the attitude of the Civil Service. The Indian politician who has taken any part in Indian public life or who has any experience of the real government of the country, came to the conclusion that under the Indian Civil Service who form and carry on the real government, no real progress which in the present circumstances of the country is indispensable, can be expected.¹

These words which refer mainly to the Indian Civil Service may well be taken to represent, *mutatis mutandis*, the Indian view about the other all-India Services also. The agitation on this subject grew so strong during this period that, on 20th August 1917, the Secretary of State for India announced that the policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India was in complete accord, was that of *increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration*. The policy of the Public Service Commission of 1887 which was so vehemently upheld by Curzon and his successors was thus officially buried and a new era of rapid Indianisation of the Education Department set in. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1917-22, observed :—

In the course of time the Indian Educational Service had come to be regarded as the superior service ; so much so that a few persons of Indian domicile had actually been appointed to it. In the scheme of re-organisation effected in 1919 this change in the relations of the two services was definitely recognised. The Indian Educational Service was constituted the senior educational service in India, and, in accordance with the accepted policy of increasing the association of Indians in the higher ranks of the administration, it was decided that new

recruitment should be directed towards the equalisation of the number of Europeans and Indians in this service. In order to accelerate the attainment of this object a 33 per cent. increase in the number of posts in the Indian Educational Service was at once made by the transfer from the Provincial Educational Service of all those posts which, but for the fiction of the equality of the two services, would, by their nature have been included in the senior service. The transfer of these posts was in the majority of cases accompanied by the transfer of their incumbents. Appointments to the Indian Educational Service are still made by the Secretary of State but recruitment is no longer confined to England. Nominations of Indian candidates are made by local Governments on the advice of local selection committees and of European candidates by the Secretary of State after selection in England. The initiative in either case rests with the local Government, which makes its recommendations either for local or for European recruitment when it reports a vacancy in the service or asks sanction for the creation of a new post. But the final power of appointment is vested in the Secretary of State.¹

The effect of these changes is shown in the following table :—

	1916-17.	1921-22.
<i>No. of Posts in I.E.S. (Men) held by</i>		
Europeans	210	200
Indians	9	120
Vacant	20	53
Total ..	239	373
<i>No. of Posts in I.E.S. (Women) held by</i>		
Europeans	19	31
Indians	..	2
Vacant	2	9
Total ..	21	42

The situation had, therefore, begun to improve considerably when the period under review came to a close.

19. **National Education.** One of the most significant developments of this period was the birth of the concept of national education. This does not, of course, mean that the idea of national education was not put forward at all in the nineteenth century. As shown already in Chapter V, the enquiry of the Indian Education Commission in 1882-83 led to a nation-wide

awakening of educational thought and even at this early date, educated Indians came forward to give their evidence before the Commission and stress the need to correct some of the defects of Indian education such as absence of religious education, slow progress of mass education, etc. This critical attitude towards the official system became more and more pronounced as time passed and several private institutions came into existence which professed to have a *national outlook* because they differed in some respects from the Government or missionary schools and colleges. The most common of these characteristics were (a) Indian management; (b) a spirit of sacrifice on the part of the founders and teachers of the institution; (c) provision for religious education; (d) provision of some courses (over and above the usual courses recognised by the universities and the Education Departments) to meet the special cultural needs of the Indian people; (e) a keener study of the oriental classical languages chiefly intended to create self-respect and a love for past traditions and to show that Eastern civilization was at least as good as, if not better than, the Western; (f) greater attention to modern Indian languages; and (g) lower fees. But it must be noted that all these institutions worked *within* the official system in so far as they submitted to Departmental inspection and received grants-in-aid. They were, in fact, attempts to correct a few blemishes of the official system and not the signs of an uncompromising revolt against it. Very often, they were sectarian in character and to that extent, less truly national.

It was Lord Curzon's administration and policies that gave rise, not only to a new militant nationalism, but to national education as well. The *Swadeshi* Movement was born immediately after the partition of Bengal and although it was economic in origin and application, its spirit affected every walk of life. A demand for *Swadeshi* education soon began to be put forward and was immeasurably strengthened by the repeated conflicts with the official policies and the utter failure of Indians to make the officials realise the Indian point of view in education. Between 1905 and 1921, therefore, we find a great ferment of educational thought within the fold of the Indian struggle for freedom. Of course, this early period shows a certain lack of clarity in ideas.

after the lapse of time and adequate experimentation. But in spite of this defect, the controversies of the period on the subject of national education are of great interest from the point of view of future developments.

On one point, almost all national thinkers were agreed ; they all condemned the existing official system of education as unhelpful, and even antagonistic, to national development. Reference has already been made to Gokhale's criticism of official policies in primary and higher education, and to the strong national demand for complete Indianisation of the Educational Department. Mrs. Annie Besant unequivocally condemned the European domination in Indian education. She said :—

Nothing can more swiftly emasculate national life, nothing can more surely weaken national character, than allowing the education of the young to be controlled by foreign influences, to be dominated by foreign ideals. From 1896, onwards, I have ventured to urge on the Indian people that the education which was given to their sons was *denationalizing* and *despiritualizing*. Foreign habits, foreign manners, foreign dress, foreign ways are all enforced in a foreign language, with, in missionary schools, a foreign religion to boot, sterilizing the boy's heart, and despiritualizing his whole nature.¹

Mahatma Gandhi was equally vehement in his condemnation of official education. "The existing system of education", he wrote,

is defective, apart from its association with an utterly unjust Government, in three most important matters :—(1) It is based upon foreign culture to the almost entire exclusion of indigenous culture ; (2) It ignores the culture of the heart and the hand, and confines itself simply to the head ; and (3) Real education is impossible through a foreign medium.²

Quotations of this type from other nationalist leaders of this period can be easily given ; but it is hardly necessary to do so. The extracts given above, along with Gokhale's speeches, represent the bulk of the nationalist criticism of the official system of education.

When, however, it came to defining precisely what the new national education ought to be, opinions were naturally not so unanimous. But even so certain fundamental principles of national education came to be universally accepted in a short time. These were, of course, inspired by the reaction to some

¹ Lala Lajpat Rai : *The Problem of National Education in India*, p. 28.

salient defects of the official system and may be stated as follows :—

(a) *Indian Control*: Nationalist India resented the British control of Indian educational policies first and foremost, and demanded the substitution of Indian control. National education, therefore, was defined as one which, in the words of Mrs. Besant,

must be controlled by Indians, shaped by Indians, carried on by Indians. It must hold up Indian ideals of devotion, wisdom and morality, and must be permeated by the Indian religious spirit rather than fed on the letter of the creeds. That spirit is spacious, tolerant, all-embracing, and recognizes that man goes to God along many roads and that all the prophets came from him.¹

(b) *Teaching the Love of Mother-land*: Another aspect of official education which was universally disliked was its insistence on cultivating loyalty to British rule and the general disparaging attitude of British officers towards Indian traditions and culture. There were, it is true, a few European Oriental scholars who reverently studied Eastern philosophy and culture ; but they were rather the exceptions that proved the rule. “ Our critics and calumniators,” wrote Lala Lajpat Rai,

assure us that we have been and are a “ barbarous ” people, that “ there never was a civilization in India,” that our case is that of “ arrested progress,” and that we have never achieved anything remarkable in the world of thought, or discovery, or invention, or action. In short, that we have been more or less parasites. . . . A people constantly belittled by the foreigner, as well as by their own leaders, gets no chance of cultivating the necessary qualities of self-respect and self-confidence. People wanting in these qualities are on the surest road to decay and annihilation. Hence the necessity, the absolute necessity, of counter-acting the evil effects of such sweeping denunciations of all our institutions. Our critics call us essentially backward ; in season and out of season, they harp on the diversity of race, religion and language in India, and insist that we are unfit for progress on democratic lines or that the progress that we can make, must necessarily be slow, very slow, so slow indeed that they cannot see the possibility of responsible government in India in any distance of time which they can foresee.²

It was necessary to meet this constant vilification. In order that this might be done, a new education was required which would inculcate love and reverence for the mother-land and for past traditions in the minds of all young Indians. As Mrs. Besant wrote :—

National education must live in an atmosphere of proud and glorious patriotism, and this atmosphere must be kept sweet, fresh, and bracing by the

¹ Lala Lajpat Rai : op. cit., pp. 28-29.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 63-67.

study of Indian literature, Indian history, Indian triumphs in science, in art, in politics, in war, in colonization, in manufactures, in trade, in commerce.¹

(c) *No Servile Imitation*: Thirdly, the official attempt to imitate England, to thrust English ideals on India, to create a new class of persons who would be *Indians in blood and colour but English in everything else*, was keenly resented. National leaders, therefore, pointed out that the old ideal of *spreading western science and literature* which was enunciated by the Despatch of 1854 and had held the field ever since, was now obsolete and had to be completely revised. "National education," wrote Mrs. Besant,

must meet the national temperament at every point, and develop the national character. India is not to become a lesser—nor even a greater—England, but to evolve into a mightier India. British ideals are good for Britain, but it is India's ideals that are good for India. We do not want echoes nor monotones; we want a choral melody of nations, mirroring the varied qualities of Nature and of God. Shall Nature show but a single colour, and trees, and flowers, and mountains, and sky wear but a single hue? Harmonious variety and not monotony is the mark of perfection. Away from all apologies for India, with all deprecatory explanations of India's ways and customs, and traditions. India is herself, and needs not to be justified; for verily, God has evolved no greater, no more exquisite nationality than India's among all the broken reflections of His own perfect beauty.²

This statement should not, however, be interpreted to indicate a narrow nationalist outlook impervious to all influences from outside. In the heat of the political controversies of this period, people did not always maintain their balance. The study of Indian history became a tool in the national struggle for freedom rather than an impartial search after truth; all sorts of fantastic claims were put forward on behalf of ancient India to counteract the general denunciation, based on the racial arrogance or bias or prejudice of the ruling race; and an ultra-narrow nationalism often asserted that India had nothing to learn from the West. But these excesses were really due to the intensive political conflicts of this period and sane thinkers among the nationalist leaders did realise the limitations within which this glorification of the past should operate. As Lala Lajpat Rai wrote :—

There are some good people in India, who do, now and then, talk of the desirability of their country leading a retired, isolated and self-contained life. They pine for good old days and wish them to come back. They sell books, which contain this kind of nonsense. They write poems and songs, full of soft

¹ Lala Lajpat Rai, op. cit. p. 50.

sentimentality. I do not know whether they are idiots or traitors. I must warn my countrymen most solemnly and earnestly to beware of them and of that kind of literature. We must realize once for all that no country on the face of the globe can, under modern conditions, live an isolated and self-contained life, even if she desires to do so. The world would not let us alone, even if we wished to be let alone. A country occupying a space of about two million square miles, with a population of one-fifth of the human race, cannot and will not be let alone. If the sons of the soil fail to develop it and its resources, others will. The country must be brought up to the level of the most modern countries not only in politics and economics, but even in thought and life, if we want to keep it for ourselves and our children and save it from the foreign exploiter. It is true we do not want India to become England or France or Japan or America. We want it to remain India. We would not be Indians, if we did not want to remain Indians. But let us understand once for all, that under modern conditions of life, the distinction between this country and the others is destined to be much less than it used to be before the introduction of steam and electricity in human affairs. Climatic, environmental, racial, linguistic, social, traditional and historical distinctions will not be effaced, but they will be considerably reduced both in volume and in kind. The world is tending to become one family. Anyone who aspires or plans to obstruct the process is a traitor to his country as well as to humanity at large. Strong, brainy, powerful, resourceful people have nothing to fear from the process; weak, backward, effeminate, soft, unadaptable people will either be exterminated in the end or will continue to be exploited by others.... In my judgment it will be folly and madness to try to discourage the study and dissemination of European languages, European literatures and European sciences in India. The fact is that we have not had enough of them. Circumstances have so far kept us away from them. We should strain every nerve to spread and disseminate them until every Indian knows at least one European language, has European tools in his hands, and easily handles European mechanical appliances. Europe and the world have learnt a great deal from us; we have no reason to be ashamed of learning from them, with the fullest intention of adding to their knowledge and teaching them in our turn.¹

All that the nationalists contended therefore was this: (i) there was no justification for the wholesale condemnation of India's past and traditions; (ii) India could rightly feel proud of her past; (iii) in the field of international culture, India was not merely a beggar who received without being able to return but an equal partner with other nations; (iv) while learning several valuable lessons from other countries, she had her own unique and valuable contribution to make to World culture and thought; and (v) it is the duty of a national system of education to develop these attitudes of originality and self-respect combined with openness to accept new and useful ideas from *all* sources.

(d) *Domination of English to go*: Fourthly, national education desired to remove the domination of English, particularly its use as a medium of instruction, and to give their proper place

to the modern Indian languages. Here the most uncompromising opposition to English came from Mahatma Gandhi. He wrote :—

English is today studied because of its commercial and so-called political values. Our boys think, and rightly in the present circumstances, that without English they cannot get Government service. Girls are taught English as a passport to marriage. I know several instances of women wanting to learn English so that they may be able to talk to Englishmen in English. I know husbands who are sorry that their wives cannot talk to them and their friends in English. I know families in which English is being made the mother-tongue. Hundreds of youths believe that, without a knowledge of English, freedom for India is practically impossible. The canker has so eaten into the society that in many cases the only meaning of education is a knowledge of English. All these are for me signs of our slavery and degradation. It is unbearable to me that the vernaculars should be crushed and starved as they have been. I cannot tolerate the idea of parents writing to their children, or husbands writing to their wives, not in their own vernaculars but in English. I hope I am as great a believer in free air as the great Poet.¹ I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any. I refuse to live in other peoples' houses as an interloper, a beggar or a slave. I refuse to put the unnecessary strain of learning English upon my sisters for the sake of false pride or questionable social advantage. I would have our young men and young women with literary tastes to learn as much of English and other world languages as they like, and then expect them to give the benefits of their learning to India and to the world, like a Bose, a Roy or the Poet himself. But I would not have a single Indian to forget, neglect or be ashamed of his mother-tongue, or to feel that he or she cannot think or express the best thoughts in his or her own vernacular. Mine is not a religion of the prison house. It has room for the least among God's creation. But it is proof against insolence, pride of race, religion or colour.²

Even at this early period, Mahatma Gandhi had put forward the view that Hindustani should be the national language of India and that English should not be a medium of instruction at any stage of education. Of course, his views were not shared by several other leaders. But his extreme position was a natural reaction to the official emphasis on English, and as time passed, Indian opinion began to be influenced more by his views than those of other leaders.

(e) *Vocational Education to be Emphasized*: Fifthly, the failure of the modern system of education to bring about the economic development of the country was greatly condemned, and its growing expensive character was deplored. Indian opinion, therefore, asserted that national education must give due place to vocational education and its cost must be within the reach of the average Indian. Even at the end of this period,

however, very little progress was achieved under the official system. Indian public opinion, therefore, began to assert that a national system of education must emphasize the economic development of the country and help to bring it about. As Lala Lajpat Rai wrote :—

The first requisite of an efficient system of national education is that it enables every citizen to live better, and to help others in living better. To live well, one requires a certain minimum of food, clothing, shelter, leisure, recreation and means for the satisfaction of higher tastes and higher cravings. A nation which does not secure enough to enable every one of its members to live well, is a drag on the rest of the world. But when a nation of 315 millions of human beings, as well developed as the Indians, in possession of a country so rich in soil as that of India, with abundant natural resources of all kinds, cannot produce sufficient to satisfy even the minimum demands of half of its population, it is a sight for the gods to weep at. India's phenomenal poverty is one of the tragic facts of its life ; and it is mainly due to the lack of means of education. Under the circumstances, the first aim of all publicly imparted education in India should be to increase the productive capacity of its citizens.¹

Opinions were naturally divided regarding the means whereby this could be done. Some stood for the development of industries through the use of machine-power. Others condemned the use of machines on religious and spiritual grounds. The conflict was obviously much too fundamental to have been resolved at this time. But it is interesting to note how Mahatma Gandhi had, as early as 1921, enunciated certain principles which later on became the *Wardha Scheme of Basic Education*. On 15th June 1921, he wrote as follows in *Young India* :—

Who does not know what questionable things fathers of families in need of money for their children's education have considered it their duty to do ? I am convinced that we are in for far worse times, unless we change the whole system of our education. We have only touched the fringe of an ocean of children. The vast mass of them remain without education, not for want of will but of ability and knowledge on the part of the parents. There is something radically wrong, especially for a nation so poor as ours, when parents have to support so many grown up children, and give them a highly expensive education without the children making any immediate return. I can see nothing wrong in the children, from the very threshold of their education, paying for it in work. The simplest handicraft suitable for all, required for the whole of India, is undoubtedly spinning along with the previous processes. If we introduced this in our educational institutions, we should fulfil three purposes, make education self-supporting, train the bodies of the children as well as their minds, and pave the way for a complete boycott of foreign yarn and cloth. Moreover, the children thus equipped will become self-reliant and independent. I would suggest to the correspondent that he should invite all the members of his family to contribute to its upkeep by spinning or weaving. Under my scheme, no child is entitled to

education, who does not spin a minimum quantity of yarn. Such families will acquire a prestige for self-respect and independence not hitherto dreamt of. This scheme does not exclude a liberal education, but on the contrary brings it within the easy reach of every boy or girl, and restores literary training to its original dignity by making it primarily a means of mental and moral culture, and only secondarily and indirectly a means of livelihood.¹

This fixation of the ideals of national education was probably the simplest of its aspects. Far more difficult were the problems of organisation and execution connected with the new concept. Institutions imparting national education from the primary to the university stage had to be organised; the teachers required for them had to be obtained and specially trained; new curricula had to be developed; parents had to be persuaded to send their children to the national schools in preference to the official ones; social recognition for the degrees and diplomas granted by the national institutions had to be secured; and the huge funds required for maintaining the national schools on a sufficiently wide scale had to be collected year after year. These were obviously tasks that went far beyond the financial and human resources which the nationalist organisations of the day could command and consequently the whole experiment of national education had to contend against very heavy odds in these early years.

The attempts to start *national schools* fall into two distinct periods. The first upheaval occurred soon after the partition of Bengal. Government issued orders prohibiting students from participating in political meetings and demonstrations. These compelled several students to boycott schools and colleges and several others were rusticated by the authorities for participation in political activities. It was felt to be a national duty to provide for the education of the young men who had thus suffered and hence a *Society for the Promotion of National Education in Bengal* was organised under the chairmanship of Shri Gurudas Banerjee. The movement received great impetus because the Calcutta Congress (1906) resolved that the time had arrived "for the people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of national education for both boys and girls, and organise a system of education, literary, scientific and technical, suited to the requirements of the country, on National lines and under National control, and directed towards the realisation of National destiny". A

¹ Mahatma Gandhi: *Young India* (1919-22), pp. 450-1.

large number of National High Schools was started by this Society and at one time, there were as many as 11 High Schools in Bengal and 40 in East Bengal.¹ Babu Satish Chandra Mukherjee was the chief worker of this Society which was imparting education in accordance with the Resolution of the Calcutta Congress. Outside Bengal, however, the movement did not spread materially—the only institution worth mention being the *Samarth Vidyalaya* at Talegaon, near Poona. But very soon, a deterioration set in. The political tempo created by the partition died out, particularly after the reunion of Bengal; and as early as 1920, Lala Lajpat Rai was bewailing the disappearance of the National High Schools which were once so popular. He wrote :—

The National Council of Education still exists, but only in name. Its condition is moribund. The leaders and officers themselves have strangled it. Mr. T. Palit and Sir Rash Behari Ghosh, two of its strongest pillars, gave it a death-blow when they handed over their magnificent endowment to the Calcutta University, instead of to the National Council of Education, founded and led by them.² The few scholars who, with characteristic self-sacrifice, gave up careers to give instruction to the students of the National College, are all dispersed. They are seeking appointments in Government-aided institutions. The Nationalist schools, started by the Council, have, most of them, been disintegrated by the force of circumstances, and at the present moment the movement is nothing but a dilapidated and discarded landmark in the educational progress of the country.³

The second upheaval occurred in 1920-22. In spite of strong opposition from older statesmen like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mahatma Gandhi started preaching a boycott of Government schools and colleges. It was mainly because of his insistence that the Non-co-operation Resolution passed by the Nagpur Congress in 1920 earnestly advised the “gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and, in place of such schools and colleges, the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various Provinces”.⁴ This resolution was supported by Gandhiji on three grounds. The first and foremost was the supreme political necessity of the youth fighting for the freedom of their country. The main idea behind his Non-co-operation movement of 1920-21 was that *Swaraj could be obtained within one year* if the public followed his advice in general and, in particular,

¹ See *Quinquennial Review* (1907-12), para. 670.

² This has reference to endowments of Rs. 15 lakhs and Rs. 12½ lakhs respectively given to the Calcutta University by Sir Tarak Nath Palit and Sir Rash Behari Ghosh.

³ Lala Lajpat Rai : *op. cit.*, pp. 25-6.

⁴ Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya : *History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. I., p. 203.

completely boycotted the institutions conducted by Government and set up parallel institutions of its own. He desired to create a complete deadlock and paralyse Government by calling upon the people to make a supreme, co-ordinated, and comprehensive effort to non-co-operate with the alien rulers and naturally expected that the youth of the country, which included the students reading in schools and colleges, should take a prominent part in the struggle and sacrifice a year of their life for the cause of national freedom. Secondly, he felt it to be immoral and spiritually degrading that the young men and women of the country should continue to study in the institutions of a Government which was guilty of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs. And lastly, he was also convinced that, as an emergency measure, the public could really afford to maintain a parallel set of educational institutions—particularly secondary schools and colleges—without any financial assistance from Government. He wrote :—

The total expenditure on Primary, Secondary and Higher Education, including all educational departments, for the year 1918-19 was Rs. 1,129 lacs or 11.29 crores. It was met as follows :—

	Lacs.
Government Treasury	392
Local Funds	174
Municipal Funds	49
Fees	319
Public Funds	195
	1,129

Thus it will be seen that, while the Government spent 3.92 crores and the Municipalities and Local Boards Rs. 2.23 crores, the people spent from their own purse directly Rs. 5.14 crores. It may be noted that a good part of Government contribution was spent towards the upkeep of their own costly Educational Services. If we take secondary education only, which is the chief item of expenditure and of usefulness, we shall have a further revelation. The total amount spent on this branch was Rs. 3.67 crores. Of this less than $\frac{1}{4}$ th was borne by Government and Municipalities combined, while the rest was borne by the people directly.

Do these figures not show that practically we ourselves finance the Governmental education system, while all along we entertain the hallucination that the Government does everything, and that we can, without Government aid, do nothing for ourselves? If we get rid of this hallucination and further decide upon curtailing the useless and costly paraphernalia, we can very easily make education independent of Government control, stand on its own legs and make improvements necessary to suit it to the needs of the country.¹

¹ Mahatma Gandhi : op. cit., pp. 423 ff.

This appeal of Gandhiji to the youth of the country, which was strongly supported by several other national leaders and, in particular, by the Ali Brothers¹, did not go in vain. In fact, the response of the students to the call for the boycott of schools and colleges was far more successful than any other form of boycott or non-co-operation suggested by the Congress.² The first to come in the field were the students of the Aligarh University. When Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali Brothers visited Aligarh and addressed the students, a tremendous response came forth and the students decided in favour of Non-co-operation and refusal of all Government assistance. Amidst scenes of great enthusiasm, they passed a resolution demanding that the University should be nationalised by disowning all connection with Government and revising its curricula on national lines. But unfortunately, the unity among the students did not last long. Several of them were recalled home by their parents and some others were persuaded to change their views. A small band of convinced fighters, led by the redoubtable Maulana Mohamed Ali, however, continued to stay on the University premises and to claim that the institution should be fully nationalised according to their demand. This fight continued for some weeks; but at last the Trustees of the University sought police help and turned out all those who were fighting for nationalisation. They left quietly in spite of very great provocation, because non-violent passive resistance was the principal plank of the campaign, and established a new University, the *Jamia Millia Islamia* (National Muslim University) at Aligarh almost immediately.

This splendid lead given by Aligarh was soon picked up in other parts of India. As Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya observes :—

National Universities, National Colleges, and National Schools of all grades were started in different parts of the country. The student movement in the U.P., the Punjab, and the Bombay Presidency was in full swing. Bengal was not behindhand, and Calcutta witnessed one of those thrilling scenes which were not few or far between in the course of that memorable year and a half. About the middle of January, on an appeal by Deshbandhu C. R. Das, thousands of students left their colleges and examinations. Gandhi visited Calcutta and opened the National College on the 4th of February. He also visited Patna for a second time and formally opened the National College and inaugurated the Bihar Vidyapith. Thus in the course of less than four months, the National Muslim University of Aligarh, the Gujarat Vidyapith, the Bihar Vidyapith,

Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Mahomed Ali.

² The only probable exception to this statement may be the No-vote campaign.

the Kashi Vidyapith, the Bengal National University, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, and a large number of National Schools of all grades, with thousands of students on the rolls, were started in all parts of the country as a result of the great impetus given to National Education.¹

It is very difficult to state the exact number of students who left the official schools and colleges as a result of this non-co-operation campaign. The official statistics on a subject like this must be used guardedly, but they are the only ones available. The *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1917-22* gives the following statistics² of National Schools and Colleges that came into existence at this time :—

Province.	National Schools and Colleges in 1921-22.	
	Institutions.	Scholars.
Madras	92	5,072
Bombay	189	17,100
Bengal	190	14,819
United Provinces	137	8,476
Punjab	69	8,046
Burma	92	16,218
Bihar and Orissa	442	17,330
Central Provinces	86	6,338
Assam	38	1,908
North-West Frontier Province ..	4	120
Minor Administrations	10	1,255

Admittedly, these statistics were incomplete and gave data, in most cases, up to 31st July 1921 only. But even then, they are sufficiently impressing and show how well the student community responded to the national call.

The difficulties under which the new national institutions laboured can only be imagined. Almost overnight, they had to start functioning as full-fledged educational institutions of a type which had hardly been clearly envisaged in the past. In 1917, the

of suitable buildings and equipment and inadequate finances and trained personnel stared them in the face. Moreover, the students and teachers of these institutions were expected to carry on political propaganda among the people, particularly among those living in rural areas, during their vacations and sometimes even during term-time. The opposition from Government was always there and quite frequently, the prominent workers among the students or teachers were arrested on some charge or other and imprisoned. But in spite of all these handicaps and difficulties, the national institutions did yeoman service by formulating the principles of national education, by preparing alternative courses suited to national needs, and by adopting the modern Indian languages as media of instruction. It would be no exaggeration to say that it was in the *laboratory* of these national institutions that the fundamental principles of a national reconstruction of education were first evolved.

Unfortunately, a set-back to the whole movement came in too early. The tempo of the non-co-operation movement cooled down after some time, and as some cases of violence began to occur, Gandhiji withdrew the movement altogether. The fundamental concept of *Swaraj within one year* did not materialise and as the prospect of independence receded into the background, the enthusiasm of the students naturally began to wane. The national leaders also realised that it would be wrong to expect the students to sacrifice the whole of their career. The earlier policy of non-co-operation was accordingly changed and, excepting a few top-ranking institutions, others were allowed to seek Government recognition again and the students were also permitted, unless they desired to devote their whole life to the national cause, to seek admission to recognised schools and complete their training. By 1922, the tide had almost ebbed.

This second upheaval in national education, as the above account will show, differed materially from the first in several respects. It was more intensive, and more widespread; the numbers of students and teachers involved in it were far larger; it contributed more largely to constructive educational thought; and the movement continued to exist and do useful pioneer work even after non-co-operation came to an end, while the first upheaval hardly left any such mileposts behind. It is also worthy

“not a few of the Provincial and District leaders of today are from among the.....students who had non-co-operated in 1920”.¹ It also created a wave of patriotic feeling, not only among the students of national institutions, but among the whole of the student community at large. Even the conservative bureaucrats of the I.E.S. were affected considerably and felt that India was not really satisfied with the existing system and that a reconstruction thereof was urgently needed. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1917-22* observed :—

13. This episode in the history of Indian education is closed. It has not been without its valuable lessons to the educationist. It has brought to light evidence of a genuine dissatisfaction with the processes of education in India. . . . It is probable that the large bulk of the students suddenly realised, to their intense pain and disappointment, that much of their education is ill-suited to their practical needs. While the professor was lecturing to them on the annals of the Holy Roman Empire, their thoughts were inevitably and irresistibly turned to the great liberal and national movements of the nineteenth century. In economics they desired to study the application of general principles to the problems of their own country instead of to those of distant lands. Students, both at school and at colleges, began to wonder whether they were being trained for life and for service or for mere success in the examinations, for it was the ideals of service that were uppermost in their minds.

14. In short the crisis has left behind the conviction that our educational aims need restatement. If the function of education is the adaptation of the future citizen to his environment, then the content of education must change in harmony with changes in that environment. The political and economic conditions of India have been undergoing change and the national school movement can at least claim that it lent strength to the advocates of educational reform.

20. Education of Women (1905-21). Reference has already been made to Curzon's support to the cause of the education of women. A similar policy was again enunciated by the *Government Resolution on Educational Policy* (1913) which observed :—

16. The education of girls remains to be organised. In 1904 the Government of India remarked that peculiar difficulties were encountered in this branch of education owing to the social customs of the people but that as a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people by the education of women than by the education of men liberal treatment had been accorded for girls in respect of scholarships and fees. This policy has been continued. Efforts have been also made, not without success, to bring education, through the agency of governesses, within the reach of *purda* ladies, to increase the number of ladies on the inspecting staff and to replace male by female teachers in government and aided schools. The number of girls under instruction has risen from 444,470 in 1901-02 to 864,363 in 1910-11. But the total number

still remains insignificant in proportion to the female population. The Government of India believe, however, that in certain areas there are indications of a swiftly growing demand for a more extensive education of girls.

17. The immediate problem in the education of girls is one of social development. The existing customs and ideas opposed to the education of girls will require different handling in different parts of India. The Governor General in Council accordingly hesitates to lay down general lines of policy which might hamper Local Governments and Administrations and has preferred to call for schemes from each province; but he commends the following principles for general consideration :—

(a) The education of girls should be practical with reference to the position which they will fill in social life ;

(b) It should not seek to imitate the education suitable for boys nor should it be dominated by examinations ;

(c) Special attention should be paid to hygiene and the surroundings of school life ;

(d) The services of women should be more freely enlisted for instruction and inspection ; and

(e) Continuity in inspection and control should be specially aimed at.

18. The difficulty of obtaining competent school mistresses is felt acutely in many parts of the country. In this connection it has been suggested that there is a large opening for women of a domiciled community, who have a knowledge of the vernacular and who might be specially trained for the purpose.

It will be seen that this policy approves of the lines laid down by Lord Curzon. But it also goes a good deal further. It emphasizes the social aspect of the problem and points out that any great advance in the education of women is not possible unless the social prejudices against it are overcome. Moreover, it sounds the note of general dissatisfaction with the existing system of education (which was so characteristic a feature of this period) and points out that the then system of women's education was not related to the practical and social needs of women, that it was dominated too much by examinations and that it was based on a mechanical imitation of the educational system for boys. Consequently, this Resolution led to some changes in the education of girls and also to a more rapid expansion than in the preceding period.

This period, therefore, witnessed a steady and comparatively rapid expansion in the education of women at all stages. Some of the noteworthy events of this period are given below :—

(a) *Collegiate Education* : Here, four aspects deserve notice. The collegiate education of women, which had just made a beginning between 1882 and 1902, was now expanding rapidly. In 1921-22, there were as many as 1,263 girls reading in Arts Colleges as against 6 in 1882 or 177 in 1902. Moreover Hindu girls now

began to enter colleges in far larger numbers than ever before, and Muslim girls also made their first entry. Out of the 1,263 girls in Arts Colleges, 382 were European or Anglo-Indians, 402 were Indian Christians, 398 were Hindus, 25 were Muslims and 35 were Parsis.

But even more important than this increase in numbers were the brilliant successes in examinations which several women obtained in this period. In the earlier years when women first entered colleges, the conditions were rather peculiar. As the number of girls attending colleges was very small, they were prevented from taking any part in the corporate life of the college concerned. They sat apart in the class-room, hardly mixed with their fellow men-students and had no opportunities to participate in activities like the gymkhana, or the debating society. In short, they formed a small world of their own. Not many of them were highly gifted because the entrance of a girl into a college depended, not upon her ability, but upon the progressive views held by her family. Consequently, the earlier women-students of colleges did not distinguish themselves particularly in the University examinations. The old idea of the intellectual inferiority of women, therefore, continued to dominate the field and the educationists of this period eulogized the girls attending colleges, more for their courage than for their intelligence. But this concept was now rudely shaken by the several capable women, too numerous to be mentioned individually, who won honours and prizes in open competition with men. The great contribution of these brilliant women to the cause of the education of their sex was that they exploded the age-old concept of the intellectual inferiority of women. They proved that women could successfully compete with men in fields which, until then, were exclusively reserved for men. Their numbers were small, no doubt. But an increase in their ranks was merely a question of time and of a broader diffusion of primary and secondary education among women. We give great prominence to those early Indians who won honours in English universities or held posts of principals or headmasters (which, until then, were exclusively reserved for Europeans) on the ground that it was these early pioneers that exploded the myth of the inferiority of Indians to Europeans. Exactly the same historical importance attaches itself to the gifted women of this period. It was they who made the society

Lastly, a very significant development was the creation of the *S. N. D. T. Indian Women's University* which was established by Maharshi Annasaheb Karve in 1916 on the model of the Japanese Women's University. The ideal of the university was to train women to be *good mothers and good wives* (सुमाता, सुगृहिणी). In particular, it tried :—

- (a) to make provision for the higher education of women through Modern Indian Languages (mother-tongues) as the media of instruction ;
- (b) to regulate pre-university education, to start, aid, maintain and affiliate institutions for such education and to formulate courses of studies specially suited to the needs and requirements of women ;
- (c) to make provision for the training of teachers for primary and secondary schools ;
- (d) to institute and confer such degrees and grant diplomas, titles, certificates and marks of honour in respect of degrees and examinations as may be prescribed by the regulations ; and
- (e) such other objects, not inconsistent with these, as may be added from time to time by the Senate.¹

The first Chancellor of the University was the great Oriental scholar, Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, and although its initial progress was slow, a liberal donation of Rs. 15 lakhs given by Sir Vithaldas Thackersey placed it on safe financial footing and assured it of a good future.

(b) *Secondary Education*: Here we find a very great increase in the number of pupils. The number of girls reading in High and Middle schools in 1921-22 was 36,698 and 92,466 respectively as against 9,274 and 32,308 in 1901-02. The main causes of this increase were four : firstly, there was a great expansion in the primary education of girls which naturally resulted in directing a far larger number of girls than hitherto to the secondary schools ; secondly, the changing social conditions led to an increase in the age of marriage—a factor which materially assisted the spread of secondary education among women ; thirdly, the earlier practice of sending girls to schools for a short time at the pre-marital stage on the ground that such education did them no harm gave place to a practice of keeping them longer at schools, sometimes even after marriage, because it was now realized that education did a lot of good to women ; lastly, the earlier prejudices against the teaching of English to girls began to die out rapidly and Indians, particularly the higher castes amongst the Hindus, realized the economic advantages of giving secondary

Number of Girls on 31st March, 1922 in British India classified according to race or creed.
(Secondary Schools)

	Europeans and Anglo- Indians.	Indian Christians.	Hindus		Moham- medans.	Buddhists.	Parsis.	Others.	Total.
			Brahmins.	Non- Brahmins.					
<i>For boys.</i>									
High Schools	610	1,382	471	840	63	808	351	143	4,668
Middle Schools—									
English	1,633	1,931	223	561	69	694	53	171	5,335
Vernacular	3	1,788	293	1,289	911	24,659	..	107	29,050
<i>For girls.</i>									
High Schools	9,849	7,900	2,361	7,484	861	839	1,850	886	32,030
Middle Schools—									
English	5,552	8,540	2,373	4,796	887	600	533	486	23,767
Vernacular	31	4,686	4,221	16,309	3,072	4,552	66	1,377	34,314
Total	17,678	26,227	9,942	31,279	5,863	32,152	2,553	3,170	129,164

education to their daughters, especially as such education often increased their *market value* in marriage.

It must be remembered, however, that this expansion had two limitations: In the first place, it was generally restricted to towns and cities. This is hardly a matter for surprise because, at this period, even the secondary education of boys was confined to the urban areas only. Secondly, as in the earlier period, it continued to be largely confined to Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, Parsis, and the higher castes among the Hindus as the statistics on the preceding page will show.

This expansion of secondary education among women once again brought the problem of the differentiation of curricula at the secondary stage to the forefront. A good deal of discussion and controversy arose over the issue. The usual method adopted for differentiation was to add the so-called *specially suitable* subjects to the curriculum in lieu of the traditionally *masculine* subjects like Mathematics, Agriculture, etc. The idea was occasionally pressed to a ridiculous extreme; for instance, "opinions invited by a notification in the *Assam Gazette* elicited a list of no fewer than forty-two subjects which ought to be included in the curriculum, including botany, eugenics, cooking, physiology, nursing, midwifery, mushtiyoga (the science of simples), music, scientific bee-keeping and the rearing of silk-worms".¹ But although discussions on these lines were both frequent and protracted, the only practical outcome was that steps were taken (a) to include subjects like physiology, hygiene, and domestic science as options for girls in the S.L.C. examinations (where they existed) and (b) to provide, wherever possible, for teaching of subjects like embroidery, needlework, music, etc., to girls in the higher classes. But owing partly to financial and personnel difficulties and partly to the popular sentiment in favour of the Matriculation, very little could be achieved in practice. Most schools preferred the beaten track which led to the University Examination, and continued to force their girls through Algebra, Science, and Sanskrit and Persian, neglecting Domestic Science and other subjects which were generally considered as more suitable for girls. This development was not liked by several officials as well as non-officials who complained that the secondary (and even collegiate) education of girls was

doing hardly anything beyond giving them a capacity to speak English and often, not even that. The following passage is quite typical of this view :—

I fear that the fact is that whereas in India our ideal should have been above all things to educate girls to become good wives and mothers, we have fostered the ideal rendered necessary by our own English redundant female population, that girls must be so educated as to be able to earn their own livelihood ; and this has been only too readily accepted as the Indian parent likes to see " something for his money ". Some Secondary Schools are doing good work, others are not. They are achieving Matriculation at any risk and cost to the health of the growing girls who attend them, and who for some reasons are crammed with the subjects considered suitable for boys.¹

Such criticisms were, unfortunately, one-sided, because they ignored the liberating influence which English education was having upon women and the new leadership that it was creating in their midst. One would readily agree that some differentiation in the courses of secondary schools for boys and girls is necessary. One would also agree that the secondary education of girls during this period was too unimaginatively based on that of boys. Even after these two points are granted, it would be incorrect to describe the secondary education given to girls in this period as utterly useless or conferring on them no advantage except the ability to converse in English. The one great service that English education has done to India is to bring the Indian mind in contact with western culture and to enable it to break the chains of obsolete customs and traditions. As the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale put it, " the greatest work of Western education in the present state of India is . . . the liberation of the Indian mind from the thralldom of old-world ideas, and the assimilation of all that is highest and best in the life and thought and character of the West." It was this service which English education had rendered to men between 1854 and 1902 that had led to a renaissance in Indian life. It was a similar service that English education was doing to our women in the early years of this century. Women had centuries of suppression, inferiority complex and obsolete ideas to overcome. English education was just the force required to break this heavy weight of years and to emancipate them into a newer and a fuller life. For all its defects, this is a signal service which the secondary and collegiate education of this period has done to the cause of women and it is a service that cannot be lightly ignored.

¹ *Report of the D. P. I., Bombay, 1911-12*, p. 50.

Number of Girls on 31st March, 1922 in British India classified according to race or creed.

(School Education, Special)

	Europeans and Anglo- Indians.	Indian Christians.	Hindus.		Muham- madans.	Buddhists.	Parsis.	Others.	Total.
			Brahmins.	Non- Brahmins.					
Training Schools	256	2,050	442	924	303	257	49	110	4,391
Schools of Art	17	5	..	1	..	..	8	1	32
Law Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medical Schools	14	232	38	30	14	..	2	12	342
Engineering and Surveying Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Technical and Industrial Schools	203	1,719	155	519	85	83	1	5	2,770
Commercial Schools	349	52	3	18	3	32	1	5	463
Agricultural Schools ..	..	79	..	..	..	..	..	..	79
Reformatory Schools ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other Schools	68	280	1,096	714	899	352	74	39	3,522
Total	907	4,417	1,734	2,206	1,304	724	135	172	11,599

A PERIOD OF TRANSITION

(c) *Primary Education*: Here, we find an unprecedented expansion. The number of girls attending primary schools rose from 348,510 in 1901-02 to 1,198,550 in 1921-22. The attempts at differentiation of curricula which were going on for upwards of 50 years now were continued in this period on more or less similar lines. The results were not always happy and it was being realised more and more that it is hardly worthwhile (or even possible) to try to differentiate the curricula *largely* at the primary stage. But by far, the best achievement of this period was a large increase in the number of women teachers, in general and trained women teachers in particular. In 1921-22, the number of women under training rose to 4,391 as against 1,412 in 1901-02 or 515 in 1881-82.

(d) *Professional Education*: Here the progress continued to be more or less on the same lines as during the earlier period and there is nothing special to notice. The statistics for 1921-22 are given on page 579.

21. Education of Muslims (1902-21). The Education of Muslims, like that of women, made a steady and all round progress during this period.

(a) *Statistics of Schools and Pupils*: The tables on pages 581 and 582 will give some idea of the position of Muslim education in 1921-22. It will be seen from them that (i) Muslims had made considerable leeway since 1902, particularly in provinces where they were in a minority; (ii) the total enrolment of Muslim children was practically on par with that of other communities; (iii) higher and professional education had now begun to spread even among Muslim women, though very slowly; (iv) and that in secondary and collegiate education, Muslims were still comparatively backward although the situation had materially improved since 1902.

(b) *Special and Separate Institutions*: A large number of Muslims attended ordinary schools and colleges which were open to all communities. But they were not satisfied with these for several reasons such as (i) absence of religious education; (ii) non-observance of Muslim holidays and festivals; (iii) non-use of Urdu as a medium of instruction (sometimes, it was not even taught as a subject); (iv) absence of adequate facilities for cultural studies in Persian or Arabic; (v) absence of Muslims

TABLE I

Muslim Scholars in Different Types of Educational Institutions.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Arts Colleges	5,399	25	5,424
<i>Colleges for Professional Training</i>			
Law	563	..	563
Medicine	377	6	383
Engineering	64	..	64
Teaching	253	..	253
Agriculture	111	..	111
Veterinary	141	..	141
Commerce	12	..	12
Forestry	17	..	17
Total	1,538	6	1,544
<i>Secondary Schools</i>			
High Schools	82,828	924	83,752
Middle English Schools	51,384	956	52,340
Middle Vernacular Schools	67,628	3,983	71,611
Total	201,840	5,863	207,703
Primary Schools	1,211,982	291,225	1,503,207
<i>Schools for Special Training</i>			
Training Schools	3,925	303	4,228
Schools of Art	235	..	235
Law Schools	15	..	15
Medical Schools	542	14	556
Engineering and Surveying Schools	127	..	127
Technical and Industrial Schools	3,003	85	3,088
Commercial Schools	537	3	540
Agricultural Schools	31	..	31
Reformatory Schools	399	..	399
Other Schools	31,965	899	32,864
Total	40,779	1,304	42,083
Total of Scholars in Recognised Institutions	1,461,538	298,423	1,759,961
Total of Scholars in Unrecognised Institutions	156,602	49,879	206,481
Grand Total of all Scholars	1,618,140	348,302	1,966,442

TABLE II

Muslim Scholars and Population with Comparative Percentages.

Province.	Muslim Population.	Muslim Scholars.	Percentage of Muslim population to total population.	Percentage of Muslim Scholars to total Scholars.
Madras	2,840,488	193,088	6·7	10·5
Bombay	3,820,153	181,417	19·7	18·5
Bengal	25,210,802	880,482	54·0	46·6
United Provinces ..	6,481,032	183,119	14·3	17·8
Punjab	11,444,321	278,340	55·3	44·4
Burma	500,592	19,789	3·8	3·5
Bihar and Orissa ..	3,690,182	98,896	10·9	12·2
Central Provinces and Berar	563,574	31,003	4·1	9·3
Assam	2,202,460	47,086	29·0	21·8
North-west Frontier Province	2,062,786	37,557	91·6	69·7
Minor Administrations ..	(a) 623,837	15,665	39·7	24·8
	(b) 59,440,227	1,966,442	24·1	23·5

N.B.—(a) Excludes Bangalore.

(b) Excludes Andaman and Nicobar Islands with a population of 4,104 Muslims.

TABLE III

Percentages of Scholars in the Different Stages of Instruction.

Scholars in.	Muslims.	All other Communities.
College Stage	0·4	0·8
High Stage	1·5	3·0
Middle Stage	3·7	5·6
Primary Stage	81·8	82·5
Special Schools	2·1	1·4
Unrecognised Schools	10·5	6·7

students were not properly looked after by non-Muslim teachers or managers. For these and other reasons, a desire had become manifest, even prior to 1902, to create special institutions suited to Muslim needs. This tendency became more emphasized in the early decades of this century and a large number of special institutions for the education of Muslims were functioning in this period. They could be divided into three groups :—

(i) The first group consisted of the old indigenous institutions of the Muslims—the *maktabs*, the *mulla* schools and the *Koran* schools—which had “adopted all or part of the ordinary primary course, without necessarily dropping off their Islamic characteristics.”¹ Of these, the *Maktabs* were specially common in Bengal, United Provinces, and the Punjab. In Bengal, the efforts to convert the *Maktabs* into useful primary schools for Muslims began in 1904. The first step in the programme was to create *model Maktabs* under Government control. A syllabus of studies and a teachers’ manual was published in 1911. Grants-in-aid were given to *Maktabs* which adopted the primary course to some extent. Consequently, as early as in 1916-17, the number of such improved *Maktabs* rose to 6,548 with 203,802 pupils. Similar steps were also taken in the United Provinces. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1917-22 observes :—

Since some Muhammadan parents are averse to sending their boys to secular schools, measures were taken at the same time for the encouragement of *maktabs*. A special curriculum of the secular subjects to be taught in them was drawn up. A *maktab* committee was appointed in each district for the supervision and encouragement of this class of schools and a central *maktab* committee for the whole province. For the proper supervision of Muhammadan education a special Muhammadan inspector was appointed for the province and special deputy inspectors, one for each division. The scheme has been in force for about five years and its advantages and its weaknesses are now apparent. ‘The Muhammadan community have been gratified by having separate schools and have patronised them freely, but at the sacrifice of a sounder secular education that could have been found in the ordinary district board schools.’ The number of Muhammadan pupils in the ordinary board schools has declined during the last two years by eight thousand. On the other hand, the number of scholars in the Islamia schools has increased from 3,000 to 21,000 and in aided *maktabs* from 9,000 to 23,000. As a result five per cent of the Muhammadan male population of the United Provinces is being educated as against 3·73 of the Hindus.²

The *mulla* schools were a special feature of Sind. Attempts to improve them were made in this period by providing a special

inspectorate and training the Mullahs. "I regard", said the Inspector in Sind.

As the most hopeful sign for the ultimate success of these schools the readiness with which the Mullahs have themselves submitted to training. Four classes are ordinarily held in different parts of Sind for three months each during the year and about a hundred Mullahs are trained every year. That these men, many of them grey-beards, should consent to sit on a bench and be taught like school boys is, I consider, a very remarkable thing.¹

The *Koran* schools were very numerous and existed in all parts of India. Although they were valuable institutions for religious purposes, their usefulness was low from the point of secular education and the policy of the Government was, therefore, to convert them, as far as possible, into primary schools.

(ii) The second group consisted of schools of special studies. These included the *Madrassas* established in different Provinces—particularly in Bengal—some of which were conducted by Government and others were private. Several attempts to improve the teaching in the *Madrassas* and to bring it in line with modern requirements were made in this period.²

(iii) The third and the most important group consisted of schools and colleges of the modern type established by Government or local bodies or conducted by private Muslim enterprise. "Hindus are not necessarily excluded from them. But arrangements are made for the teaching of Arabic, Persian and Urdu, religious instruction is imparted and Muhammadan teachers are employed as far as possible."³ These were generally described as *separate* institutions to distinguish them from the *special* institutions and included the Aligarh and Dacca universities, several colleges like the Islamia college, Lahore, and a large number of secondary and primary schools in all parts of India.

Commenting on the development of these *special* or *separate* institutions, the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1912-17 observes :—

499. The general result has been an increase in the number of Muhammadan pupils slightly larger, in proportion to the number of the community, than the

¹ *Quinquennial Review of Progress of Education in India*, 1917-22, p. 205.

² *Vide* para. 621 of the *Quinquennial Review*, 1907-12, and para. 498 of the *Quinquennial Review*, 1912-17, for details.

increase among pupils of all races and creeds together. Almost more marked than this increase is the growing tendency among Muhammadans to resort to institutions where education on modern lines is imparted. True, the number of Mussalmans in private institutions (mainly Koran schools) still slightly rises, while that of Hindus has declined. But the increase of pupils in public institutions has been most marked. This does not necessarily indicate that the Muhammadans are deserting the traditions of Islam. They continue insistent on religious instruction and observance. But the old prejudice against modern forms of thought and the exclusive adherence to the orthodox subjects, which still lingered to a greater or less extent in various sections of the community, are dying away. Views are broadening. It is seen that instruction in special schools is often inferior—if only because the staff is inferior. As I stated in the last review, the problem that now faces the Muhammadans is the maintenance of religious observance and discipline amid the disintegrating influences of higher secular education. So far the signs do not show that there has been weakening in these essentials. The special school that teaches unnecessary or useless subjects is waning in popularity. The cry is still for special institutions, but of the type that will fit the Mussalman for the developments of modern life, while yet keeping him essentially a Mussalman.

Now the question that arises for discussion in this connection is whether the emphasis placed on these *separate* or *special* institutions as the principal agencies of Muslim education was fundamentally right. That they served an immediate and useful purpose in spreading education among the Muslims more rapidly than might otherwise have been possible is not denied. But from the long-range point of view, this emphasis on separate or special schools did great harm. The interests of the Muslims suffered because the quality of education given in these institutions was inferior. But a still greater damage was done to the national cause because they isolated the education of the Muslims from that of the Hindus. In the interests of national solidarity, it was essential to provide *common schools* for all and, within them, make such provision as may be essential to safeguard the cultural and linguistic interests of all minorities. But the authorities deliberately chose not to adopt this course. The Imperialist purposes would obviously be better served by a policy of separatism which put one community against the other and hence Government carefully fostered isolation, not only in the educational, but in the social and political fields as well. Consequently, the role of the separate or special institutions for Muslim education was unduly emphasized. More and more Muslims began to attend special institutions (on religious or linguistic grounds) which were mostly attended by Muslim pupils, staffed by Muslim

two great communities came to be educated in isolation from each other. The political sequel to such a system could only have been disastrous, and later events of history amply justified the fears of those who desired to see the young men of the two communities learning together in common schools and who disapproved, even at this early period, the growing separatist tendencies described above.

(c) *Methods of Special Encouragement Adopted*: Among the measures adopted by Government to encourage the spread of education among Muslims, mention may be made of (i) fee exemptions; (ii) scholarships; (iii) provision of hostels to meet the needs of rural Muslims; (iv) training of Muslim teachers; (v) appointment of special Muslim inspectors; (vi) appointment of Muslims on the staff of ordinary schools; and (vii) special encouragement to Muslim private enterprise.

(d) *The Language Problem*: It was in this period that Muslims began to emphasize very strongly their demand that they should be given instruction through Urdu. This did not create a problem in areas where they were in a majority or where they largely used it. But now the desire to learn Urdu as the *lingua franca* of all Muslims became stronger and there was an almost universal demand to adopt Urdu as a medium of instruction for *all* Muslims in *every* part of India. This led to several intricate problems. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1907-12, observes:—

Urdu is the recognised *lingua franca* of the Muhammadans of India. But it does not follow that it is everywhere the vernacular commonly used by them or even that they have any acquaintance with it. In the United Provinces, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and some other areas such as parts of Bihar, it is a vernacular and is commonly spoken and taught in the schools along with Hindi, Gurmukhi, Pushtu, etc. Here the practical difficulty is minimised, since Urdu is actually taught in a great mass of the schools. Even when it comes into conflict with Hindi the difficulty is lessened by its structural similarity with that language. The United Provinces actually had text-books prepared, the one set in the Persian, the other in the Nagri script, but (save for a few words) identical in all other respects. In the Bengals, it is not (save in some of the large towns) a vernacular. The Bengal Muhammadan speaks and writes Bengali and, unless he has received some higher education, no other language. . . . The Muhammadan boy is at no disadvantage in the common schools; and all that the Muhammadan wishes is that words of Persian origin, when in common use, be not consciously excluded from the school books, or religious expressions emphasised which may hurt his religious susceptibilities. No difficulties are

Muhammadans is few and they would naturally adopt (save in special circumstances) the language of the surrounding communities. It is just here, however, that the very paucity of their numbers sometimes induces them to preserve or to revive Urdu as a means of cohesion and self-preservation. Thus, in the southern parts of Madras, Muhammadans whose mother-tongue is Tamil are moving in the direction of Urdu; there is an agitation in favour of Urdu as a vernacular in districts of Bombay where it is hardly known to the general public; and the maintenance of a certain number of special Urdu schools in these two presidencies is evidence of a like tendency.

This preamble is necessary to show both the existence and the limitations of the linguistic difficulty. Where Muhammadans are numerous, either Urdu is a regular vernacular and taught in the schools, or the Muhammadans themselves speak another language. Save therefore in isolated instances, the difficulty arising from the enforced adoption of a language other than the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction exists only to a small extent. The trouble rather arises from the desire of the Muhammadan to acquire some knowledge of Urdu (which carries with it the mark of culture) or even Persian along with a Prakritic or Dravidian vernacular, and perhaps English.

(a) In primary schools, there is probably very little difficulty. Urdu is occasionally added to the prevailing vernacular to meet the wishes of Muhammadans. In Bombay, there are Gujarati-Urdu and Marathi-Urdu standards forming a variant on the ordinary primary courses. One inspector speaks of the additional language as a great handicap and generally unnecessary. In Eastern Bengal and Assam the experiment was tried during the quinquennium of introducing a little Urdu teaching into lower primary schools, with a view, says the report, to 'enabling those Muhammadans who do not wish their children to learn English to give them instead some acquaintance with a language the knowledge of which is not only a social accomplishment but also the easiest gate to much of their religious literature.' Capitation allowances were given for this teaching. The results of the scheme have not been conspicuous save that it probably served to attract a number of Muhammadan pupils to school.

(b) Sometimes the Muhammadan experiences real difficulty in secondary schools owing to his ignorance of the vernacular if his own vernacular is Urdu or if he has learned only Urdu. Sir A. Bourne remarks that the number of secondary schools in Madras in which Urdu is the medium of instruction is very small and that in other schools Muhammadans are at a disadvantage in the lower classes where a Dravidian language is used. A scheme has been sanctioned in Bengal for providing additional Urdu teachers in the lower classes of high schools where Muhammadans are numerous.

(c) Sometimes the necessity or desire for a knowledge of Urdu, Persian or Arabic makes it very difficult to frame a time-table which is not overburdened for Muhammadan schools, especially for those that are emerging from indigenous into recognised institutions. The same cause is apt to keep Muhammadans back by reason of the large number of different languages they have to study.¹

22. Education of the Harijans (1902-21). The education of Harijans made a fair progress during this period.

(a) *Statistics of enrolment* : The following statistics show the enrolment of Harijan pupils in 1921-22 :—

	Population of Harijans (in thousands).	No. of Harijan pupils in recognised schools.
Madras	6,530	1,57,113
Bombay	1,460	36,543
Bengal	6,640	96,552
United Provinces	7,980	39,873
Punjab	1,700	3,732
Bihar and Orissa	2,530	15,096
Central Provinces	3,010	28,919

(Taken from p. 218 of the Report of the Hartog Committee.)

The bulk of the pupils, unfortunately, were in primary schools ; but a few had already reached the High school stage and a handful were reading in colleges as well.

(b) *Methods of encouragement* : The usual methods adopted to encourage the spread of education among the Harijans were (i) exemption from fees ; (ii) grant of scholarships or other pecuniary assistance ; (iii) provision of hostels ; (iv) grants at more liberal rates to private schools engaged in the work ; and (v) the training of Harijan teachers.

(c) *Awakening among the caste Hindus* : Far more important than this statistical increase was the awakening among the caste Hindus to do away with the stigma of untouchability and to ameliorate the condition of the Harijans. The lead in this direction came from several quarters. Reference has already been made, in Chapter VIII, to the pioneer work done by the Prarthana Samaj or the Arya Samaj movements for this cause. These organisations increased their activities and new ones came into the field. Gokhale was a great opponent of untouchability and the Servants of India Society established by him began to do useful work for spreading education among the Harijans. In 1914, Shri Amritlal Thakkar, the great servant of the backward classes, joined this society as a life-worker. Another important organisation to work in the field was the Depressed Class Mission

of Poona which was established in 1906 by Vithal Ramji Shinde (1873-1944), a great worker in the cause of the Harijans.

Excellent lead was also given by some Indian States—particularly Baroda and Kolhapur. His Highness the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar of Baroda paid very early attention to the cause of the Harijans. He assumed powers over his State in 1881 and as early as in 1883, he opened eighteen special schools for the Harijans. Soon afterwards, special boarding schools were also established. This policy of sympathetic encouragement was kept up throughout his rule and he lost no opportunity of assisting the cause of the Harijans. By his munificent donations and scholarships, he helped promising Harijan students and also those who worked for their amelioration. Shri Vithal Ramji Shinde and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar—both of whom have done so much for the Harijans—owe much to the help of this noble Prince and it is worthy of note that Dr. Ambedkar went to U.S.A. with the help of a scholarship given by this Ruler and began his life in the Civil Service of the Baroda State. So great was his service to the cause that the Maharaja was chosen to preside over the second Maharashtra Depressed Class Mission Conference held in Bombay in 1918 which was attended by great leaders like Lok. Tilak, Mrs. Besant, and Mahatma Gandhi. The other Hindoo Prince who, by his great sympathy for the Harijans and by his influential personality, helped to improve their position in every way possible, was H.H. Shri Shahu Chhatrapati of Kolhapur. He had a fatherly affection for these people and was a born leader and saviour. In the face of vehement and bitter opposition from the caste Hindus, he freely mixed with them, dined with them and appointed them to important posts in the palace. He also discontinued the system of Vatan, which kept the Mahars in the village and made them work for less than a pittance. In his biography of this great ruler, Shri A. B. Latthe writes :—

The removal of untouchability was the next and the greatest social problem. Various administrative measures were adopted with the object of removing the bar. Preference was given to fit men of the Depressed classes over everybody else. Some of them were appointed clerks in offices in February 1919. The Medical institutions in the State were ordered to treat the Depressed class patients on terms of perfect equality with others. On January 15th, 1919, the Education Department was directed to treat their cases on a similar footing of perfect equality with others. Order was issued directing all schools to treat untouchable

(1) the abolition of untouchability on water-pipes, tanks, wells, in Dharmashalas, hospitals, schools and other public places, (2) free boarding houses for them at Sonthali and the Station Bungalow, (3) abolition of separate schools for the untouchables, etc.¹

But even greater was the lead given by the Indian National Congress. With the entry of Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress became an earnest champion of the Harijans. Up till 1917, the Congress followed a policy of abstention in regard to socio-religious matters and all questions of a religious or quasi-religious character were kept outside its deliberations. Mahatma Gandhi, however, integrated social and religious reform with political activity and changed the whole character of the Congress. It was mainly at his insistence that the 1917 Congress adopted a definite resolution urging upon the people of India, "the necessity, justice and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the scheduled castes". As Mahatmaji came more and more to dominate the Congress organization, the problem began to receive greater and greater attention and recognition. In February 1922, the Congress Working Committee meeting in Bardoli passed a resolution setting out the details of a *Constructive Programme*, one of whose items was "to organize the Depressed classes for a better life, to improve their social, mental and moral condition, to induce them to send their children to national schools and to provide for them the ordinary facilities which the other citizens enjoy". The greater part of the work of Gandhiji and Congress, however, falls in the next two periods when we shall have an opportunity to return to and deal with the subject in greater detail. Suffice it to say here that the recognition of the justice of the cause of the Harijans by the Congress and its hearty support to the cause gave a new impetus to the work that was being done for their amelioration and to the formation of more and more organizations for the purpose.

(d) *Awakening among the Harijans*: Another great event of this period was the awakening among the Harijans themselves. The spread of some education in their midst during the last three or four decades had created a desire for more ; and a new leadership of educated persons from among the Harijans themselves (which included such eminent persons as Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Shri M. C. Raja) now came forward to espouse the cause. Consequently, a new movement sprang up among these

classes for demanding their rights and ameliorating their condition. It is true that this awakening was not extensive and was mostly restricted to towns. But in spite of these drawbacks, it must be admitted that with this awakening comes a new factor upon the scene—the self-educating activity of the Harijans themselves. Just as in an individual, the learning process shows the best results when the individual himself is eager to learn, so also in the field of social education, a community gets the best of education only when it undertakes the responsibility of educating itself. Moreover, the uplift of the Harijans was now taken to a different plane by this awakening among them. Until now, the work of their uplift was mainly organized by outside agencies and had, therefore, an unavoidable character of *charity*. With the new awakening, it ceased to be a charity shown by upper classes and began to be claimed as the inherent *birth-right* of every human being. It is because of these two important contributions that the awakening among the Harijans during the period is to be regarded as the most important land-mark in the history of their education.

With this background in view, it is easy to understand why the principle of *special schools* which was so strongly recommended by the Indian Education Commission should now recede in the background. The prejudice against the admission of Harijan children into the common schools now decreased considerably. Moreover, the Harijans themselves began to despise *special schools* because a common school gave them, not only better education, but social equality as well. Towards the end of this period, therefore, there was a definite move to abolish special schools and to insist on the admission of Harijan children into the common schools. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1917-22*, observes :—

415. To avoid difficulties arising from prejudice, a certain number of low-caste schools are to be found in most parts of India. These schools are not particularly efficient. There is a natural difficulty in obtaining teachers for them as high-caste masters do not wish to serve in such schools and so far the depressed classes have been able to produce few teachers. It is a most hopeful sign of the times that all provincial reports record a tendency to discard special schools, an increase in the number of low-class boys attending ordinary schools and, what is even more suprising, a larger attendance of high-caste boys at the so-called low-caste schools. Local Governments have consistently made it their aim to abolish all distinctions of caste and creed in the public elementary schools. The *Madras Government* for example has by successive orders issued in 1919.

depressed classes to schools under public management. It is now only where such schools or mission schools have no accommodation for more scholars and where in addition there is a large depressed community that the opening of a special school is sanctioned. Another obstacle to the admission of low-caste children to schools under public management in Madras is being gradually overcome. In 1921-22 nearly one hundred and fifty schools situated in temples and rented buildings the owners of which objected to the admission of Adi-Dravidas have been removed to premises accessible to all castes. In the *Central Provinces* the same policy has always been followed. 'Consistently with the policy of the equal right of all castes to education, and lest the opening of special schools should be held to justify the exclusion of depressed classes pupils from the ordinary schools in the same locality, Government has never encouraged the opening of specially designated schools for depressed classes in localities in which facilities exist for education in ordinary schools. On the other hand, in localities where the majority of the pupils are drawn from the depressed classes, forty-two vernacular schools ostensibly intended for these classes exist.' 'In the Amballa Division of the *Punjab* there are only 15 low-caste schools against 30 five years ago, and the attendance at these schools has fallen from 703 to 410. On the other hand the attendance of low-caste children at ordinary schools in the Division has risen by 482 to 772.' In the Lahore Division although 47 schools are returned as low-caste schools they actually contain 431 low-caste and 1,733 high-caste children. In the *United Provinces* 'the marked increase of attendance of low-caste boys in the mixed schools is significant of a lessening prejudice among their school fellows, and resentment at ostracism is shown by a growing objection to the present nomenclature of the special schools'. The Province of Bombay also followed suit, although a few months after the end of this period. In 1922-23 Government issued a Press Note and ordered that 'no disability should be imposed on the children of the Depressed classes in any school conducted by a public authority, and that where schools were held in temples, other arrangements should be made without delay'.¹ Government further ordered that aided schools which discriminated against Harijan children should be penalised in respect of the amounts of grant earned.

It is not of course claimed that these orders were immediately and rigorously obeyed. Very often, they remained on paper only. Nor is it claimed that the Harijan children admitted to common schools got complete equality of treatment. All the same, it cannot be gainsaid that a determined move in the right direction had at last been made. At the beginning of this period, the problem was one of choosing between common schools and special schools for Harijans. At the end of the period, the special school idea had finally receded in the background and the only problem to be faced was the manner in which full equality of treatment could be secured for the Harijan pupils admitted to common primary schools.

23. Education of Aboriginal and Hill Tribes, etc. (1902-21). Unfortunately, very little progress was made in the education

of the remaining backward classes. The education of the aboriginal and hill tribes was still mainly in the hands of the missions, although the efforts of Government were increased to some extent and some mission schools were taken under its direct control. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1917-22*, observes :—

Education in the *Assam Hills* is chiefly in the hands of Christian Missions. Amongst the Khasis there are now 390 schools run by the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission, 10 by Roman Catholic Missions and 76 by Khasi Christians. The number of pupils has increased during the quinquennium from 11,220 to 13,772. Co-education is universal ; for the Khasis follow the matriarchal system. Education is free except in a few rice-collection schools. In the *Garro Hills* the policy in recent years has been to transfer mission schools to Government management. Of the 155 schools 101 are now under Government. The Director is doubtful of the wisdom of this policy. The number of scholars has fallen from 4,252 to 3,920 and the standard of instruction in the schools appears to be very low. . . . In the neighbouring province of *Bengal* there are a number of schools for aboriginal classes in the Chittagong Hill tracts as well as two boards of Sonthal education in the districts of Midnapore and Bankura. Schools for Sonthals have also been opened in the Dinajpur district. The bulk of this community reside in the province of *Bihar and Orissa*, the Government of which has adopted a number of special measures to provide for the education of aborigines. It maintains a special staff of two deputy inspectors and thirteen sub-inspectors for the inspection of aboriginal classes. It reserves three rural guru-training schools for aborigines and aids five mission training schools. It reserves a number of scholarships for pupils of this class and allows their admission to Government schools at reduced rates. There are 58,300 aborigines attending school in Bihar and Orissa (including 8,000 girls), of whom 36 have actually reached the university stage. In *Madras* there are a number of special schools for such communities as the Chenchus, Lambadis, Irulas, and a training school for Khonds and Panos has been opened at Udayagiri. The progress of education among the Todas in the Nilgiri Hills has had its vicissitudes, but Government and private donors have provided scholarships to enable Toda boys to read in the Municipal High School at Ootacamund. Fair progress is reported from *Bombay* in the education of Bhils, Kolis and similar aboriginal tribes. The number that reach the higher stages is still very small ; not one hundred out of twelve thousand pupils were in the secondary stage in 1922. Still the number of teachers recruited from these tribes is increasing. Great efforts have been made in recent years to promote education among the Kaliparaj, an aboriginal tribe living in the half forest tracts of Surat. At first trained teachers were sent to their villages, but finding the surroundings uncongenial they directed their energies to getting their schools closed. A central school was then started as an experiment to educate Kaliparaj boys to become teachers for their own community. The success of the school has been phenomenal. On three different occasions a boy from this school has stood first among 500 competitors, mostly of advanced Guzerati communities, at the entrance examination of the Ahmedabad Training College. There are now 70 ex-students of this school teaching in village schools of their community. In this direction the school has nearly fulfilled its function ; and the question of developing agricultural and technical training here and at the Diwa Central School for Bhils and Kolis in Broach is under consideration.¹

Another important development of this period was the attempt to educate the so-called *Criminal Tribes* and settle them down in peaceful pursuits. As the above Review points out :—

Still lower in the scale of civilisation are the criminal tribes. The hereditary occupation of these people is thieving, in particular cattle-lifting and house-breaking. They are for obvious reasons usually nomadic. Under the Criminal Tribes Act Government is empowered to settle any notified criminal tribe in a definite locality, where endeavours can be made to convert the settlers and the children into good citizens by enabling them to earn an honest living and providing the children with education and moral instruction. There are ten such settlements in the *Madras Presidency* of which seven are managed by private societies and three by Government. Each settlement has its own school at which attendance is compulsory. There were altogether 1,443 scholars in these schools at the close of the quinquennium, of whom 53 were adults. The Madras Government have also established two industrial schools under the management of the Salvation Army—one at Bangalore for boys and one at Nellore for girls. In addition to general knowledge the boys are taught gardening, silk-worm rearing and silk reeling and the girls domestic duties, needlework and lace-making. In the *Punjab* a criminal tribes department was established in 1917. It had during the first year five schools attended by 271 pupils. The number has increased. There are now twenty schools for boys with 730 pupils and thirteen for girls with 431 pupils. There are in addition 116 boys attending industrial schools and 1,855 attending ordinary primary schools in the districts. . . . In the *Bombay Presidency* there are thirty-six schools for children belonging to criminal tribes with an attendance of 1,477 ; but there are in addition four thousand children of this class attending ordinary or mission schools.¹

24. General Review of the Period from 1855 to 1921. This survey of the principal educational developments in the period from 1905 to 1921 can now be closed with a brief and general review of the educational developments in India as a whole between 1855 and 1921. These sixty-six years are unique in the history of modern education in India. Prior to 1855, the Education Departments did not exist; and in 1921 the control of education was transferred to Indian Ministers responsible to a legislature with a large elected majority. During the interim period of about seven decades, the ultimate authority in education was a bureaucracy—whether it was the bureaucracy of the officers of the Education Departments or ultimately of the I.C.S. It would, therefore, be desirable to evaluate the principal achievements of this *Bureaucratic Raj* in education and to see where exactly the Indian Education Ministers had to begin their work.

(a) *Expansion—its extent and limitations* : It will be seen from the narrative of events contained in this and the five

preceding Chapters that there was a great expansion of the modern system of education between 1854-1921. It would, therefore, be interesting to compare the statistics of education in 1855 with those of 1921-22 :—

	1855.	1921-22.
1. Universities	..	10
2. Arts Colleges	21	165
3. Professional Colleges (the figures of 1855 under this head include Professional Schools other than Normal Schools)	13	64
4. Secondary Schools	281	7,530
5. Primary Schools	2,810	1,55,017
6. Special Schools	7	3,344
7. Total number of recognised institutions	3,132	1,66,130
8. Total number of scholars in recognised institutions	1,35,079	73,96,560
9. Total expenditure on Education ..	Rs. 9,99,898	Rs. 17,35,88,099
10. Govt. expenditure on Education ..	Not known; but most of the above amount was expended by Government.	8,56,01,366

N.B.—The figures for 1855 are taken from the *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, General Table No. 1a. Those for 1921-22 are for British India only, exclusive of Burma.

This expansion of the State system of education is certainly a creditable performance. But one has to remember that there was a considerable set-off to this achievement inasmuch as the indigenous system of education mostly disappeared during the period under review. We saw, in Chapter I, that there is good evidence to believe that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost every village had a school of some sort. This vast system of indigenous education had almost ceased to exist and by 1921-22, the *unrecognised institutions*—which term includes all the *known* educational institutions outside the State system, numbered only 16,399 with only 4,99,165 pupils. It

given by Adam does not differ materially from that of 1921-22. For instance, take the following statistics :—

	<i>Adam's Figures.</i> (Taken from his intensive studies of six Thanas in the third report. <i>Vide</i> Chapter I.).	<i>Position of British India in 1921-22</i> (Burma is excluded).
(a) Centres of Instruction, <i>i.e.</i> , Schools—public and domestic—as given by Adam and schools—recognised and unrecognised—as given in Departmental Reports	2,210 (1 for 225 persons)	1,82,752 (1 for 1,280 persons)
(b) Pupils under instruction	6,786	78,18,725 .
(c) Percentage of pupils under instruction to the total population (This ought to be about 15 per cent)	1.4	3.3
(d) Number of Adult literates, ¹ above the age of 15. (Adam's figures are for literates above the age of 14)	21,911	1,24,60,170
(e) Percentage of adult literates to the total population	4.4	5.2

¹ Figures given here are for the whole of British India excluding Ajmere-Merwara, Andamans and Nicobars, British Baluchistan, Coorg and Delhi for which figures are not available.

If allowance is made for the imperfections in Adam's figures, for the fact that education was decaying in the days of Adam, and for the fact that the area surveyed by Adam (which had been under a long period of anarchy) was in all probability more backward in education than other parts of India which had been under a more or less settled government, it will be evident that the educational position of India in 1921-22 was not appreciably different from that in 1821-22, especially if we look at the problem from the point of view of the work that yet remained to be done.

The achievements of the modern system of education, therefore, were hardly of any importance from the *quantitative* point of view. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the State had not accepted any responsibility for the education of the people, the cultivation of letters was restricted to a *small minority* of the population, and the vast majority—which included almost all the females—were unable to read and write. Even in 1921-22, there was no material improvement in the situation. Education was still confined to a small minority. The percentage of literacy

still remained outside the educational system. It is, of course, true that there were a few important gains. For instance, there had been a gradual change in the public attitude to female education and women were now entering educational institutions in ever-increasing numbers. Similarly, there was also an awakening among the less advanced sections of society and pupils belonging to them were now enrolled in educational institutions in a much larger proportion than a hundred years previously. But without belittling the importance of these achievements, it may be stated that the *spread* of education in 1921-22 was not materially wider than that in 1835-38 and many even considered it disappointing in view of the great expansion achieved by the State system of schools during the period under review.

(b) *The Hartog-Parulekar Controversy*: This comparison of the educational position in Pre-British India with that which prevailed a century later in 1921-31, has become the subject of an interesting controversy. While speaking at the Round Table Conference in London in 1931, Mahatma Gandhi said :—

I say, without fear of my figures being challenged successfully that to-day India is more illiterate than it was fifty or a hundred years ago, and so is Burma, because the British administrators, when they came to India, instead of taking hold of things as they were, began to root them out.¹

This view was challenged by Sir Philip Hartog² and a reply to it was given by some Indian educationists.

The statement made by Mahatma Gandhi can be divided into two parts, the first of which refers to literacy and second to indigenous education. Regarding the first, Sir Philip underestimates the percentage of literacy given by Adam by *excluding* the sixth class of persons who could only *decipher or sign their names*.³ On the other hand, he takes the literacy percentage of 1931 (ages 10 and over), compares it with this underestimated figure, and concludes that the statement made by Mahatma Gandhi is untrue. He says :—

The only literacy figures of which I am aware for the previous fifty years, 1831-81, are those given in Adam's reports which I have dealt with on pages 75-91. They relate to areas in Bengal and Bihar. As I have shown, the percentage of adult male literacy in the Bengal areas investigated by Adam was only 9·8 in 1835-38 as against a percentage of 20·1 in 1931, and that in the Bihar districts was only 4·9 as against a corresponding percentage of 10·8 in 1931. The figures so far from diminishing, had rather more than doubled, though the

great increase in the percentage of literacy has been during the last fifty years. I have come across no evidence of the diminution of literacy except occasional set-backs in some areas. (There was a slight set-back in Bengal and in Bihar in the last decennium.)¹

Shri R. V. Parulekar challenges both these assumptions. He argues that it would be incorrect to exclude the sixth category of instructed adults from our calculations as is done by Sir Philip. He says :—

It seems to us that it is not fair to exclude the figures of Adam's sixth category of instructed adults in comparing the statistics of literacy of his time with those of the present day. It is very significant that at the time of his inquiry (1835-38) Adam thought it desirable and necessary to include this group among the 'instructed' and all along in his Reports he has included this group in ascertaining the literacy attainments of the population surveyed by him. Further it must be noted that Adam was not quite sure whether the persons counted by him in this sixth group were not also able to read and write. For Adam wrote of this group as 'those who can either sign their names or read imperfectly, or perhaps can do both.' (Long, p. 136).

Printed books were not available in large numbers at the time of Adam's enquiry and Adam was justified in taking the whole of the sixth group as 'literate' or 'instructed'. We shall be getting a wrong idea of literacy percentage of Adam's days if we omit that group from our calculation. For it will be seen that we shall then be excluding 33 per cent. of Adam's figure. Literacy attainments of a society should be judged from the general requirements of that society from time to time. Persons enumerated by Adam in his sixth group had a definite function to fulfil as 'instructed' or 'literate' persons in the Indian society of the time. A person in those old times remained under instruction only to the extent which enabled him to acquire what he wanted. And if his wants were confined to mere reading or writing or perhaps both, surely he must be treated, as Adam has treated him, as an 'instructed' person when he had acquired that ability. Adam who grouped the 'instructed' adults into six well-marked categories, would have certainly omitted the last category, had he felt that the persons enumerated in that category had no place in the society of the time as 'instructed' persons. But they were as good products of the educational system of the time as the 'literate' persons of the present day are and to eliminate them from the literacy figures of that time, would be wrong. In comparing century-old social standards with those of the present times, we must make due allowances for the social wants of those times and now. It may be noted that even in modern times a lower standard for 'literacy' ability to read and write—was considered enough till the year 1911; and yet when comparing the figures of 1911 and later years with those of 1881, 1891 and 1901, we do not think of excluding certain groups from among the literate of 1881, 1891 or 1901. Adam's statistics should receive the same treatment.²

Secondly, Shri R. V. Parulekar points out that Adam's figures are for persons *above 14 years of age* while the census figures quoted by Sir Philip are for *ages 10 and over*. This comparison is obviously incorrect and, therefore, Shri Parulekar compares

¹ Sir Philip Hartog : *op. cit.*, pp. 70-1.

² R. V. Parulekar : *Literacy in India in Pre-British Days*, pp. 11-12.

Adam's figures with census statistics of literacy for ages 15 and over.¹ Moreover, Shri Parulekar points out that the results of the census of 1931 were not published when Gandhiji made his statement. He, therefore, argues that Adam's figures should really be compared to those of the census of 1911 or 1921 rather than that of 1931. He says :—

Mahatma Gandhi's speech which raised the issue under discussion, *viz.*, the extent of literacy in India now and a hundred years ago, was delivered in October 1931, when the census figures of 1931 were not available. Obviously, therefore, whatever statistical data regarding literacy that was at the back of Mahatma Gandhi's mind must have been from the census report of 1921, the latest which was then available to the public. The 1931 census report was published in 1933, *i.e.*, two years after Mahatma Gandhi's speech in London. Mahatma Gandhi had sent to Sir Philip, for his information, transcripts of some articles on the subject published in December 1920, in *YOUNG INDIA*, a weekly with which Mahatma Gandhi was intimately connected. When those articles were written, even the 1921 census figures were not available ; and it thus seems very probable that the views which Mahatma Gandhi expressed in his speech in 1931 had their origin in what he had read in December 1920 or earlier. The literacy statistics of the 1911 census rather than those of 1921 are, therefore, more pertinent to the enquiry undertaken to prove or disprove Mahatma Gandhi's statement regarding the literacy of India in the present and the pre-British times, based on statistical data.²

Lastly, Shri Parulekar also holds that, as education was transferred to the control of Indian Ministers in 1921, the comparison of literacy in Pre-British and British Periods should be made between Adam's figures and those of the census of 1921 at the latest.

On these entirely different (and obviously) more valid assumptions, he comes to the following conclusion :—

In order to get over these differences in the nature of figures of the "instructed" given by Adam and those of the "literate", given in the Indian census reports it is proposed, in the first instance, to confine the comparison to the percentage of the "instructed" adults of Adam and that of the "literate" above the age of 15 in the Indian census reports.

¹ (R. V. Parulekar: *op. cit.*, p. 10 ff.). An obvious discrepancy has been allowed to creep into the above discussion, because it could not be avoided. Adam has given figures for instructed adults above 14 years while the figures for literates in the census reports are for persons above 15 years. It is not possible to obtain the number of 'instructed adults' in Adam's time above 15 years, nor do the census returns supply figures for literate above 14 years. The discrepancy, therefore, could not be avoided ; nor was it possible to suggest corrections to make the two sets of figures exactly comparable. The same difficulty appeared in comparing the figures of all literates. It is assumed that all children of 5 who were in Adam's time attending the school might be regarded as literates. That is obviously not a correct supposition. But it is difficult to say what particular correction would counteract this error. But the discrepancies, in our opinion, do not materially affect the conclusion. Moreover, it will be shown hereafter that Adam's figures of school-going children and instructed adults were incomplete and were underestimates.

Adam's Report : Figures of Instructed Adults, Bengal only.

Statistics given by Adam.	1835-36.
1. Total population surveyed, Bengal units only	350,082 = 3.5 lakhs.
2. Total "instructed" adults (above 14 in age), Bengal units	18,043 = 0.18 lakhs.
3. Percentage of the instructed adults to the total population (Bengal units only)	0.18×100 3.5 = 5.1

*Census of India Reports : Figures of Literacy for India.
(Excluding Burma)*

	1911.	1921.	1931.
1. Total population (in lakhs)	3,014	3,029	3,359
2. Total adult literates above 15 in age (in lakhs)	135	158	205
3. Percentage of adult literates to the total population	4.5	5.2	6.0

The above two tables clearly show that if a comparison is made between the percentage of "instructed" adults to the total population of the Bengal area, in Adam's time, and that of the "literate" adults in India as revealed in 1911 and 1921, the former figure is greater than that of 1911 and almost the same as that of 1921.

One may choose another way of comparing the literacy statistics. All the children above 5 years who were under instruction in the Bengal area surveyed by Adam, might be taken as "literate"; and the total number of literate persons above 5 years and its percentage to the total population may be calculated both for Adam's figures and for those of 1911 and 1921 census reports.

	Adam's figures.	Census figures for India (excluding Burma).		
	1835-36.	1911.	1921.	1931.
1. Total population (in lakhs) ..	3.5	3,014	3,029	3,359
2. Total number of literates of ages above 5 (in lakhs) ..	0.24	159	190	235
3. Percentage of literates to the total population	6.7	5.3	6.3	7

The above statement shows that even if the percentage of all literates to the total population (the usual percentage of literacy) is taken, it was higher in the time when Adam collected his statistics, it being presumed that the Bengal area surveyed by Adam was a fair sample of India as a whole.

The statistics for the two thanas in the two districts of Bihar surveyed by Adam are excluded from the above calculation of percentage of literacy, as owing to the character of the places selected by Adam one cannot be certain about the accuracy of the data supplied. It will however, be seen that the conclusion is not materially affected even if we were to compare the statistics of literacy of the whole area surveyed by Adam. . . .

	Adam's figures.	Census figures for India (excluding Burma).		
	1835-38.	1911.	1921.	1931.
1. Total population (in lakhs) ..	4.97	3,014	3,029	3,359
2. Literate Adults (in lakhs) ..	0.22	135	158	205
3. Percentages of 2 to 1 ..	4.4	4.4	5.2	6.0
4. Total literates of age above 5 (in lakhs)	0.29	159	190	235
5. Percentage of 4 to 1 ..	5.8	5.3	6.3	7

The above figures reveal that even on mere strength of available statistics India was distinctly better off in point of literacy in Adam's days than in 1911 and almost on a par in 1921. . . .

It has been so far shown that, even from the figures supplied by Adam, one can see that the literacy percentage in India in 1840 was slightly higher than that in 1911 and almost equal to that in 1921. It is further shown that the figures supplied by Adam were, in all probability, incomplete and therefore underestimates. Again, in Adam's time a much larger number than that of those attending schools, received instruction at home and it was impossible for Adam to obtain a correct estimate of that number. Lastly, it has been pointed out that even in Adam's time indigenous education, deprived as it was of any Government support, was already declining. If all these factors be properly appreciated it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that India has not attained even now the literacy which existed in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.¹

As we look at the problem, the final conclusion is not significantly affected by the inclusion or otherwise of the sixth category of the *instructed adults* of Adam. If they are included, the statement of Mahatma Gandhi would be correct in *letter* as well as in *spirit*. But if they are not included, a very slight increase is seen (from about 4.25 per cent in 1835-38 to about 6.0 per cent in 1931). The statement of Mahatma Gandhi would, therefore, be wrong in *letter*. But it would still be correct in *spirit* because to say

¹ R. V. Parulekar : op. cit., pp. 7-10 and 23-24.

that the percentage of literacy increased only by about 1.75 per cent in about 100 years is as bad a condemnation as to say that it has not increased at all or even decreased by a very small percentage.

The second part of the statement made by Mahatma Gandhi refers to the official attitude to indigenous schools. Sir Philip admits that, "until the action taken by Munro, Elphinstone, and Bentinck in the three presidencies, the British Government had neglected elementary education to its detriment in India. But I have found no evidence that it tried to destroy or uproot what existed".¹ How the attempts of Munro or Elphinstone to help the indigenous schools came to nought has already been described in Chapter III; and Bentinck did hardly anything for the indigenous schools except to sanction the enquiry of Adam whose report, however, was turned down by Auckland. It has also been shown very clearly in Chapter VII how the indigenous schools were continuously and deliberately neglected in the Victorian Era leading finally to their elimination by the end of the nineteenth century. Indians do not generally charge the British officials with *deliberate destruction* of indigenous schools. But, in spite of the statement of Sir Philip, it is interesting to know that evidence of Englishmen themselves is available to show, not only neglect, but even planned destruction of indigenous schools. As Shri M. R. Paranjpe observes :—

One would, again, not charge the British officials with deliberate destruction of indigenous schools. They neglected the indigenous schools probably in the belief that they were incapable of any improvement. Even those who regret their disappearance, would not vote for their revival in their old form. But this neglect has been generally regarded as a grievous error. The policy of setting up of State or State-aided schools as opposed to indigenous schools and throwing open to the pupils of the former schools all the material advantages which the State could afford to bestow, resulted in the speedy destruction of purely indigenous schools and domestic instruction centres. That led to the reduction of the numbers of scholars who used to receive rudimentary instruction under the indigenous system.

F. W. Thomas, in his *History and Prospect of British Education in India* (1891), however, appears to think that the British officials deliberately destroyed the indigenous schools and were glad that they were so destroyed.

'We estimated that in 1820 when the English system was but a drop in the ocean, about one in ten Hindu boys of the school-age was receiving instruction in schools of native origin and management. If that proportion were still maintained there would, in 1881-82, have been, out of 254 million people of India (on Thomas Munroe's rough calculation), 1,400,000 boys receiving the same training. The State inquiry conducted in that year revealed as the actual number

¹ Sir Philip Hartog : *op. cit.*, p. 74.

350,000 or just one-fourth of what we should have anticipated. And though we cannot regard this total as complete, it is evident how largely native education has suffered from the State competition and that what was originally by far the more extensive system had now taken the second place.

But what had become of the missing schools? They had disappeared in two different ways, by absorption and by extinction. In the north-west, Mr. Thomason's Tahsil and Halakhandi schools were not intended to rival the indigenous classes. But *it was not long before the work of destruction began and the Director had frequent occasion for jubilation over the closing of now 600 and now 700 of these in the course of a year.*¹

In spite of the best wishes of the British Government to promote mass education in India, the actual procedure followed by the administrators was, undoubtedly, detrimental to its growth and expansion. F. W. Thomas referring to the numerous temple schools in Burma that existed and still exist in the Province, writes: 'These schools continue to this day to prosper and in 1875, the Government officer observed that *the best educated districts of Burma were those which had been for the shortest time connected with the English.*'²

(c) *Causes of Inadequate Quantitative Expansion*: The educational position in 1921-22, therefore, was, in a way, paradoxical. On the one hand, there had been a considerable expansion of the State system of education. The increase in expenditure from Government funds—from about Rs. 1 lakh in 1821 to Rs. 902 lakhs in 1921—deserves particular notice. On the other hand, the rise in the percentage of population enrolled in schools was not proportionate to the increase in expenditure; nor was the rise in the percentage of literacy proportionate to the rise in the pupils under instruction. As may be easily anticipated, this was the paradox which educationists were called upon to explain.

One school of thinkers tried to explain the situation by pointing out the *intrinsic difficulties of the problem* and *the waste and ineffectiveness* involved in the educational system. According to this school, the slow advance of mass education was due to:—

- (i) Large increase in population;
- (ii) High birth-rate which added millions to the number of those to be educated;
- (iii) High death-rate which created wide gaps in the ranks of literates turned out by the schools;

¹ R. V. Parulekar: op. cit., pp. 39-40. We may also state here that Leitner, in his *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab since Annexation* and in 1882, observed that the indigenous

- (iv) Wastage due to stagnation, deaths, premature withdrawals from schools, etc., so that only a very small minority of the children enrolled in schools *attained* literacy ;
- (v) Lapse into illiteracy on the part of those who had once been made literate, owing to lack of suitable environment for the maintenance of literacy ;
- (vi) Intrinsic difficulties of the problem such as scattered population centres, poverty, apathy of the people, multiplicity of castes, creeds, languages, etc.

The other school of thinkers did not minimise either the extent of the intrinsic difficulties or the value of the work already achieved ; but it was of opinion that the slow progress of mass education was due, not so much to the difficulties and defects enumerated above, as to the following causes :—

- (i) Almost complete disappearance of indigenous systems of education ;
- (ii) Lack of adequate funds ;
- (iii) Emphasis on the development of collegiate and secondary education which necessarily involved, on financial grounds, a neglect of primary education ;
- (iv) Emphasis on departmental institutions (which were necessarily costlier) rather than on private institutions which would have enabled Government to achieve expansion at a lesser cost ;
- (v) Emphasis on quality rather than on quantity particularly in the sphere of primary education ;
- (vi) Neglect of modern Indian languages ;
- (vii) Adoption of English as the medium of instruction ;
- (viii) Absence of compulsory primary education.

Obviously, the differences between these two schools of thought are of fundamental importance to the problem and hence it was quite natural that the suggestions for reform put forward by one school should be quite different from those of the other. As will be seen later in Chapter XI, the history of primary education in the next period centred mainly round the conflict between these two points of view.

(d) *Qualitative Achievements of the State System of Education* : The main achievements of the new system of education, therefore, were *qualitative* rather than quantitative. It substituted a newer and a comparatively more efficient system of education for the indigenous institutions, both elementary and higher. The difference is not marked at the elementary stage, even though in some respects the modern primary schools do show positive improvements. For instance, their curriculum is broader and more liberal; the methods of teaching are better and more modernised; the use of printed books is a definite asset; the teachers are, on the whole, abler than those of the indigenous schools. On the other hand, it is complained that the modern primary school has lost the elasticity of the indigenous system, and that it is not as finely adjusted to the needs and requirements of the rural population as the indigenous system was. There can be no doubt, however, that there is a world of difference between the modern secondary schools, colleges, and universities on the one hand and the *tols*, the *pathshalas*, and the *madressahs* on the other. The indigenous system of higher education was a relic of the middle ages. It was dominated by religion, confined to a small minority of the total population, and absolutely divorced from the modern developments in science. The rejection of this system followed by the establishment of another which aimed at a spread of Western knowledge and science was, therefore, a great achievement. It is true that in the early years of the new system, the pendulum was swung too far to the other side. There was a good deal of undeserved contempt and condemnation heaped upon Oriental learning; there was also an equally undeserved glorification of western culture and civilization. But these excesses were soon corrected when the national sentiment began to develop and when Indian universities began to cultivate rational and scientific studies of the Oriental classical languages. On the whole, the new system of education gave a great stimulus to the national mind of India, cut loose several of the bonds which hampered the progress of society, and led to a great renaissance in all walks of national life.

It has to be remembered, however, that even these great qualitative achievements had their own limitations. For instance, the education given was too literary; it prepared the

teaching professions ; vocational education was not developed ; and the whole course was dominated by a rigid system of examinations and hampered by the use of English as a medium of instruction.

(e) *Educational Position in 1921-22*: We have seen that in 1921-22, only one child out of every five had been enrolled in schools, and that what education was given to this small minority of children was not free from defects. A very interesting analogue to the educational conditions in India at this time will be found in the following passage from the writings of Dr. Hengchih Tao, a Chinese educationist, who gives the following picturesque account of the educational conditions in China in the third decade of the present century :—

The Scholar Ghost.—A wrong conception of education, with centuries' tradition behind it, is in our way. Education in the old sense has been identified with book-reading. A scholar is called a 'dushurhen' which means one who reads books. When you ask a professor what his profession is, in a very usual manner he would answer, 'I am teaching books in Peking University'. In the same way a student would answer, 'Wo zai Beida dushu,' meaning that he is reading books in Peking University. While we value books as an important means of enlightening ourselves in past and contemporary civilization, we doubt whether reading books alone can lead us to freedom and doubt whether one has done justice to books by merely reading them. In more progressive circles such scholars are nicknamed as 'bookworms'. My friend, Dr. P. C. Chang, calls them 'scholar ghosts'. Here is a little poem of mine which gives a picture of such scholars :

What is a scholar ghost ?

He lives along the Pacific Coast.

He has bookish knowledge to boast.

He has his eyes on the official post.

He likes delicious food,

And makes the half-starved farmers to be his hosts.

When jobless, he teaches children,

And makes all of them little scholar ghosts.

Hands and Brains Unite.—Traditional education in China seems to have created two types of strange human beings. In the schools the students are fed with knowledge to swell their heads and are provided with little opportunity for the use of their hands. Servants are doing many things for them that should be done by themselves. The making of a mud pie and the opening of a watch for examination are punished alike. From the development of the human race we know it was our hands that helped to make the brain. As our hands were set free by the erected position we began to work, and as we were working we made noises that were gradually selected to serve as our spoken languages. The written languages and tools are all the creation of our hands. The discouragement of the use of hands in the older schools has really defeated their own purposes of developing the brain. With this abnormal training the students

have acquired a store of undigested and unrelated knowledge without being able to identify them with realities. They seem to have a big head which cannot think accurately in terms of the objective world. Therefore those who have had the opportunity of schooling come out with a big head and a pair of small hands, in figurative speech, look somewhat like a kangaroo, having only the strength to pick up a pen and write a few lines. On the other hand the great masses of our people, doing the great bulk of work for the nation, are left without school education. While they are paying taxes for schools to run, they and their children have been deprived of every leisure for cultural growth. They have been forced to exist with the appearance of a small head and a pair of big hands. The Life Education Movement aims at the restoration of both of these strange human beings to normal life. We want to awaken the scholars to pull out their hands to work and awaken the great masses of people to blow something into their heads in order to think. The bringing into contact of the scholars with the peasants has achieved almost miracles. Both the scholars and the peasants have rediscovered something they had forgotten. The scholars, seeing the splendid productive work done by the peasants, cannot but cry out, 'Don't we have hands too? Why don't we work?' In a similar way the peasants have rediscovered their brain: 'We have head, sure, we have head, let us think!' Indeed real education must help to produce persons who can think and build. What we need is an education for brain-directed hands and hand-motorised brain. This new conception of education is pictured by a poem, entitled 'Brain and Hand Unite':

Two treasures with us lifelong remain ;
 A pair of free hands and a great brain.
 He who does not use his hand.
 Belongs to the dethroned king's band.
 He who does not use his brain
 Has to endure hunger and pain.
 He who uses both his brain and hand
 Can create a new world on exploited land.¹

The description of Chinese education given in this passage can be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the educational conditions in India. Dr. Tao points out that the People's Education Movement in China aimed at two objectives—the extension of liberal education among the working people and the development of practical training among the educated classes whose education, until recently, had been mostly literary. It may be pointed out here that it is on the same principles that the expansion and reconstruction of the educational system of India is being attempted.

25. Transfer of Education to Indian Control. It was at this juncture that the reforms outlined in the Government of India Act, 1919, were introduced and the Department of Education (subject to certain reservations) was transferred to the control of Indian Ministers.

The controversy that arose at this time over the transfer of the Education Department to Indians is of some interest. The joint report of Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State, and Lord Chelmsford, the then Governor-General, formed the basis on which the reforms of 1919 were worked out. This report stated that the "guiding principle should be to include in the transferred list those departments which afford most opportunity for local knowledge and social service, those in which Indians have shown themselves to be keenly interested, those in which mistakes which may occur though serious would not be irremediable, and those which stand most in need of development".¹ In pursuance of this principle, it was but natural to expect that education would be classed as a transferred subject. But it is interesting to note that there was considerable opposition to the transfer of the *entire* control of education to Indians and that several difficulties were put forward. The Anglo-Indians and Europeans feared unnecessarily that their interests would not be safe in the hands of Indian ministers and claimed that the subject of *Anglo-Indian and European Education* should be treated as *Central or reserved*. The opinions of the Provincial Governments were greatly divided. The Bengal Government desired to reserve collegiate and European education; the United Provinces Government recommended the transfer of the whole subject of education, even though the official committee which advised that Government were divided in their opinion; the Punjab Government reserved its opinion regarding the transfer of higher education; the Government of Bihar and Orissa strongly opposed the transfer of secondary, technical and collegiate education; the Chief Commissioner of Assam opposed the transfer of collegiate education; the Madras Government opposed the transfer of the education department as a whole, and the Government of India gave the following view :—

We consider that there is a compelling case for the transfer of primary education. It is that part of the field which will give the fullest and freest play to responsibility at once; it will be most responsive to patriotic effort; and it will be the nursery for the broad and enlightened electorate on which the future depends. The labour of bringing primary education up to a reasonable standard, the need for almost unlimited development, the difficulties of gradually making it free and then compulsory—these and its many other problems constitute a task which will be enough, and more than enough, to occupy all the energy and ingenuity of ministers for years to come. . . . We may say at once that in

¹ *Montagu-Chelmsford Report*, para. 238.

our minds there is an equally compelling case for retaining secondary and university education in the hands of the official and more experienced half of the Provincial Governments. India stands today in a critical position; and her immediate future, apart from her slower political growth, depends upon the solution of social, economic and industrial problems to which a good system of secondary education is the chief key. If we handed it over at this juncture to untried hands we should be guilty of grave dereliction of duty.¹

Luckily for this country, however, better counsels prevailed, and the whole of the education department was transferred to Indian ministers subject to the following reservations:—

1. The Benares Hindu University and such other new universities as may be declared to be all-India by the Governor-General-in-Council were excluded on the ground that these institutions were of an all-India character and had better be dealt with by the Government of India itself;

2. Colleges for Indian chiefs and educational institutions maintained by the Governor-General-in-Council for the benefit of members of His Majesty's Forces or other public servants, or their children were also excluded on the ground that these institutions ought to be under the direct control of the Government of India; and

3. The education of Anglo-Indians and Europeans was treated as a provincial but a *reserved* subject.

The authority to legislate on the following subjects was reserved for the central legislature, mainly with a view to enabling the Government of India to take suitable action on the report of the Calcutta University Commission:—

- (a) Questions regarding the establishment, constitution and functions of new universities;
- (b) Questions affecting the jurisdiction of any university outside its province; and
- (c) Questions regarding the Calcutta University and the reorganization of secondary education in Bengal (for a period of five years only after the introduction of the Reforms).

As will be easily seen, these orders created a queer position by treating education as "partly all-India, partly reserved, partly transferred with limitations, and partly transferred without limitations."² They show clearly the difficulty with which a workable compromise was finally arrived at between the various conflicting opinions which have been mentioned above.

With this transfer of education to Indian control, the fifth period in the history of modern education in India begins and its main events will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

EDUCATION UNDER DIARCHY (1921-1937)

The Constitution introduced by the Government of India Act, 1919, is known as *Diarchy* or the rule of the two. Under this system, the sphere of the activities of a Provincial Government was divided into two parts—the *reserved* departments and the *transferred* departments. The Governor, who was the head of the Provincial Government was to administer the reserved departments with the help of some executive councillors and was to be responsible to the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs (through the Government of India) for the proper management of those departments; on the other hand, he was expected to administer the transferred departments with the help of ministers who were responsible, not to the Secretary of State, but to a Provincial Legislature which consisted of a large elected majority. It was on account of this division of the provincial executive into two parts that the system got its name of Diarchy, and it was under this unusual form of a political constitution that Indians first obtained the control of the Education Department. It is beyond the scope of this book to enter into an examination of the merits and demerits of this constitutional machinery. But the following narrative of some of its features will throw light on the difficulties under which the Indian ministers had to work.

2. Financial Arrangements. The most important handicap of Indian ministers was financial and hence the financial arrangements that were introduced by the Government of India Act of 1919 deserve a careful study. Prior to this date, all the revenues of India were divided into three parts—Central, Provincial and Divided. Certain sources of revenue such as Customs, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, were regarded as Central, that is to say, belonging exclusively to the Government of India; certain other sources of revenue such as Forests were treated as exclusively Provincial; and some sources of revenue were treated as *divided*, and their total yield was shared in a fixed ratio by the Government of India and the Provincial Government concerned. The Reforms of 1919 proposed to make a clear cut division of

revenues between the Central and Provincial Governments by the abolition of *divided sources*—the most important of which were Land Revenue, Income-tax, Excise, Stamps and Irrigation. For reasons which it is beyond the scope of this book to consider, it was decided to treat all these sources, except income-tax, as Provincial revenue. This led to a serious loss to the Central Government and hence it was proposed that the Provincial Governments should make some yearly contributions to the Central Government until the latter had time to adjust its own budget. The contributions to be thus paid by the Provincial Governments were made a first charge on their revenues and the balance was to be utilised for the Provincial departments—both reserved and transferred.

Keen controversies arose as to how this allocation within the Province was to be made. One view was that the Executive Councillors who were in charge of the reserved departments and the Ministers who were in charge of the transferred departments should sit together under the chairmanship of the Governor and decide upon the allocation of revenues among all the departments of the Province according to the needs of each. This system came to be known as the *joint-purse* system. The opponents of this view advocated a different plan according to which a clear-cut division of the Provincial revenue was to be made between the two halves of Government and each half was to propose its own methods of additional taxation if the existing resources proved to be insufficient. This scheme came to be known as the *separate-purse* system. Ultimately, the former view prevailed and the system of joint-purse was adopted. In this respect the following quotation from the Report of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament will be found interesting :—

They are confident that the problem can readily be solved by the simple process of common sense and reasonable give and take, but they are aware that this question might, in certain circumstances, become the cause of much friction in the provincial Government, and they are of opinion that the rules governing the allocation of these revenues and balances should be framed so as to make the existence of such friction impossible. They advise that, if the Governor, in the course of preparing either his first or any subsequent budget, finds that there is likely to be a serious or protracted difference of opinion between the executive council and his ministers on this subject, he should be empowered at once to make an allocation of revenue and balances between the reserved and transferred subjects, which should continue for at least the whole life of the existing legislative council. The Committee do not endorse the suggestion that certain sources of revenue should be allocated to reserved, and certain sources to transferred

subjects, but they recommend that the Governor should allocate a definite proportion of the revenue, say, by way of illustration, two-thirds to reserved and one-third to transferred subjects and similarly a proportion, though not necessarily the same fraction, of the balances. If the Governor desires assistance in making the allocation, he should be allowed at his discretion to defer the question to be decided to such authority as the Governor-General can appoint. Further, the Committee are of opinion that it should be laid down from the first that until an agreement which both sides of the Government will equally support has been reached, or until the allocation has been made by the Governor, the total provisions of the different expenditure heads in the budget of the province for the preceding financial year shall hold good.

The Committee desire that the relations of the two sides of the Government in this matter, as in all others, should be of such mutual sympathy that each will be able to assist and influence for the common good the work of the other, but not to exercise control over it. The budget should not be capable of being used as a means for enabling ministers or a majority of the legislative council to direct the policy of reserved subjects; but on the other hand the executive council should be helpful to ministers in their desire to develop the departments entrusted to their care. On the Governor personally will devolve the task of political balance between the legitimate needs of both sets of his advisers.¹

As later events showed, this system of financial arrangements did not help the cause of the transferred departments in general and of education in particular. The finances of the Provincial Governments were largely crippled by the contributions payable to the Government of India; in industrial provinces like Bombay where the revenue from income-tax was a lucrative, elastic, and ever-improving source of income, the centralization of the income-tax hit the provincial finances very hard; the portfolio of finance was a reserved subject and was held by an executive councillor. For these and other reasons, the Indian ministers were not able to obtain the funds essential for a large-scale expansion and reorganization of education.

3. Control over Services. Another peculiar feature of the diarchical form of administration was the very limited control which the Indian ministers could exercise over the educational services of the country. In 1921, most of the key posts in the Education Department were held by members of the Indian Educational Service and they continued to be so held for most of the period under review. The question of the future rights and privileges of the members of this service was one of the important issues raised at the time of the transfer of education to Indian control and formed the subject of a heated controversy.

On the side of the services, the main issues put forward referred to the safeguarding of the then existing rights and privileges of the members of the All-India Services in the transferred field. Here the following claims were made :—

(a) It is tantamount to a breach of trust or contract to alter radically, during the term of office of a public servant, the conditions of service under which he was recruited.

(b) The present members of the All-India Services were recruited and controlled by the Secretary of State for India. Their relations with the Secretary of State should, therefore, continue unchanged and the Ministers should not be given any control over them.

(c) The Ministers were likely to abolish superior posts in their Departments or transfer them to the Provincial service. It was argued, for instance, that an Education Minister may transfer the post of the Director of Public Instruction to the Provincial cadre and fill it with a new recruit. In order to avoid such eventualities and to safeguard the position and prospects of the existing incumbents, it was suggested that no posts formerly open to the I.E.S. should be filled by an officer of the Provincial service so long as an officer of the I.E.S. was eligible.

(d) It was argued that the continuance of the All-India Services like the I.E.S. was necessary in the interests of efficiency ; and that a large recruitment of Europeans also would be essential to help India along her “ difficult journey to self-government ”.

On the other hand, a strong section advocated the total abolition of the All-India services (at least in the transferred field) or their complete transfer to Indian Ministers. As Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar wrote :—

There was a feeling of considerable uneasiness in the minds of the members of the All-India Services shortly after the introduction of the Reforms. This feeling was partly ascribed to an impression that the reformed legislative councils were actuated by a spirit of hostility to these services and would be inclined to reduce or abolish the posts practically reserved for them hitherto and transfer the posts to the cadre of the provincial services. That the contentment of the members of these services is necessary to their efficiency is recognized by Indian politicians. They have no objection to any safeguards being provided for the protection of their just claims. What the Indian public is keen about is the transfer of the power of recruitment and ultimate control from the hands of the Secretary of State to the Government of India. Such feeling of hostility as there may be to the All-India Services is due to the following causes. It is believed that

otherwise for opposing the development of self-government and for the retention of the control of their services in the hands of the Secretary of State. It is supposed that where they are employed under a provincial administration, they will not be fully or sufficiently amenable to the control of the provincial governments. Moreover, the fear is entertained that so long as the All-India Services are recruited by the Secretary of State, he may avail himself of the power to import English recruits to a larger extent, or for a much longer period, than may be necessary. There is also the feeling on the part of many that the services are costly and may be replaced without loss of efficiency by Indian personnel on a provincial basis. . . . The most weighty of these reasons is the one which is based upon the apprehension that the interests of the services are irreconcilable with the emancipation of the Government of India from the control of the Secretary of State. If means could be found for allaying this apprehension, the claims of the All-India Services would meet with more friendliness from the Indian public.¹

Ultimately the decisions taken were based on the recommendations of the *Royal Commission on Superior Civil Services in India* (1923-4), popularly known as the Lee Commission, and may be summed up as follows :—

(a) The Lee Commission accepted the principle that the authority which is responsible for the administration of a particular subject should have the power of organizing the services employed in the administration of that subject in such manner as it thinks best, and that the recruitment and ultimate control of that service should be vested in the hands of that authority. It, therefore, recommended that “for the purposes of local Governments, no further recruitment should be made to the All-India Services which operate in transferred fields. The personnel required for these branches of administration should in future be recruited by local Governments.”² Government accepted this recommendation and the recruitment to the I.E.S. was discontinued in 1924.

(b) The existing rights and privileges of the I.E.S. were guaranteed. These included the following: (i) No post reserved in the past for the I.E.S. was to be filled by a Provincial officer so long as any number of the I.E.S. was eligible to hold it; (ii) No I.E.S. officer could be dismissed from his service by any authority other than the Secretary of State in Council. (iii) An I.E.S. officer had a right of appeal to that body, if he was adversely dealt with in important disciplinary matters; (iv) No order affecting his emoluments adversely, and no order of censure on him

¹ P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer : *Indian Constitutional Problems*, pp. 69-70.

² *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1922-7*, Vol. I, p. 20.

could be passed without the personal concurrence of the Governor ; (v) His salary and pension, and sums payable to his dependents, were not subject to the vote of any Indian legislature ; (vi) and provision was also made to permit those members of the All-India Services who so desired, to retire before they had completed the service ordinarily required for retiring on pension, and in such cases, they received a favourable consideration in the matter of their pension.

(c) Certain additional concessions were also granted to the European members of the I.E.S. to compensate them partly for the rise in the cost of living and partly for the changed conditions under which they had to work. These included the following :— (i) These officers could remit to England a certain part of their pay at the rate of 2s. to the rupee, though the exchange rate was 1s. 6d. or even 1s. 4d. per rupee ; (ii) Provision of free passage for officers and their families when going on leave was made. The standard benefit for a normal term of service was four return passages for the officer and his wife and one single adult passage for each child ; (iii) A substantial increase in pension of all the Services except the I.C.S. was granted ; (iv) and more concessions were given with regard to overseas allowances, rent, Family Pension Fund, premature retirement on proportionate pension, and free medical attendance.

(d) The Lec Commission also considered the question of recruitment of Europeans and observed that “ it will rest entirely with the local Governments to determine the number of Europeans who may in future be recruited. In this matter, the discretion of local Governments must be unfettered but we express the hope that Ministers on one hand will still seek to obtain the co-operation of Europeans in these technical departments and that qualified Europeans on the other hand may be no less willing to take services under local Governments than they were in the past to take services under the Secretary of State.”¹ This recommendation also was accepted by Government, and some Europeans were appointed on a contract basis. But the experience was not satisfactory and the experiment was soon given up.

The position of the I.E.S. under the Reforms was thus anomalous and led to a good deal of ill-feeling on both sides. It is rather difficult to describe how this system actually came to

work in practice as the available evidence is conflicting. On the one hand, it has been alleged that the Indian Educational Service officers did not sympathise with the ideas of reconstruction that were being put forward by non-official Indian opinion; that it was difficult to carry out a policy with which the chief executive officers were not in sympathy; and that the privileges granted to the I.E.S. even amounted to a curtailment of the responsibility of the Indian ministers to their legislatures. On the other hand, the officials complained of frequent variations in policy and of interference with the day-to-day executive work of the administration. It is not possible to make any generalised statements on the subject, as the position must have varied from province to province and must have greatly depended upon the *personal equation* between the parties concerned. But on the whole, it may be inferred that the experiment did not succeed well and the necessity of harmony between the ministers and the executive came to be greatly felt. The problem, however, soon lost its interest because the European element in the I.E.S. was practically liquidated by 1936-37.

4. Absence of Central Interest and Assistance. The third feature of the diarchical form which created difficulties in the way of educational expansion and improvement was the sudden cessation of financial assistance from the Central Government. Reference has already been made to the large grants for education that the Central Government sanctioned between 1902 and 1918 and which led to so great an expansion or improvement in education. Such grants ought to have continued in this period also. But unfortunately, the financial arrangements under Diarchy made this impossible. As shown earlier in section 2, not only did the Central Government stop its grants to the Provinces, but the process was reversed and the Provinces were now required to make contributions to the Central Government. It is true, of course, that the contributions were discontinued in 1927-28. But that does not vitiate the statement that the advantage of central financial assistance was not available to education between 1921 and 1937.

Similarly, the keen interest that the Central Government showed in educational matters in the earlier period came suddenly to an end with the introduction of diarchy. Although education was regarded as a Provincial subject since 1919, the

of India had continued to hold itself responsible for all educational policies and, as shown before, taken a very keen interest in education all along, especially between 1902 and 1921. But all this was changed in 1921. According to the Government of India Act, 1919, Education was not only a Provincial, but a transferred subject and constitutionally, the Centre was not to exercise any control over transferred departments. This direction was so interpreted in practice that the Government of India ceased even to take an interest in educational matters and refused to perform even those of its functions (such as that of co-ordination of Provincial activities) where an element of *control* is *not* involved. It is true that the annual and quinquennial reviews of education still continued to be published; but hardly anything else was done. A Central Advisory Board of Education was organised in 1920 with a view to assisting Provincial Governments with expert advice; but, in spite of its useful work, it was abolished in 1923 as a measure of retrenchment. For the same reasons, the Department of Education in the Government of India ceased to have an independent existence and was amalgamated with other departments. It is this absence of Central grants and interest in education that the Hartog Committee¹ described as the unfortunate *divorce* of the Government of India from education. Its observations on this point, with which most educationists would agree, are given below :—

We are of opinion that the divorce of the Government of India from education has been unfortunate; and, holding as we do, that education is essentially a national service, we are of opinion that steps should be taken to consider anew the relation of the Central Government with this subject. We have suggested that the Government of India should serve as a centre of educational information for the whole of India and as a means of co-ordinating the educational experience of the different provinces. But we regard the duties of the Central Government as going beyond that. We cannot accept the view that it should be entirely relieved of all responsibility for the attainment of universal primary education. It may be that some of the provinces, in spite of all efforts, will be unable to provide the funds necessary for that purpose, and the Government of India should, therefore, be constitutionally enabled to make good such financial deficiencies, in the interests of India as a whole.²

As a result of this recommendation, the Central Advisory Board of Education was revived in 1935. The position thus improved somewhat towards the close of the period; but it has to be admitted that the Government of India took little interest

in educational matters in so far as the major part of this period is concerned, and that it gave no financial assistance whatsoever to the Provinces on account of their educational programmes.

5. Other Difficulties. The above discussion will show the main difficulties that were inherent in the constitutional arrangements under which Indians first obtained the control of the education departments. To these must be added certain difficulties created by outside circumstances. For instance, the Indian National Congress which had then grown to be the largest political party in India considered the reforms of 1919 to be unsatisfactory, boycotted the Legislative Councils, and organized the Non-co-operation Movement. Similarly, a Civil Disobedience Movement was organized in 1930-32. These two political movements dominated the national life of the country throughout the period under review; and the attention of the public was, therefore, concentrated more on political than on educational problems.

To these political difficulties must be added the financial difficulties created by the world economic depression that began about 1930. One would have thought that the financial difficulties created by a world economic depression should have had little or no effect on *education*. Its importance as a nation-building department and the fact that it had been starved of its due share of public revenues for a long time in the past ought to have shielded it from the axe of retrenchment. Unfortunately, the events showed that the axe fell heavily on nation-building departments and more particularly so on education. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1922-27*, observes :—

Central and Provincial budgets had to be framed with a view to economy and not only were schemes involving new expenditure postponed but in many cases even the normal expenditure on education was considerably reduced. Retrenchment committees were set up by the Government of India as well as by several provincial Governments. Some of these committees suggested drastic reductions in educational expenditure; some made startling recommendations regarding educational institutions and educational policy generally. But fortunately only a few of the most destructive suggestions were accepted or put into operation.¹

The following statistics of the total educational expenditure

first few years, then declined owing to financial stringency, and again rose towards the end of the period under review :—

<i>Year</i>	<i>Expenditure from Govt. Funds (in lakhs of Rs.)</i>					
1921-22	..	..	..	..	..	9,02
1926-27	..	..	..	..	..	11,93
1930-31	..	..	..	..	..	13,61
1931-32	..	..	..	..	..	12,46
1932-33	..	..	..	..	..	11,35
1933-34	..	..	..	..	..	11,47
1934-35	..	..	..	..	..	11,59
1935-36	..	..	..	..	..	11,84
1936-37	..	..	..	..	..	12,36

(Figures include those of Burma)

It will, however, be seen that in spite of the steady increase that took place in Government expenditure on education in later years, the total amount spent in 1936-37 was still substantially below the expenditure incurred in 1930-31.

6. Main Achievements of the Period. With this background in view, let us now turn to the main achievements of this period.

The following statistics compare the educational results of 1936-37 with those of 1921-22 :—

Type of Institution.	No. of Institutions.		No. of Scholars.	
	1921-22.	1936-37.	1921-22.	1936-37.
1. Universities	10	15	Figures not available	9,697
2. Arts Colleges	165	271	45,418	86,273
3. Professional Colleges ..	64	75	13,662	20,645
4. Secondary Schools ..	7,530	13,056	11,06,803	22,87,872
5. Primary Schools ..	1,55,017	1,92,244	61,09,752	1,02,24,288
6. Special Schools ..	3,344	5,647	1,20,925	2,59,269
Total for Recognised Institutions ..	1,66,130	2,11,308	73,96,560	1,28,88,044
7. Unrecognised Institutions ..	16,322	16,647	4,22,165	5,01,530
Grand Total ..	1,82,452	2,27,955	78,18,725	1,33,89,574

N.B.—The figures are for British India only, exclusive of Burma.

The results, it will be seen, are surprisingly good, and even a little unexpected in view of the several difficulties mentioned above. To what causes are these results to be ascribed? How are we to explain the paradoxical phenomenon that there was an all-round and unprecedented increase in the number of schools and of scholars under instruction in spite of the fact that the expansion of Government efforts was substantially curtailed on account of financial stringency?

The explanation of this paradox is to be found in the great political and social awakening that took place in India during this period. The following two quotations from two documents of this period will give an insight into the causes that led to this remarkable expansion of education :—

A burst of enthusiasm swept children into school with unparalleled rapidity ; an almost childlike faith in the value of education was implanted in the minds of people ; parents were prepared to make almost any sacrifice for the education of their children ; the seed of tolerance towards the less fortunate in life was begotten ; ambitious and comprehensive programmes of development were formulated, which were calculated to fulfil the dreams of a literate India ; the Muslim community, long backward in education, pressed forward with eagerness to obliterate past deficiencies ; enlightened women began to storm the citadel of old-time prejudice against the education of Indian girls ; Government, with the full concurrence of Legislative Councils, poured out large sums of money on education, which would have been regarded as beyond the realm of practical politics ten years previously.¹

Education has come to be regarded generally as a matter of primary national importance, an indispensable agency in the difficult task of ' nation building '. The attention given to it by legislative councils is both a symptom and evidence of this recognition. The transfer of the Department of Education to popular control, as represented by a Minister, has both increased the public interest in it and made it more sensitive to the currents of public needs and public opinion. Nor is it only the authorities and the well-to-do classes that have welcomed and encouraged the spread of education. Communities which had for long been educationally backward, like the Muhammadan community, have awakened to the need and possibilities of education for their children. The movement has spread to the depressed classes and even to the tribal aborigines, and has stirred a much larger proportion of the people than before to demand education as a right.²

These passages, on the whole, show the causes that led to the remarkable expansion during the period under review. One cannot, however, agree with the author of the *Quinquennial Review* in his observation that " Government poured out large sums of money on education which would have been regarded as beyond

¹ *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1927-32, Vol. I, p. 3.*

² *Report of the Hartog Committee, p. 81.*

the realm of practical politics ten years previously". A study of the relevant statistics of expenditure will show that in actual fact, Government *had* poured out much more money in the earlier period :—

Source.	1901-02.	1916-17.	1921-22.	1931-32.	1936-37.
		(In lakhs of Rupees)			
Government	103	392	902	1,246	1,236
Non-Government :					
(a) District Boards ..	59	174	168	280	257
(b) Municipalities ..	15	49	79	158	178
(c) Fees	127	319	380	623	711
(d) Other Sources ..	97	195	308	412	424
Total ..	401	1,129	1,837	2,719	2,806

(The figures are for British India only, inclusive of Burma.)

It will be seen that the increase in Government expenditure was 510 lakhs in the quinquennium 1916-17 to 1921-22—much more than that in the decade 1921-22 to 1931-32 to which the review refers. It will also be seen that Government expenditure increased from Rs. 103 lakhs in 1901-02 to Rs. 902 lakhs in 1921-22, *i.e.*, an increase of nearly Rs. 800 lakhs ; while it increased by Rs. 334 lakhs only during the quinquennium 1926-27 to 1931-32. On the other hand, the figures for non-Government sources show that during the period 1901-02 to 1921-22, the expenditure rose by 637 lakhs, while the increase in the period 1921-22 to 1936-37 was equally good—*viz.*, Rs. 635 lakhs. In other words, the increase in the expenditure from non-Government sources continued almost unchanged while there was a fall from Rs. 799 lakhs to Rs. 334 lakhs in the increase of expenditure from Government funds. It is obvious from the above that during the period 1921-22 to 1936-37, the Local Boards and the people—who formed the bulk of the non-Government sources—contributed more than 60 per cent of the increase in total expenditure that took place.

In comparing the figures of expenditure for the two periods, one has to remember that the earlier period of 1901-02 to 1921-22 was a boom period in world economics, while the latter period was one of universal economic depression. It is not, therefore,

surprising that the earlier period saw Government making substantial contribution to expenditure on education and that during the latter, that contribution dropped materially. What is surprising and remarkable is the fact that the *people* were willing to make great sacrifices in the cause of education even during these lean years. These sacrifices of the people were really laudable ; they showed that the public enthusiasm for education was genuine and earnest ; they also made up, to a certain extent, the deficiencies of Government contributions ; and it is to them that we must ascribe the great all-round expansion of education that we find in these years.

7. The Hartog Committee Report and its Reactions. The rapid expansion of education that took place during this period of fifteen years threw into sharp relief some of its existing defects and also created new problems of its own. Consequently the dissatisfaction against the educational system, to which we have referred while dealing with the early decades of this century, increased considerably both in official and non-official circles. For instance, official opinion held that the sudden rise in quantity had led to a great dilution of quality and that the educational system of India was largely ineffective and wasteful. This view was pointedly expressed in the report of the "Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission" (popularly known as the Hartog Committee,¹ after its Chairman, Sir Philip Hartog). This report is one of the most important documents of this period and deserves a careful perusal. The main findings and recommendations of the Committee will be discussed a little later in the appropriate context. For the present, we quote below the following summary of its report :—

Our Review of the growth of education reveals many points of fundamental interest for the political future of India. The largely increased enrolment in primary schools indicates that the old time apathy of the masses is breaking down. There has been a social and political awakening of the women of India and an expressed demand on their behalf for education and social reform. There has been rapid progress in the numbers of Muhammadans receiving instruction. Efforts have been made to improve the condition of the depressed classes and

¹ According to the Government of India Act of 1919, a Royal Commission on constitutional reforms was to be appointed in 1929. But owing to the continued agitation in India that the Reforms of 1919 were unsatisfactory, a Royal Commission, presided over by Sir John Simon, was appointed a little earlier in 1927. Under Section 84-A(3) of the Government of India Act of 1919, this Commission was asked to report on the growth of education in British India and was also authorised to appoint, if necessary, an auxiliary committee for the purpose. Accordingly, the Commission appointed this Committee presided over by Sir Philip Hartog, who had served for several years in India as a member

those classes are beginning to respond to that effort and to assert their right to education. On all sides there has been a desire on the part of leaders of public opinion to understand and to grapple with the complex and difficult problems of education ; and large additional expenditure has been proposed by Education Ministers, and willingly voted by the legislative councils. That is one side of the picture, but there is another.

Throughout the whole educational system there is waste and ineffectiveness. In the primary system, which from our point of view should be designed to produce literacy and the capacity to exercise an intelligent vote, the waste is appalling. So far as we can judge, the vast increase in numbers in primary schools produces no commensurate increase in literacy, for only a small proportion of those who are at the primary stage reach Class IV, in which the attainment of literacy may be expected. In one province, despite a very large increase in the number of primary schools and pupils and in the expenditure, the number of pupils who reached Class IV was actually less by nearly 30,000 in 1927 than it was ten years previously. It is to be remembered that under present conditions of rural life, and with the lack of suitable vernacular literature, a child has very little chance of attaining literacy after leaving school ; and, indeed, even for the literate, there are many chances of relapse into illiteracy.

The wastage in the case of girls is even more serious than in the case of boys. The disparity in education and literacy between women and men so far from decreasing by the effort made is actually increasing. The disparity between the wealthier parts of the country and the poorer parts also tends to increase.

In the sphere of secondary education there has been an advance in some respects, notably the average capacity of the body of teachers, in their improved conditions of service and training, and in the attempt to widen the general activities of school life. But here again there are grave defects of organization. The whole system of secondary education is still dominated by the ideal that every boy who enters a secondary school should prepare himself for the university ; and the immense numbers of failures at the Matriculation and in the university examinations indicate a great waste of effort. Such attempts as have been made to provide vocational and industrial training have little contact with the educational system and are, therefore, largely infructuous. Many of the universities and colleges show marked improvement in their methods of teaching and in the amount of original work which they have produced ; and in some of them there is undoubtedly a better training for corporate life than formerly. But the theory that a university exists mainly, if not solely, to pass students through examinations still finds too large acceptance in India ; and we wish that there were more signs that the universities regarded the training of broad-minded, tolerant and self-reliant citizens as one of their primary functions. They have been hampered in their work by being overcrowded with students who are not fitted by capacity for university education and of whom many would be far more likely to succeed in other careers.

We have no doubt that more and more money will be gladly voted for education by the legislatures of India but, as we have shown, the improvement and expansion of education do not depend merely on money. Money is no doubt essential, but even more essential is a well-directed policy carried out by effective and competent agencies, determined to eliminate waste of all kinds. We were asked to report on the organization of education. At almost every point that organization needs reconsideration and strengthening ; and the relations of the bodies responsible for the organization of education need readjustment.¹

¹ Report, pp. 345-46.

The main conclusion of the report obviously is that quantity has been gained at the cost of quality and that the immediate need of the hour is to improve quality rather than strive to increase the numbers still further. Among official circles, this finding obtained an immediate and hearty welcome. It really meant a victory for the official view of qualitative reform which had dominated the scene between 1902 and 1921, and which had been set aside by the Indian Ministers between 1922 and 1927. They could now turn round and say, "We *told* you so."

Among non-official circles, however, the report was hotly criticised, particularly for two reasons. Firstly, the report implied a condemnation of the Indian control of education because it virtually said that the policy of expansion adopted by Indian Ministers was ill-advised. Indian opinion could not accept this view-point. The general feeling was that, in view of the difficulties inherent in the diarchical form of administration, it was a surprise that Indian Ministers could achieve even so much. Secondly, Indian opinion still felt that the first need of the situation was further expansion and the introduction of compulsory education. It was not *opposed* to qualitative reforms; but the type of the reforms it demanded was entirely different. For instance, if the Hartog Report bewailed the lowering of the standard of English, the non-official view complained against the domination of English throughout the school and college course, proposed that English should be taught as an optional subject, and even suggested the study of an Indian language, *e.g.*, Hindustani, as a national language in place of English. We need not enter at this stage into the details either of the non-official criticism of the educational system or of the proposals for reform. It will suffice our immediate purpose to state the main tendencies which nationalist thought in education displayed, *viz.*, the protest against the intellectual domination of the West; the desire to create a new educational system suited to national aspirations rather than to imitate Western models; the attempt to prove that good education is not necessarily costly; and the struggle to show how a good system of education could be developed within the resources of a poor country like India.

It will be seen that the cleavage between the official and non-official opinions was very wide. Had it been possible for the two

Unfortunately, the political situation in the country at the time was not favourable for such an experiment. The Indian National Congress, which was the most powerful political organisation in the country, did not co-operate with Government in working out diarchy. Consequently, the *Indian* Ministers of this period could not really command the support of the people. They had to rely too often on official support with the result that, in spite of an *Indian* Minister at the top, it was really the I.E.S. that ultimately controlled all Governmental policies, especially after 1927. The truly *Indian* view remained outside Government and chose to work *outside* the official system rather than *inside* it. Consequently, in spite of the official transfer of education to Indian control, the *bureaucratic* and the *nationalist* views still continued to oppose each other as in the earlier period (1902-21). The conflict came really to an end only as late as in 1937 when Provincial Autonomy was introduced, the I.E.S. was mostly liquidated, and the Congress assumed office in most Provinces of India.

8/ Progress of University and Collegiate Education (1921-37).

With these introductory remarks, we shall now turn to the detailed study of the educational events of this period.

Taking the universities first, it may be stated that this period is one of great advance in University education. Its main events were the following :—

- (a) Constitution of the Inter-University Board ;
- (b) The incorporation of five universities, *viz.*, Delhi, Nagpur, Andhra, Agra and Annamalai ;
- (c) Changes in the constitution of the older affiliating universities, especially in that of Madras, Bombay, Patna, Allahabad, and the Punjab ;
- (d) Expansion of university education as shown by the opening of new faculties, provision of new courses of studies, increase in the number of collegiate institutions and of the students reading in the universities, etc. ;
- (e) Greater provision for research ;
- (f) Development of inter-collegiate and inter-university activities ;
- (g) Provision for military training : and

9. The Inter-University Board. The need for the co-ordination of the work of Indian universities was greatly emphasized by the Calcutta University Commission. A similar recommendation was made by the Indian delegates to the Congress of the Universities of the Empire held in 1921. The Lytton Committee on Indian students in England also hoped that the Indian universities would constitute, at an early date, an Inter-University Board for the purpose of co-ordinating the courses of study in India and in securing uniformity in their recognition abroad. As a result of all these recommendations, the first All-India Conference of Indian Universities was held at Simla in 1924 and an Inter-University Board was established. The Board consists of representatives of all the Indian universities, and has been holding annual meetings at different university centres since 1925. The functions of the Board are the following :—

- (1) To act as an inter-university organization and bureau of information ;
- (2) To facilitate the exchange of professors ;
- (3) To serve as an authorized channel of communication and facilitate the co-ordination of university work ;
- (4) To assist Indian universities in obtaining recognition for their degrees, diplomas, and examinations in other countries ;
- (5) To appoint or recommend where necessary a common representative or representatives of India at Imperial or International conferences on higher education ;
- (6) To act as an appointment bureau for Indian universities ; and
- (7) To fulfil such other duties as may be assigned to it from time to time by the Indian universities.

The Board has done useful work in several directions and has now become an integral part of the organization of Indian universities.

10. Incorporation of New Universities. It will be recalled that the Government Resolution on Educational Policy dated 21st February, 1913, laid down the principle that every province should have a university of its own and that teaching universities should be established in as many centres as possible. Expansion on these lines was carried on during the period under review and five new universities came to be incorporated. The Delhi University was established for the centrally administered province of Delhi, and the Nagpur University for the Central Provinces

University was incorporated as an affiliating university for the United Provinces, Central India, and Gwalior. And finally, a unitary, teaching and mostly residential university was established at Chidambaram in the Madras Presidency and named after its munificent donor, Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar. The following brief notes on these universities will be found interesting :—

Delhi.—The Delhi University was incorporated by an Act of 1922. The original object of this Act was to create a unitary, teaching and residential university at Delhi. But owing to certain difficulties created by local conditions and lack of funds, it was not possible to realise this ideal. The Hartog Committee examined the problem and felt that the unitary type was not suited to the local conditions at Delhi. "It would be a loss to India", wrote the Committee, "if the healthy traditions of the three colleges¹ were sacrificed by a too rigid adherence to the formula of a unitary university."² The question was further considered by a specially appointed committee in 1927 and the Government of India passed orders in 1934 directing that a university of the federal type should be ultimately developed at Delhi. The essential requirements of a university of this type may be briefly summarized as under :—

(1) The University and its constituent colleges should be situated in close proximity with each other ;

(2) Each constituent college should be actively engaged in the work of a university standard ;

(3) Each constituent college should be prepared to forego some measure of its autonomy in order to share in and contribute to the type and government of the University as a whole ; and

(4) The actual teaching should, as far as possible, be provided by the constituent colleges under the guidance of the University.

But this ideal also was not realised and even in 1937, the University remained essentially an affiliating and examining body.

Nagpur.—As early as 1914, the Government of the Central Provinces appointed a Committee to consider the establishment of a Provincial University at Nagpur. The Committee reported in 1915, but action on its proposals was reserved until after the report of the Calcutta University Commission became available. The problem was taken up again in 1919 and the Act of Incorporation of the University was passed in 1923. This Act created a university of the affiliating type to begin with, but it was so framed that the University could subsequently, and without amending legislation, develop its teaching side also. Soon after its establishment the University opened a Law College under its direct management, and it was hoped to convert the University into a teaching body at an early date. But owing to financial and other difficulties, this hope receded further and further into the background and even in 1937 the Nagpur University remained mostly an affiliating university.

Andhra.—The establishment and growth of the Andhra University are of special interest, because this is an instance where the establishment of a new university on a linguistic basis has *preceded* the creation of a new province on the

same principle. The University arose out of a demand made by the Telugu-speaking areas of the Madras Presidency for the creation of a new university for them. After a good deal of controversy, the Andhra University was incorporated by an Act of 1926 and was given jurisdiction over those districts of the Madras Presidency where most of the population spoke Telugu. The University is both teaching and affiliating and its most prominent feature is the provision in the Act of Incorporation for the ultimate use of the Indian languages as media of instruction and examination. In 1937, the University conducted an Arts College (opened in 1931) and a College of Science and Technology (opened in 1933) besides affiliating a number of other colleges within its area.

Agra.—The Agra University was incorporated in 1927 as an affiliating university with a view to taking over the control of affiliated colleges which were then under the external side of the Allahabad University. Its jurisdiction extends over the whole of the United Provinces (excluding the territorial limits of the four teaching universities in the Provinces, *viz.*, Benares, Aligarh, Allahabad and Lucknow), Rajputana, Central India and Gwalior. The only teaching work which it undertakes is that of arranging extension lectures at each of the affiliated colleges. With the incorporation of the Agra University, the United Provinces have shown the way to the other provinces as to the best mode of organizing university education in India, *viz.*, to develop as many teaching universities as possible and to maintain one affiliating university in the Province to meet the requirements of those centres of collegiate instruction which are not yet ripe to grow into a teaching university.

The Annamalai University.—This was established in 1929 and owes its existence to the generosity of Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar who handed over to the Government of Madras an endowment fund of Rs. 20 lakhs together with the three collegiate institutions in English, Tamil and Sanskrit which he had founded and maintained at Chidambaram. The Government added Rs. 27 lakhs to the endowment fund, gave a non-recurring grant of Rs. 7½ lakhs and a recurring annual grant of Rs. 1½ lakhs and incorporated the Annamalai University in 1929. There are two distinctive features of this University: firstly, it has adopted the tutorial system according to which students are divided into small batches of not more than three or four and entrusted to the care of members of the staff; and secondly, the University conducts a Research Department in Tamil in order to prepare suitable text-books with a view to the ultimate adoption of Tamil as a medium of instruction for the different subjects of study in the University.

The foregoing account will show that in 1937 the only provinces that had no universities of their own were the newly created Provinces of Sind and Orissa and the smaller provinces of Assam, North-West Frontier, British Baluchistan, Coorg and Ajmere-Merwara. The needs of Sind were met by the Bombay University, and those of Assam by Calcutta; the requirements of the N.-W. Frontier Province and British Baluchistan were served by the Punjab University; Coorg depended upon Madras and Ajmere-Merwara was under Agra. The schools and colleges of South Orissa were affiliated to the Andhra University and those of North Orissa to Patna. Provincial Autonomy under the Government of India Act, 1935, had been introduced in Sind, Orissa, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province, and one

of the important problems which the autonomous ministries in these provinces had, therefore, to tackle was the incorporation of new and independent universities for their areas.

11. Changes in the Older Affiliating Universities. Many of the older universities in India also underwent important changes during the period under review. The following summary of the main changes will show the general direction in which University reform was attempted during this period :—

The constitution of the *Madras University* was largely amended by Acts of 1923 and 1929. The preamble of the Madras University Act of 1923 states its objects in the following words :—

(i) To establish a teaching and residential university at Madras while enabling the university to continue to exercise due control over the quality of teaching given by constituent or affiliated colleges ;

(ii) To foster the development of academic life and corporate unity in colleges as well as the university with a view to utilizing fully the available teaching resources ; and

(iii) To prepare for the incorporation of new universities by co-ordination and concentration of the resources for higher teaching and research at suitable centres.

The Acts vest the governance of the university in a Chancellor (which post is always held by the Governor of Madras), a Pro-Chancellor (which post is always held by the Minister of Education), a Vice-Chancellor who is a full-time officer, and a Senate which is a large body with an elected majority. The Acts also constitute an Academic Council for the regulation of all academic matters of the University.

During the period under review, the Madras University undertook considerable teaching work by organizing research departments in various subjects such as Botany, Zoology, Biochemistry, Mathematics, Indian Philosophy, etc., and by opening an Oriental Research Institute which has departments for research in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Urdu. But the University has not done anything to develop mofussil centres of higher learning into new universities as expected by the Act of 1923. On the other hand it has expressed the view that the establishment of additional universities in the Province is neither practical nor desirable.

The Government of Bombay appointed a Committee in 1924 to report upon the reform of the *Bombay University*. On receipt of the Committee's report, Government passed the Bombay University Act in 1928, whose main object was "to reconstitute the University so as to enable it to provide greater facilities for higher education and research while continuing to exercise control over the teaching given by affiliated colleges". The Act has enlarged the Senate and provided for a large elective element in its constitution ; it has also constituted an Academic Council. A Board of Post-graduate Studies was also established with the object of providing greater facilities for higher education and conducting post-graduate teaching in all branches of learning including technology.

But in spite of the new legislation, the University still continues to be mostly an affiliating and an examining body. The direct teaching work done by the University is not so extensive as that in Calcutta or Madras, the main difficulty in

the way of expansion being financial. The University conducts only two institutions for higher learning, *viz.*, the School of Economics and Sociology which was founded in 1919-20 and the School of Chemical Technology which was founded in 1934-35. But it has organized post-graduate teaching and research through recognized university teachers who are mostly from the ranks of teachers in affiliated colleges. The system has worked with a fair amount of success and has the advantage of being very economical.

The constitution of the *Patna University* was amended in 1932 after a prolonged discussion. The intention of the Act of Incorporation of the University was to create, ultimately, a teaching university at Patna; but the idea has not been realised on account of financial and other difficulties and the University still continues to be primarily an examining body.

At the beginning of the period under review, *Allahabad* was a teaching University with an external side which gave affiliation to colleges in the United Provinces, Central India, and Gwalior. With the creation of the Agra University, all work regarding affiliation was transferred to it and the Allahabad University became a purely teaching, unitary, and residential university.

The *Punjab University* did not undergo any great changes during the period under review. An Academic Council has been established within the four corners of the Indian Universities Act of 1904. A Committee to enquire into and report on the reform of the University was appointed in the quinquennium 1932-37, but no action has yet been taken on its recommendations. The main achievements of the University during the period under review, therefore, were (1) the extension and improvement of Honours Schools, especially on the Science side, and (2) the establishment of the Hailey College of Commerce which is directly conducted by the University.

It is an irony of the situation that the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission have had less effect on the *Calcutta University* itself than on any other university in India, and the constitution of the Calcutta University is still governed by the Indian Universities Act of 1904. At the beginning of the period under review, Calcutta was the biggest affiliating university in India and even in 1937, it still held that position. The Bengal report for 1931-32 observed that its "bulk has become so unwieldy that no ordinary force can shake its pyramidal immobility".¹ A distinctive feature of the University, however, is its post-graduate teaching work which, though undertaken before the appointment of the Calcutta University Commission, was put on a permanent basis only during the period under review. For this purpose the University has constituted two Councils—one for post-graduate teaching in Arts and another for that in Science. These two Councils control all the post-graduate teaching work in the University and maintain permanent post-graduate teaching Staff. Experience has shown that this type of teaching work has the following defects or difficulties :—

- (i) Complete severance from under-graduate teaching work ;
- (ii) Sudden and large fluctuations in the number of students due mainly to economic conditions and to the fact that many students take up post-graduate studies because they have ' nothing else to do ' ; and
- (iii) Large financial deficits due to the fact that the maintenance of a competent staff for post-graduate work is very costly while the income from fees is low and precarious.

The last of the above difficulties has been partially removed by the Government guarantee to pay an annual recurring grant of Rs. 3,60,000 to the University. Although this grant has enabled the University to balance its budget, financial limitations have prevented the University from undertaking any large scheme of expansion or reconstruction.

12. Expansion of University Education. The statistics for 1936-37 given in Table No. I on this page and in Table No. II on the next page give details regarding the expansion of University Education in India during this period.

TABLE NO. I.

	1921-22.	1936-37.
1. No. of Universities	12	17
2. No. of University Departments } ..		118
3. No. of Constituent Colleges .. } ..	207	50
4. No. of Affiliated Colleges .. } ..		278
5. No. of Students :—		
(a) University Departments } ..	Details	12,003
(b) Constituent Colleges .. } ..	not	16,985
(c) Affiliated Colleges .. } ..	known	97,240
Total ..	66,258	1,26,228

A careful scrutiny of these statistics¹ and their comparison with those of 1921-22 will show that there was a phenomenal increase in the enrolment of students in Indian universities during the period under review.

While this increase must be regarded as an indication of the educational advance of the country, it is necessary to remember that it was not an unmixed blessing. Its weaker side, or the difficulties which it created, may be summarized as under:—

(a) A number of the students who flocked to the University were not really fit to benefit by a course of university education. The presence of these students led to wastage of funds and energy and also to a lowering of the standards to a certain extent. The problem of selecting proper persons for admission to a university had, therefore, assumed great importance.

TABLE NO. II.

University.	Faculties in which degrees are awarded.	Number of Institutions.			Number of students in		
		University Departments.	Constituent Colleges.	Affiliated Colleges.	University Departments.	Constituent Colleges.	Affiliated Colleges.
1. Calcutta	A., Sc., Ed., Eng., M., L., O., Com.	25	..	62	2,362	..	32,995
2. Bombay	A., Sc., Ed., Eng., M., L., Com., O., Tech., Ag.	3	..	36	191	..	17,575
3. Madras	A., Sc., Ed., Eng., M., L., Ag., O., F.A., Com.	16	14	61	150	5,371	12,076
4. Punjab	A., Sc., Ed., Eng., M., L., Com., O., Ag.	15	3	51	786	881	18,174
5. Allahabad	A., Sc., L., Com.	17	..	..	2,056	..	..
6. Benares Hindu	A., Sc., Ed., L., O., M., Th., Tech.	..	8	..	..	3,385	..
7. Mysore	A., Sc., Eng., M., Tech.	..	9	..	..	2,725	..
8. Patna	A., Sc., Ed., Eng., L., M.	..	..	17	..	..	5,898
9. Osmania	A., Sc., Ed., Eng., L., M., Th.	..	9	..	..	1,723	..
10. Aligarh Muslim	A., Sc., L., Th., Ed.	17	..	..	1,822	..	..
11. Lucknow	A., Sc., Ed., M., L., Com., O.	..	3	..	..	2,340	..
12. Dacca	A., Sc., L., Ed., Com.	12	1	..	1,171	97	..
13. Delhi	A., Sc., L.	3	7	..	132	1,988	..
14. Nagpur	A., Sc., Ed., L., Ag.	..	1	14	..	450	3,317
15. Andhra	A., Sc., Ed., M., O.	2	..	22	280	..	3,379
16. Agra	A., Sc., L., Com., Ag.	..	..	16	..	..	4,132
17. Annamalai	A., Sc., O.	1	..	..	741	..	..

Abbreviations :—A. = Arts ; Sc. = Science ; L. = Law ; M. = Medicine ; Ed. = Education ; Eng. = Engineering ; Ag. = Agriculture ; Com. = Commerce ; Th. = Theology ; O. = Oriental learning ; F.A. = Fine Arts ; Tech. = Technology.

(b) When the establishment of additional affiliating or unitary universities was proposed, it was believed that they would relieve the earlier affiliating universities of a part of their work and thereby help in reducing their size. But in spite of the creation of several new universities—both affiliating and unitary—the strain on the earlier affiliating universities still continued undiminished. The following statistics of 1917 and 1937 speak for themselves :—

University.	No. of Students.	
	1917.	1937.
1. Calcutta	28,618	35,357
2. Bombay	8,001	17,575.
3. Madras	10,216	17,454
4. Punjab	6,558	19,841

It is clear that the creation of new universities had hardly kept pace with the growth of university education, mainly owing to the paucity of funds.

(c) The increase of students had taken place in the courses of liberal education rather than in those of professional education. The lop-sided development of collegiate education which was referred to in Chapter X still continued during the period under review. For instance, take the following statistics :—

	1921-22.	1936-37.
1. No. of colleges of Arts and Science (including Oriental Colleges)	207	366
2. No. of colleges of black-coated professions of Teachers, Doctors and Lawyers	32	55
3. No. of colleges of other professions	12	25
4. No. of students in Arts and Science Colleges (including Oriental Colleges)	54,473	1,04,923
5. No. of students in colleges of black-coated professions	10,277	15,846
6. No. of students in colleges of other professions	1,608	5,459

N.B.—The word 'college' as used here includes a University department or class.

(d) The sudden increase in the number of students under university instruction had greatly emphasized the problem of unemployment among the educated classes. The goal of most of the university degree-holders still continued to be service under Government—an avenue that was already crowded and that could never be expected to keep pace with the rapid growth of university education. Alternative careers in trade, industry, and commerce were not available in sufficiently large numbers because Indian trade and industries had not been developed. Consequently, the problem of securing suitable employment for the highly educated youth of the country dominated the whole field of university education during the period under review.

(e) There was a noticeable tendency in most of the universities to undertake ambitious programmes—to try to provide instruction in almost all branches of knowledge, and eventually to scatter the available resources over a wide field. This tendency was to be greatly regretted, especially as it strained the financial resources of the universities. The funds of the universities came usually from three sources—endowments, Government grants, and fees. The revenue from the first source was not very considerable; the Government grants were not large and were not likely to be increased in view of the large claims which the expansion of primary education had on the revenues of the state; and although the income from fees came to a big amount at present, it would necessarily be diminished when the number of universities increased. Hence the problem of proper co-ordination of the work of the universities with a view to minimising duplication and overlapping and securing the best results from available resources became, during the period under review, a question of paramount importance. The Inter-University Board had not been able to deal with this problem; nor could it be expected to do so because its authority was not *above* the universities but emanated *from* them.

13. Provision for Research. An outstanding feature of the period under review was the considerable provision for research that was made by all the Indian universities. During the period 1854 to 1902, the main task of the Indian universities was “not so much the encouragement of learning as the liberation of the Indian mind from the thralldom of old-world ideas, and the

and character of the West".¹ In the period 1902-21, the universities turned their attention to teaching and research though their actual achievements were not considerable. During the period 1921-37, research work was organized by Indian universities on a far larger scale than ever before. This had been done by (a) maintenance of libraries and research departments, (b) institution of research degrees, (c) provision of scholarships and fellowships for research, and (d) university bulletins or publications. The Indian universities had thus already taken the field in the fight for the extension of the boundaries of knowledge and there was every reason to hope that they would soon begin to play a part that was worthy of the hoary traditions of this country.

14. Development of Inter-Collegiate and Inter-University Activities. Another important feature of the period under review was the development of inter-collegiate sports and competitions which soon became a feature of almost all Indian universities. The Inter-University Board also began to arrange inter-university sports and tournaments. These activities created healthy contacts between university students and teachers in various parts of the country and formed an important aspect of the growing national life of India.

15. Provision of Military Training. This period also witnessed the provision of military training through the organization of University Training Corps. The following table gives details about the corps as they stood in 1936-37 :—

University.	Year of the constitution of the Corps.	Sanctioned establishment of the Corps.	Actual strength of the Corps on 1st Apr. 1937.
Bombay	1921	663	653
Calcutta	"	663	580
Allahabad	"	663	632
Benares			
Aligarh			
Lucknow			
Agra			
Punjab	"	663	595
Madras	"	663	640
Patna	1922	165	131
Delhi	1924	330	324
Nagpur	1928	330	319
Bombay	1928	165	164
Dacca	1928	76	76

¹ Gokhale's *Speeches* (Edition 1920), p. 235.

The institution of the corps proved extremely popular and during the period under review there was a considerable demand for its extension and even for the introduction of compulsory military training. It is also worthy of note that some universities even introduced military science as a subject of instruction. "In the Calcutta University curriculum, a course of military studies for the members of the University Training Corps was introduced in 1936. The Dacca University has decided to introduce military science as one paper in the ordinary B.A. examination. Ordinances for a certificate of proficiency in military science have also been framed by the Allahabad University, and regular instruction is being given. A scheme for the establishment of a military college is receiving the earnest attention of the authorities of the Aligarh Muslim University."¹

16. Residence and Health of Students. Lastly, the period under review was also remarkable for the great attention paid to the problem of the residence and health of the students for the improvement of which all the universities took such measures as were necessary and practicable. Provision was very largely made for medical inspection and compulsory physical education was also introduced by several universities. Regulations regarding the provision, control and management of hostels were also framed; and although a good deal of work yet remained to be done, it was a happy sign that the subject received the close attention it deserves.

17. Intermediate Colleges. One of the most important recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission was that the dividing line between school and university education should be drawn at the Intermediate and *not* at the Matriculation examination. The Commission held the view that the intermediate classes of Indian universities were really a part of the high school course, and that students in these classes could be more effectively taught by school methods than by those which were generally followed at the universities. The Commission, therefore, recommended that a new type of institution called Intermediate Colleges should be set up by the addition of two classes to selected high schools; and that the university course should begin after the Intermediate examination and be spread

over three years instead of two. With this end in view the Commission also recommended the establishment of a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education whose main duty would be to reorganize high school and intermediate education on the lines recommended by the Commission.¹

This recommendation made a great impression on Indian educational thought, and for a time it appeared to be on the verge of universal acceptance. The University Acts that came to be passed in the early years after the report of the Calcutta University Commission excluded or proposed to exclude intermediate education from the sphere of universities. Thus the Dacca University Act, 1921, dissociated intermediate education from its sphere and placed it under the control of a non-university board under the authority of the Government of Bengal. In the same way, the University Acts of Allahabad, Lucknow, and Aligarh, also provided for the exclusion of intermediate education from the sphere of the universities and placed it under the control of two Boards of Secondary and Intermediate Education, one of which functioned within the territorial limits of the Allahabad and Lucknow Universities and the other within the jurisdiction of the Aligarh University. The Delhi University Act, 1922, also provided that the University should control intermediate education for a period of five years from the date of its foundation, or *until such further date as the Governor-General-in-Council may direct*. Similarly the Madras University Act of 1923 provided that as soon as adequate arrangements were made for the supervision and control of institutions preparing candidates for the Intermediate examination, the Provincial Government might exclude intermediate education from the purview of the University.²

Soon, however, a change came about and educational opinion began to turn round and oppose this proposal on the following grounds among others :—

(a) Intermediate colleges of the type recommended by the Calcutta University Commission had not justified the expectations formed of them and a better method of reform would be to improve the standard of instruction in high schools.

¹ For details of the proposal, *vide* Chapters 31 and 32 of the *Report of the Calcutta University Commission*, Vol. IV.

(b) The intermediate classes are a source of income to the degree colleges which would be faced with a serious financial deficit if the intermediate classes are cut off from them.

(c) It would not be possible for intermediate colleges to engage the services of such competent teachers as were generally available in degree colleges.

(d) Both from financial and academic points of view, it was a sounder proposition to run the intermediate and the degree classes in one institution, for this device enabled the management to use the savings in intermediate classes to meet the deficit on degree courses and to use the services of able teachers of the degree classes for instruction in intermediate classes also.

(e) This recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission is inseparably connected with the proposal to lengthen the degree course to three years. But this latter reform will not be accepted by the public on account of the fact that it increases the cost of higher education and postpones the time at which a young man should begin his wage-earning career.

(f) The separation of intermediate education from the sphere of the university would deprive it of the substantial income it now receives from the fees of Matriculation and Intermediate candidates. The Calcutta University Commission had foreseen this and recommended that Government should give an additional grant to the University in order to compensate it for this loss. In the present circumstances, however, Provincial Governments are not likely to be in a position to make additional grants to universities. The proposed reform, therefore, is likely to involve the universities in serious financial losses which cannot be made good from any other source.

For these and other reasons, the question was very hotly debated during the years 1922 to 1926 and educational opinion gradually hardened against this reform. An indication of this changing outlook is provided by the University Acts passed since 1926. The Andhra University Act of 1926, the Bombay University Act of 1928, the Annamalai University Act of 1929, and the Patna University Act of 1932, definitely permit the universities to control intermediate education. Ordinarily, the control of the Delhi University over intermediate education ought to have ceased in 1927; but the period of its control is being extended

from year to year and the Delhi University still continues to control intermediate education. There are no indications to show that the Madras University is even contemplating to give up control over intermediate education. Even in the United Provinces, where the experiment was tried in earnest, opinion turned against the recommendation and the Agra University Act of 1927 permitted the holding of intermediate classes in colleges affiliated to the University, although such classes had been placed under the control of a non-university body called "the Board of High School and Intermediate Education". These instances are enough to show how educational thought in India completely turned against the suggestion made by the Sadler Commission.

The Dacca University and three Provinces, *viz.*, United Provinces, the Punjab, and Bihar, took up the suggestion and gave it a trial. The Dacca University begins its work at the post-intermediate stage. The United Provinces created a Board of High School and Intermediate Education whose duties included (1) the conduct of high school and intermediate examinations, (2) prescription of the courses of studies for the high school and intermediate stages, (3) granting of recognition to high schools and intermediate colleges, (4) periodical inspection of recognised institutions, etc. A large number of intermediate colleges came to be organized in this Province; but the complementary recommendation of the Commission to lengthen the degree course from two years to three has not been accepted at all. The Punjab organized intermediate colleges mainly with a view to preventing students from crowding into Lahore and providing opportunities of higher education at mofussil places where it was not possible to organize a first-grade college. Bihar seems to have tried a few colleges as an experimental measure. It will be seen, therefore, that the experiment has not been fully tried anywhere.

The experience gained in these Provinces is worthy of note. The Bihar Report for 1931-32 observes that "these institutions are not likely to be very successful, because the better students will always, if they can, join the first grade colleges at the first year stage,¹ and the report for 1936-37 states that "the position,

that these institutions are never likely to be very successful".¹ The Punjab Report for 1936-37 remarks that "intermediate colleges have dwindled in popularity and have not been very successful as four-year institutions. Government cannot continue to spend ~~sans~~ sums of money every year on institutions which have not justified their existence, especially when funds are more badly needed for worthier and more urgent objects".² The report of the United Provinces alone is optimistic. It observes that "the product of the intermediate colleges is better grounded and more able to benefit from advanced instruction than the product of intermediate classes attached to degree colleges".³

The Hartog Committee considered the question but did not make any definite recommendation. It said :—

Opinion is much divided as to whether or not the new types of intermediate college have proved a success. But it is clear that in many cases these colleges have not been established under the conditions recommended by the Calcutta University Commission and that the system has not been given a fair chance of proving its value. In some of the colleges the classes are so large as to make it impossible to give any instruction except the mass lecture which the system was designed to avoid. In others, again, strain and dissatisfaction have been caused by staffing an intermediate college with a combination of secondary school teachers who received what was to them a welcome improvement in pay and status, and teachers from affiliated colleges who were chosen as being the least suitable for degree-teaching, and who felt their new position to be a degradation. The controversy as to whether the intermediate course should, or should not, form part of the university system is still acute.⁴

The question was also considered by the Inter-University Board and the conclusion reached was against the recommendation. Later on, the question was considered by the Central Advisory Board of Education which worked out a compromise and suggested that the junior intermediate class should form part of the school course and that the senior intermediate class should form part of the degree course. The suggestion was worth a trial, especially as it would have replaced the then existing anomalous system whereby intermediate classes were sometimes part of an institution which was in fact a school, sometimes part of a degree college, and sometimes an isolated institution providing a two years' course.⁵ But it was not adopted anywhere during the period under review.

¹ p. 38.

² *Government Resolution*, p. 2.

³ *Report, 1936-37*, p. 40.

18. The Hartog Committee on University Education. The principal findings of the Hartog Committee in the field of university education were the following :—

(a) *Failure to produce the right type of leaders needed by the country* : The Committee observed :—

The proper conduct of universities is a matter of first rate importance to the State because it is in them that the leaders of the country are trained. It is therefore pertinent to ask how far university education is calculated to produce, and is producing, men who will be able to play a worthy part in public life. . . . In the early days, when students were few and well-selected the relations between teachers and students in the colleges were intimate. But the very large influx of students, many of them none too well-selected, during the last twenty or thirty years, has imposed a heavier burden on most colleges and universities than they could reasonably be expected to bear. It is not surprising, therefore, that the activities of universities and colleges are not always well-balanced or adjusted ; that the social atmosphere is only partially developed ; that many of the opportunities of building up a corporate sense and of arousing and finding outlets for a spirit of service remain unused. The graduate on leaving college is only too often a man with no wide or living intellectual interests, with no discipline or experience in the difficult art of living in a community, with no training in leadership and with little sense of his responsibility to others.¹

(b) *Lowering of Standards* : The Committee was of opinion, that there had been a definite lowering of university standards. This was shown by the large percentages of failures in university examinations—percentages which varied markedly from year to year or university to university ! The Committee was of opinion that this state of affairs showed large waste and ineffectiveness and was due principally to (i) indiscriminate admission to university courses ; (ii) poor work at the secondary stage ; (iii) competition between universities ; and the failure to maintain proper standards in university teaching. The last of these is already discussed in sub-para (a) above ; regarding the other three causes, the Committee said :—

(i) *Indiscriminate admissions to the Universities* :—But the question of university standards is not a simple one. There is a prevalent opinion that the general efficiency of a university can be secured solely or largely by imposing a high standard at the intermediate and degree examinations and that a high percentage of failures is in itself a good thing, but with this we are unable to agree. There are at least three independent and variable factors to be considered ; (a) the standard of the matriculation or other admission examination, (b) the standard of university teaching and (c) the standard of attainment required at the examinations. The percentage of passes depends on all three factors. Let us suppose for the moment that the teaching is satisfactory and reasonably equal in quality from year to year, that the average diligence of the students is also constant, and that the standard at the degree examination has not changed,

¹ *Report*, pp. 140-1.

then an increase in the percentage of failures may be regarded as shewing that the university is admitting in increasing numbers students who are manifestly incapable of profiting by the university courses, and that it has taken their money under false pretences and been a party to their waste of time, money and effort. It is of the first importance that a university degree should be a real certificate to the public of capacity and attainment; it is essential that the university should maintain a high standard in its teaching; but it is no less desirable that the matriculation should not admit to its doors numbers of students who have no chance of success. In a well-regulated university the percentage of passes in subjects in which the number of candidates is large, and of whom the average quality may therefore be assumed to be reasonably constant, ought to be both high and fairly steady from year to year. If it is considered right to raise the university examination standard generally, the first step in this direction should usually be to raise the admission standards (always on the supposition that these standards are well devised to test the capacity of the candidates for higher work) The universities are overcrowded with men who are not profiting either intellectually or materially by their university training. To many hundreds, the years of training mean a waste of money and of precious years of youth; nor is it only private money which is wasted. Each student in a university or college costs in every country far more than his fees, sometimes five or six times as much, and this money in India comes in part from endowments, but very largely from the public purse. If those students who now go to a university or a college without being really fitted for higher work were diverted in large numbers at an earlier stage to careers better suited to their capacity, money would be set free for more profitable educational uses, and the training of the best men could be appreciably improved. The overcrowding of universities and colleges by men of whom a large number fail and for whom there is no economic demand has vitally affected the quality of university education.¹

(ii) *Poor work in Secondary Schools* :—The percentage of failures is high and indicates that something is seriously wrong at an earlier stage; and that the Indian universities are not giving adequate attention to the proper adjustment of admission to graduation standards, but, on the contrary, are burdening themselves, and are, allowing their constituent and affiliated colleges to burden themselves, with a very large number of students who have little or no chance of completing a university course successfully, and on whom expenditure of money intended for university education is wasted. It has already been pointed out that many of the students are unable to follow the lectures owing to their defective knowledge of English, which is used as the medium of instruction. And the mischief is not limited to the universities, for university standards react upon those of the secondary schools which feed them.²

(iii) *Competition between Universities* :—As we have indicated above, the percentage of passes depends on a number of factors, and consideration of that percentage, taken alone, is no guide to the standard of the university examinations. On the other hand, the students from the provinces or university areas where the standard of secondary education is alike soon become aware of any difference of the university standard in the neighbouring provinces or areas, and the standard of efficiency and examination in one university is likely to affect the numbers in neighbouring universities. We admit that there are universities which have resisted the temptation to lower standards. But the great majority of undergraduates are aiming, not at learning for its own sake, but at a degree (or failing a degree, some lower examination qualification) for

its market value, mainly for some form of public employment ; and they naturally flock to the place where a degree can be obtained most easily and cheaply. A university which attempts single-handed to raise its standards is in danger of finding its numbers depleted. Moreover, with the multiplication of universities migration has become easier. Thus, the students of Delhi and the Punjab move freely from one university to the other ; and if eighty per cent of the candidates were to pass the B.A. examination in the Punjab in one year and only fifty per cent in Delhi, the University of Delhi might suffer seriously in numbers in the following year. This Gresham's Law of Universities can be illustrated by actual and not only by theoretical examples. A few years ago, the low standard of Calcutta University examinations attracted to it students from all parts of India, even from as far south as Travancore. Another example is to be found in the Punjab.¹

(c) *Failure to Develop Adequately*: While appreciating the several achievements of Indian universities since 1921-22, particularly in the field of research work, the Committee nevertheless found that Honours Courses were not properly organised ; libraries needed additions ; corporate student life needed development ; unemployment among university graduates was increasing ; and that university extension work was just in its infancy.

The Committee could not hold a *complete survey* of university education for lack of time ; but it made the following recommendations on what it regarded as " certain aspects of major importance in the system of higher education in India " :—

(a) *Types of University Administration*: The Committee admitted that the teaching and unitary university was an *ideal* agency for imparting higher education. But at the same time, it also accepted the inevitable necessity of affiliating universities in India. It said :—

In certain circumstances, the unitary university is the better type. Provided that a corporate life can be evolved in the halls which is comparable to the traditions of the better colleges in the older universities, that the teaching is properly organised in the several departments of study, and that the members of the several university authorities are both competent and capable of understanding the significance of such a university, then a unitary university should result in more efficient teaching, more effective expenditure of the available resources, closer contact between staff and students and a more stimulating corporate life. We are unable to offer any definite opinions as to whether these conditions have been fulfilled satisfactorily in all the unitary universities of India. . . . It is clear, however, that the requirements of India cannot be met solely by unitary universities and that the affiliating university is likely to remain for many years to come. In 1922, there were 152 affiliated Arts Colleges and in 1927 as many as 232. . . . If all university students were to be gathered into the unitary folds, then no fewer than twenty or more such universities would be required.²

One of the soundest recommendations of the Committee, however, was that *no attempt should be made to stick to any rigid formula*. It said :—

We have termed Delhi a semi-unitary university. It has three first-grade colleges with independent governing bodies, all situated in or near the city of Delhi. The University itself carries on teaching only in law, economics, philosophy and elementary science, and has a small library. We have examined a number of witnesses, official and non-official, on the subject of this University. It appears that the University was constituted with resources entirely inadequate to its proper development. We understand that a Committee of Enquiry was appointed by the Government of India to report on the affairs of the University, but the report has not yet been published, and we are not acquainted with its contents. The University is clearly in a transitional stage. We think it would be a loss to India if the healthy traditions of the three colleges were sacrificed by a too rigid adherence to the formula of a unitary university, and that it would be preferable to retain the vigorous life and traditions of the colleges, and to place on the University the duty of organising the higher work by a combination of suitably qualified teachers at present carrying on higher work in the colleges with teachers appointed by the University itself. The University would thus aim at supplementing and not supplanting the staffs of the colleges. It should be an essential function of the University to provide and maintain science laboratories and a central library on an adequate scale which would enable the teachers to keep themselves up-to-date.¹

(b) *Policy in University Education*: The Committee strongly felt that, “in the interests of university education itself and still more in the interests of the lower educational institutions which feed the universities and of the classes from which university students are drawn, the time has come when all efforts should be concentrated on improving university work, on confining the university to its proper function of giving good advanced education to students who are fit to receive it, and, in fact, to making the university a more fruitful and less disappointing agency in the life of the community.”²

(c) *Honours Courses*: These should be distinctly separated from the Pass courses, said the Committee, and provided for effectively in a relatively smaller number of centres. At each such centre, the universities and the best teachers of the college staff should co-operate to achieve the best results.

(d) *University Libraries*: In the opinion of the Committee, the majority of university libraries were inadequate and all needed great additions; it felt that “no object could be more worthy of the generous benefactor than the endowment of university libraries in such a way that they may be able to supply

¹ Report, p. 125.

² Ibid. p. 127.

the proper foundations for higher work in the departments in which teaching and research are carried on and be kept up-to-date".¹

(e) *Remedies against Unemployment among Graduates*: On this important subject, the Committee made the following observations :—

There can be little doubt that one of the main attractions of the universities and colleges to men who have no taste for academic studies and insufficient qualifications for pursuing them, is the insistence on a university degree by Government and other employers as a passport to service. If Government were to abandon that requirement for all appointments in which it is not really needed, the pressure on the universities and colleges would probably be lessened. We suggest that for many clerical appointments, Government examinations comparable to the examinations of the Civil Service Commissioners in England and specially designed for the purpose they are intended to meet, might replace the requirement that candidates for these appointments should possess a university degree. The appointments that we have in mind are purely clerical appointments and not appointments to the higher services for which the number of candidates is relatively small, and which do not materially affect the numbers in the universities The extension of technical training, which is far more expensive than literary training, has been widely advocated. We fully sympathise with the desire to develop such technical training though we feel bound to point out that the training of technical experts only creates more unemployed, unless there are industries to absorb them. A few universities have opened their own Employment Bureaus, an example which deserves to be more widely followed.²

(f) *University Extension Work*: The Committee recommended the organisation of extension work as an integral part of university education. It said :—

The universities have responsibilities not only to their students but also to the country at large. Here and there, a few courses of lectures have been given to the general public, but not on any large scale, nor with any great success. Much more might be done in this way to educate the general public ; and to make available information on various subjects for classes of men like secondary school teachers who are often cut off from headquarters by the exigencies of their work and position. Nor is it only in this way that a university can render to the community. It should inculcate the ideal of civic duty in its alumni. The Royal Agricultural Commission has pleaded that universities should take their share in the great work of rural uplift. In the cities, too, much could be done by university workers who are willing to give a part or whole of their time to social service, as is done in other countries. No university has as yet its own Settlement of social service. Efforts are being made in some universities to inspire the students with the feeling that education is a responsibility as well as a privilege and that their training has profited them little if it does not benefit their fellow-citizens of lower estate and help to bring together men and women of all classes. But much remains to be done in this field of work.³

¹ *Report*, p. 139.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 143-44.

19. Expansion of Secondary Education (1921-37). Coming to the field of secondary education, we find that the picture is not so happy as in the field of university education. It is true that there was a great expansion in schools and pupils—even greater than at the collegiate stage ; but the fundamental defects of the system, except in so far as medium of instruction and, to a lesser extent, the problem of teachers are concerned, remained unsolved even in 1937. The expansion of secondary education achieved during the period will be seen from the following statistics for 1921-22 and 1936-37 :—

	1921-22.	1936-37.
No. of Recognised Secondary Schools ..	7,530	13,056
No. of Scholars in Recognised Secondary Schools	11,06,803	22,87,872

(Figures for British India only, excluding Burma)

It should be remembered, however, that these figures are subject to all those limitations of statistical comparison which were pointed out in Chapter VI and they cannot, therefore, be taken as giving an *exact* picture of the extent of secondary education as it was either in 1921-22 or in 1936-37 ; the defects, however, are common to both the years and may be ignored for purposes of comparison. The statistics show unmistakably the great expansion of secondary education that took place during the period.

(This rapid expansion was due to several causes, the more important of which were the awakening among the people, the opening of secondary schools in semi-urban or rural areas, and the special efforts made to spread higher education among the less advanced sections of the population.) As pointed out in an earlier section, the period under review witnessed a great awakening among the people. This created a desire for the acquisition of higher education ; and consequently even those sections of the population which had not hitherto manifested any strong desire for higher education now began to send their children to secondary schools in large numbers.

Secondly, a large number of new secondary schools were opened during this period in mofussil towns and bigger villages by enterprising individuals and associations. The causes that

they were either a local patriotism or a desire on the part of parents to give secondary education to their children in their own locality rather than to send them to distant towns at a tender age. Sometimes schools were opened by social workers who wanted to spread higher education to rural and backward areas. Now and then a new school came to be established as a result of unhappy circumstances such as factions in an older school leading to a split among the workers. There were also cases in which the growing unemployment among the educated classes led some to found a school for the simple reason that they could not cultivate any other vocation in life. But instances of the latter types were indeed few, and it may be stated that the vast majority of the new secondary schools of this period belonged to the first two categories described above.

This opening of new secondary schools in the smaller towns, and even in bigger villages, was a veritable boon to the parents in the rural areas. Formerly they had to send their children to the bigger towns and cities if they desired to give them the benefit of secondary education. This was a costly affair; besides, as already pointed out, parents were generally unwilling to send their children to the bigger towns and cities at a very tender age for fear of exposing them to all the temptations of a city life. When, however, secondary schools came to be opened in rural or semi-urban areas, the villagers took immediate advantage of the opportunity; and this period, therefore, witnessed a great increase in the enrolment of pupils from rural areas.

Lastly, this rise was partly due to the extensive efforts that were made in this period to spread higher education among women and the less advanced classes of the population. These may be grouped under three categories:—

(a) Attempts made by Government such as the opening of special institutions, reservation of accommodation in Government institutions, awards of scholarships and free studentships, preferential recruitment in Government services, etc.;

(b) Attempts made by the communities themselves to organize funds for awarding scholarships, maintenance of hostels, etc.; and

(c) Attempts made by philanthropic or social service

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that most of this expansion was due to private enterprise. For instance, compare the following statistics :—

	1921-22.	1936-37.
Institutions for Boys conducted by :		
Government	379	436
Boards	2,273	5,649
Private Bodies—Aided	2,883	4,073
“ “ —Unaided	1,320	1,573
Total for Boys ..	6,855	11,731
Institutions for Girls, conducted by :		
Government	115	207
Boards	70	235
Private Bodies—Aided	468	799
“ “ —Unaided	22	84
Total for Girls ..	675	1,325
Grand total of all institutions for boys and girls	7,530	13,056

N.B.—Figures for British India, exclusive of Burma.

It will be seen that Government secondary schools increased by only 149, while private schools increased by as many as 1,836 (1,521 aided and 315 unaided). Figures for the number of pupils reading in the secondary schools conducted by the above agencies cannot be given separately ; but these would evidently be more or less in a similar proportion to that of the number of institutions.¹

20. Some Aspects of Expansion. This rapid expansion of secondary education, it may be pointed out, was not a special

¹ The following figures for secondary schools for boys only will throw light on the problem :—

<i>Scholars in institutions for boys conducted by</i>		1921-22	1936-37
Government		91,484	1,24,369
Boards		2,95,608	8,14,387
Private Bodies—Aided		4,56,011	8,23,769
“ “ —Unaided		1,79,111	2,72,912
Total for boys institutions		10,22,214	20,35,437

feature of the period 1921-37 only. In fact, it had been going on continually since 1882 as the following statistics show :—

Year.	No. of Secondary Schools.	No. of Pupils in Secondary Schools.
1881-82	3,916	2,14,077
1901-02	5,124	5,90,129
1921-22	7,530	11,06,803
1936-37	13,056	22,87,872

It will be seen that, during each period, there had been a substantial increase in the number of schools and an increase of about 100 per cent in the number of scholars. The following conclusions may, therefore, be drawn from the above statistics and the narrative of the growth of secondary education given in the preceding chapters :—

(a) A great renaissance in Indian national life began about the year 1880 ; and inspired by patriotic motives, educated Indians entered the field of private enterprise in secondary education ;

(b) The recommendations of the Indian Education Commission—which were mostly accepted by Provincial Governments—were extremely favourable for the growth of private enterprise in secondary education, especially for the growth of Indian enterprise ;

(c) Consequently, private Indian enterprise in secondary education developed considerably in the period 1882-1902 ;

(d) The movement grew stronger with the passage of time and, in spite of a change in Government policy after 1904, private secondary schools conducted by Indians increased enormously in the period 1902 to 1921 ;

(e) The movement continued with greater force throughout the period 1921 to 1937, although the country suffered at this time from one of the most severe economic depressions known to history ; and more remarkable still, the movement spread, during this period, to rural areas, among women, and among the

(f) The *encouragement* of private Indian enterprise in secondary education had ceased to be a problem by 1937. On the other hand, the number of private secondary schools had increased so greatly that the problem of secondary education became virtually the problem of private secondary schools. The educational administrators of this period, therefore, had to face the more difficult task of *controlling* abnormal developments and of directing private effort into fruitful channels.

21. The Medium of Instruction. The second important achievement of the period under review was the large-scale adoption of the modern Indian languages as the media of instruction at the secondary stage. The following brief notes will show how the victory was won.

Madras.—In 1925, Government issued orders permitting the use of the modern Indian languages as the media of instruction and examination in all non-language subjects in the three highest forms (IV, V and VI) of secondary schools. The movement spread rather slowly; but by 1937, fifty-one per cent of the high schools had adopted the Indian languages as media of instruction.

Bombay.—In 1926, revised regulations were framed for the School Leaving Certificate Examination which permitted the candidates to answer question papers in history and in classical Indian languages in any of the recognized Indian languages of the Province, *viz.*, Marathi, Gujarathi, Kannada, Urdu and Sindhi. Later on, this concession was extended to the Matriculation and by 1937 candidates were permitted to answer question papers in history, geography, and classical languages in any of the languages mentioned above. Nearly all secondary schools (with the exception of a few schools which had special reasons for retaining English) used the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in the above subjects.

Bengal.—It was decided that modern Indian languages should be used as the media of instruction in all non-language subjects beginning with the year 1930; and it was reported in 1937 that "the medium of instruction in high schools is nominally English but in practice, except in a few schools, instruction is usually given in a mixture of English and the mother-tongue of the pupils"¹

United Provinces.—During the quinquennium 1927-32, candidates for the high school examination were allowed to answer question papers either in English or in a modern Indian language according to their choice. Similarly, high schools were allowed to adopt these languages, with the special permission of the Director of Public Instruction, as the media of instruction in the two highest classes of the secondary course. It may be stated, however, that an application for such permission was never refused in practice.

Bihar and Orissa.—The Bihar Education Committee of 1923 recommended that modern Indian languages should be used as the media of instruction in the four highest classes. The regulations of the Patna University were, therefore, altered so as to permit the use of these languages as media of examination at the Matriculation after the year 1928, in all subjects except English and Mathematics.

In 1925, Government decided that in those Government high schools, where there were two divisions in the upper classes, the experiment of using the Indian languages as media of instruction should be tried in one division of each standard, English continuing to be the medium of instruction in the other. Privately managed high schools were also encouraged to adopt the modern Indian languages as media of instruction in the upper secondary classes.

Central Provinces.—In 1922-23, the use of modern Indian languages as media of instruction was made compulsory in Government High Schools and was left optional in the case of aided institutions. Several difficulties, however, arose in practice. Provision had to be made for three languages, *viz.*, Marathi, Hindi and Urdu. But as it was not possible, on financial grounds, to provide for all the languages, Government was often called upon to choose between sacrificing the language of the minority or the maintenance of a section where English would still continue to be the medium of instruction. Ultimately, therefore, the orders were modified to the effect that the medium of instruction in a Government High School would be “the Indian language commonly spoken in the area in which the school is situated”, but that Government would maintain a section teaching through English if one is demanded. By 1937, as many as 30 private high schools (out of a total of 54) had adopted Indian languages as the media of instruction, 16 used English, and 8 imparted instruction through both the media.

Punjab.—In the quinquennium 1927-32, candidates for the Matriculation were allowed to answer question papers in history and geography either in English or in a modern Indian language.

A perusal of the above developments will show that the principle of imparting secondary education through the mother-tongue of the pupils came to be universally accepted during the period under review. But “theory conflicted with practice” and for several reasons, the use of English as a medium of instruction was not completely abandoned. Some of these reasons are given below :—

(a) The use of English as a medium of instruction at the University stage, coupled with the fact that the secondary course is merely an appendage of the University course and not a self-contained unit as it ought to have been, still led several managers of schools to adopt English as a medium of instruction.

(b) Parents as well as pupils desired a proficiency in English because the medium of examination in Government Competitive Examinations still continued to be English and a person with a good command of English generally had a greater chance of success in such examinations and in securing employment under Government.

(c) In multi-lingual areas where it was not possible, on financial grounds, to give instruction through all languages,

(d) In the earlier stages of the experiment, such difficulties as the absence of a scientific terminology, lack of suitable textbooks and competent teachers, etc., were made much of. Even though these complaints had ceased to be of much practical importance, they were still used as a reason for the continued use of English.

(e) In Hindi-Urdu areas—such as the United Provinces—difficulties of *script* were found to be more important than those of *language*. For instance, there was a departmental order in the United Provinces, that the Indian language used for instruction must be such as can be understood by both Hindi and Urdu speaking pupils. In carrying this out, the difficulties of script arose and black-board work had to be carried out in Devanagari and Urdu, or Roman scripts. The experiment of using a language commonly understood by Hindi and Urdu speaking pupils has, however, its practical advantages and there is a growing belief that it may lead to the development of a “mixed language . . . (which) will make a better language than Sanscritised Hindi or Persianised Urdu”, and it is even reported that “a shapely and vigorous language is being evolved from the non-descript jargon which headmasters complained of at first”.¹

It may thus be stated that by the year 1937, the question of the medium of instruction at the secondary stage had almost ceased to exist as a *problem*. It is true that certain difficulties in the way of a complete victory still remained. But it was realised that they were not insurmountable. The most formidable obstacle was the use of English as the medium at the University stage. Hence the attention of educationists now came to be directed to such problems as that of the medium of instruction at the University, the development of a national language for India, and the creation of a uniform scientific terminology.

22. Problems of Teachers in Secondary Schools. The movement that had begun in the earlier period in favour of training secondary teachers continued with greater force during the period under review. In 1936-37, there were 15 institutions for training teachers for secondary (English) schools with an enrolment of

¹ D.P.I.'s Report (U.P.), 1927-32, p. 42.

1,488 which included 147 women. The percentage of trained men teachers in secondary schools was as under :—

Madras	84·7	Bombay	22·8
Bengal	20·7	United Provinces	67·2
Punjab	89·7	Bihar	54·4
Central Provinces	70·2	Assam	39·0
North-West Frontier	80·3	Sind	16·5
Orissa	70·8	Delhi	82·8

The main feature of this period, however, is not the improvement in the training of secondary teachers but the greater attention that now came to be paid to the salaries and conditions of service of teachers in private schools which had, by this time, expanded and multiplied to a very great extent. The salaries of these teachers were low because the resources of the private secondary schools were far from satisfactory. The conditions of service also left a good deal to be desired and, except in rare instances, there was neither any security of tenure nor any provision for old age. These difficulties of teachers soon attracted notice and it was realised that the efficiency of teaching in secondary schools could not be improved unless the secondary teachers were assured of a fair remuneration and decent conditions of service. The following brief *resume* of the main events in some provinces will show the nature of the attempts made in this period to improve the pay and conditions of service in non-Government secondary schools.

(a) *United Provinces*.—A Provident Fund Scheme for teachers in aided schools was introduced in 1922. According to this scheme, each permanent teacher was required to contribute $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of his salary to the Provident Fund. To this the management added half as much. Interest was guaranteed at 3 per cent and Government gave a grant equal to one-third of the total amount formed by the contributions of the teacher and the management and interest. Expenditure incurred by the management for purposes of provident funds was considered as approved expenditure for grant-in-aid. Participation in the scheme was made obligatory on all schools recognised since 1922 and most of the other schools were reported to have joined the scheme although it was not obligatory on their part to do so. Similarly, an attempt was made to give security of service to teachers in private schools by making a rule to the effect that an agreement in a prescribed form must be entered into between every permanent teacher (engaged after 1929) and the management.

(b) In *Bihar and Orissa*, the pay and prospects of teachers in aided secondary schools were improved by a revision of the rules of grant-in-aid in 1923-24 and again in 1925-26. At the same time, a system of provident fund was also introduced for all the aided secondary schools. During the next quinquennium, 1927-28, an attempt was made to introduce a similar scheme in the non-Government

concurred with the action taken, the appeal was rejected. If not, it was submitted to the Board of Secondary Education for orders.

(c) In *Madras*, a special grant of a lakh of rupees a year was sanctioned in the quinquennium 1922-27 for the improvement of the pay of teachers in aided secondary schools. In 1923, a provident fund scheme was introduced in all recognised secondary schools for all certificated teachers, pandits, instructors, clerks and librarians whose pay was Rs. 20 or more.

(d) In *Bengal*, a special recurring annual grant of Rs. 3 lakhs was sanctioned in 1925-26 for the improvement of pay of teachers in aided secondary schools and a general provident fund scheme for the whole province was sanctioned at the end of the quinquennium 1922-27. Recognition was refused to proprietary schools, as the conditions of service in these were generally unsatisfactory. All high schools were required to have a regularly constituted managing body according to the 'school code' framed by the University, which also created an Arbitration Board to which teachers were privileged to appeal against the decision of managing committees.

(e) In the *Punjab*, the institution of a provident fund was made compulsory on all aided secondary schools in the quinquennium 1922-27, and Government paid special provident fund grants to schools which administered it according to standard rules.

(f) In *Assam*, a special grant of Rs. 20,000, which was to rise annually by Rs. 5,000 till it reached Rs. 45,000, was sanctioned for improving the pay of teachers in aided high schools.

(g) In *Bombay*, though no action had been taken, the problem was being discussed widely and the attention of Government had been drawn to its urgency.

23. Provision of Vocational Courses. The problem of providing vocational education at the secondary stage became even more important and complicated in this period than in the preceding one. This was due to three causes: Firstly, the expansion of secondary education led to the enrolment of many a pupil who was not quite "at home" in the almost exclusively literary education that was offered in the average secondary school and who would have been able to attain a better self-expression through the pursuit of some vocational skill; secondly, the opening of a large number of secondary schools in rural areas created a problem which did not exist before, *viz.*, the adaptation of the secondary school to rural needs and environment; and finally, the large increase in the number of girls' secondary schools created the problem of devising special courses suited to their requirements.

The following brief account of provincial events will show that very little was achieved during this period regarding the provision of vocational courses at the secondary stage:—

In *Madras*, a fairly large number of manual training classes were attached to secondary schools. The subjects introduced, in the order of their popularity,

were wood-work, spinning and weaving, book-binding, cardboard work, textile-printing, rattan and coirwork, and horticulture.

In *Bombay*, hardly anything had been done; only a few schools having introduced practical training in their courses.

In *Bengal*, it was reported that, barring a few schools which owed 'their existence to the enthusiasm of idealists or to missionary enterprise', no effort had been made to create a sense of commercial, industrial, or agricultural enterprise in the pupils of secondary schools.

In *Bihar*, a few manual training classes were opened and the University included manual training and domestic science in the list of optional subjects at the Matriculation. But in 1936-37, it was reported that the general tendency to offer only literary subjects persisted as before.

The reports from the United Provinces, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces (quoted below) were slightly encouraging, although they fell far short of what the situation needed:—

In the *United Provinces*, manual training is at present entirely confined to wood working, though in the lower classes work in paper and cardboard is done. Where taken it is compulsory from III to VIII and optional in Classes IX and X, where it is not very popular. The Lucknow Inspector reports that the quality of work done in some of the high schools is of a very high order. In large cities, there is a demand for teaching in commerce and classes are full. Agriculture is a subject for the high school examination and is taken in a few schools throughout the province. It is stated to be popular but the lack of a practical test detracts somewhat from its utility. Spinning and weaving are also taught in some schools and at the Jai Narain School, Benares, it has proved a distinct success. Book-binding is taken as a subject for the high school examination in some schools and in others as a part of handicraft teaching. Several schools teach handicraft, either as part of the school course or as extra curricular activities but the majority are still wedded to a purely literary course.

In the *Punjab*, the high and vernacular schools in rural areas are proving of great value to the villagers. Educational facilities have now been brought more or less to the doors of those who in the past were reluctant to send their children to distant towns in search of post-primary instruction owing to the expense involved and other reasons. To give an agricultural and vocational bias to instruction in these schools, farms and plots, manual training centres and village handicrafts have been introduced. Vegetable growing, fruit farming and floriculture are introduced as hobbies. Soap, ink, *chik* and basket-making, book-binding, rope twisting and *charpoy* weaving are practised in a number of vernacular schools.

There are now 36 manual training centres attached to secondary schools in the Punjab. All these centres specialize in elementary carpentry and the subject is said to be becoming increasingly popular with the pupils.

In the *Central Provinces*, manual training centres are attached to 16 Government high schools and one Anglo-vernacular middle school and are in the charge of trained instructors. The policy of allowing pupils from non-government local schools to avail themselves of these facilities has proved a success. Candidates from schools, which provide instruction in woodwork, have taken this subject for the High School Certificate Examination. It is reported that though their

Chattisgarh have agricultural training classes attached to them. It is reported that there is a demand for the teaching of agriculture particularly in vernacular middle schools in rural areas, and a few local bodies have undertaken the introduction of this subject in some of their schools. Instruction in agriculture in classes attached to vernacular middle schools and aided by Government is reported to be fairly satisfactory on the whole. There are also signs of vocational training such as tailoring, weaving and carpentry being encouraged in a few vernacular middle schools.

24. **The Hartog Committee on Secondary Education.** The Hartog Committee's survey of secondary education, like that of universities, is not comprehensive and stresses only a few major defects and suggests remedies.

(a) *Domination of the matriculation*: To begin with, the Hartog Committee found that the whole of the secondary course was dominated by the matriculation examination and that most of the pupils sought the narrow path that led, through the matriculation, to the universities. It said :—

In the present system, all sections of the community, with their different occupations, traditions and outlook, and with their different ambitions and aptitudes, have little, if any, choice of the type of school to which they will send their children. In fact, the present type of high and middle English school has established itself so strongly that other forms of education are opposed or mistrusted and there is a marked tendency to regard the passage from the lowest primary class to the highest class of a high school as the normal procedure for every pupil. There is nothing corresponding to the exodus from many English secondary schools either into practical life or into a vocational institution. . . . The reason for the uniformity of the course in the middle English and high schools is not far to seek ; it is the influence of the matriculation and all that this means to the Indian boy, both as an immediate qualification for service, and as a gate to a university course and the possession of a degree as a higher qualification for service. The lure of Government service through matriculation is still potent. In some provinces a School Final examination has been set up, entirely distinct from the matriculation examination, with the double object of providing an alternative qualification for entry into Government service and of widening the secondary curriculum by permitting the inclusion of vocational and pre-vocational subjects. But this innovation has been to a great extent a failure ; for in the provinces in which it has been introduced the number of candidates for matriculation has been largely in excess of those for the School Final examination. We cannot say how far this may be due in particular cases to the continued insistence of Government on matriculation as a minimum qualification for almost every form of public employment. But it is this practice, no doubt, which maintains and strengthens the belief in matriculation as the only goal of Anglo-vernacular education, and confines the courses in the high schools to the narrow path leading to it.²

(b) *Large failures at the matriculation examination*: The Committee found that the percentage of failures at the matriculation

examinations was very large in several cases. This involved the waste of time, effort, and money of the pupils and was, in the opinion of the Committee, mainly due to (a) laxness of promotions in the secondary schools from class to class and (b) the absence of a reasonable selective system which would never have permitted very many of the pupils, then reported to be reading at the high school stage, to advance so far on the road to collegiate education.

In order to remove these and other evils of the system of secondary education, the Committee made the following recommendations :—

(a) *Diverting pupils to non-literary pursuits* : With a view to reducing the domination of the matriculation, the Committee recommend that :—

- (i) The retention in the middle vernacular schools of more of the boys intended for rural pursuits, accompanied by the introduction of a more diversified curriculum in those schools ;
- (ii) The diversion of more boys to industrial and commercial careers at the end of the middle stage, for which provision should be made by alternative courses in that stage, preparatory to special instruction in technical and industrial schools.¹

Regarding the first of these proposals, the Committee observed :—

We hold that, even now, if the middle vernacular course were remodelled and adapted to rural requirements, and if the opportunities of rural work and service now open to those who complete that course were more widely realised, then not only would the gravity of the problems confronting anglo-vernacular education be diminished, but rural reconstruction and improvement would be materially assisted. We have already pointed out that a large number of vernacular ' middle-pass ' men are urgently required each year to be trained as the primary school teachers of the future, and that by this means only can the primary schools be put on a sound and healthy basis. As the development of education in rural areas and the work of rural reconstruction proceeds, there will be required a host of men who have received a good general education suited to the needs of their several callings. India should look forward to the day when her soldiers, policemen, postmen, builders, farmers, etc., will be literate and will have received that type of education which should be given in rural middle schools. It is both wasteful and harmful that in many provinces almost the only form of education now open to boys who wish to pursue these callings should be that given in a middle English school, the training of which is based on urban requirements and the main object of which is success in a matriculation examination.²

It is interesting to note that the question whether English should be a subject of instruction at the middle school stage or

not arose even at this early date. One section of thinkers argued that it was the study of English that attracted boys to clerical and sedentary pursuits and that, unless it was removed, the diversification of the middle school stage would not materialize. Others argued that there was no prospect for a secondary school in which English was not taught. Unfortunately, the Committee gave no clear ruling on the matter although, it increased the emphasis on English *indirectly* by the following recommendations :—

While, we are convinced that the development and reconstruction of the middle vernacular school would contribute to the solution of the secondary as well as the primary school problems, we do not wish for a moment that opportunities should be withheld from those village boys who may still be eager to enter an anglo-vernacular school with a view to passing the matriculation and obtaining employment in the town and possibly a high position in the State. For this reason, in particular, we have already criticised the unequal distribution of facilities for anglo-vernacular education which obtains in some of the provinces. It is possible that our suggestion of an intensive course in English at the end of the vernacular course may be useful in making easier the transition from the vernacular to an anglo-vernacular school, especially as many witnesses have told us that the boy who has received a vernacular schooling, though he may be handicapped at first by his weakness in English, very often outstrips the anglo-vernacular boy in the long run, in consequence of his better grasp of those general subjects which he has learnt through the vernacular.¹

Turning to the second recommendation, the Committee observed :—

There is also the boy to be considered whose bent is to industrial rather than rural pursuits ; and it is unreasonable that he also should be compelled to undertake a secondary school course which leads only to the matriculation examination and which is dominated throughout by its requirements. It is true that in almost all provinces attempts have been made in recent years to introduce practical or pre-vocational instruction in the ordinary schools ; but it is evident that there has been as yet no clear appreciation of the aim of such instruction, and its proper relationship to the ordinary school course. In some provinces, it is regarded merely as a form of manual instruction which is helpful as part of the general education of pupils ; it is to be welcomed as such. In other provinces, although the instruction is definitely intended to be pre-vocational, it is imparted in the higher classes of secondary schools to pupils who, in the majority of cases, are striving to qualify for admission into the colleges and have no intention whatever of making use of the instruction as a preliminary to technical training. Only in a few cases is this instruction imparted in such a manner and at such a stage of the school course that pupils are definitely encouraged, after receiving a suitable measure of general education, to leave school in order to take up some practical occupation or to receive technical instruction in a special institution. The uncertainty of aim and thought has been accentuated by the fact that, in most provinces, the industrial schools are controlled by a separate Department of Industries and, in some cases, by a minister other than the Minister of Education ;

and therefore that they tend to be regarded almost as rivals to the ordinary schools. It is the exception rather than the rule to find in India an educational system in which the industrial and the ordinary schools are regarded as complementary to each other. . . .

It has been suggested that in order to facilitate the diversion of pupils to industrial schools and to other pursuits, an examination should be held to mark the completion of the middle stage of the anglo-vernacular course, corresponding to the examination held in some provinces to mark the termination of the middle vernacular course This examination . . . should be the great school junction and clearing house. By its means, boys would be drafted into that line of study for which each appeared to be most suited.¹

(b) *Improvement in the Training and Service Conditions of Secondary Teachers*: Even more important was the recommendation of the Committee that something should be done to improve the service conditions of secondary teachers. While appreciating the improvement that had been brought about in the training of secondary teachers since 1904, the Committee felt that a good deal of further action was still necessary. It said :—

From the evidence before us there appear to be great differences in the quality of the training colleges in the several provinces. In some the methods used are conventional and obsolete ; in others valuable work is being done on the investigation and application of modern methods and there is evidence that they are accomplishing real work in the way of stimulating experiments and in introducing new methods into the schools. The best of these institutions are attracting a keener and more intelligent type of recruit and are inspiring him with a new spirit. Institutions such as these are turning out not merely mechanically trained teachers but men able to appreciate the many-sided difficulties of school organisation and well-equipped to meet them. On the other hand, we feel that enough cannot be done in the short space of nine months, which is all that is usually available, to uproot the old methods of teaching to which many of the students are accustomed ; and for many of the teachers more frequent refresher courses at the training colleges would be of great advantage. . . .

As in the case of primary schools, the average quality of the teacher and of the teaching depends to a considerable extent on the pay and conditions of service. The best type of men cannot be attracted to the profession so long as these remain unsatisfactory and only too frequently the teachers have no heart in their work. In no province is the pay of the teacher sufficient to give him the status which his work demands and in some provinces *e.g.*, Bengal and Bihar, the pay of the teacher is often woefully low. The conditions of service, though still far from satisfactory, have improved in recent years and provident fund and pension schemes have been widely introduced. But the most serious difficulty facing the teacher in the great majority of privately managed schools and in some managed by local bodies, is insecurity of tenure. Generally, no contracts or agreements are made and teachers are frequently sent away at short notice. We have had it in evidence that some schools even make it a practice to recruit teachers temporarily for nine months, thus avoiding the payment of vacation salaries, the payment of increments and the necessity for appointing permanent trained men. The salaries of teachers are not infrequently paid very irregularly and compulsory

levies for school purposes are sometimes made from the teachers' slender earnings. In spite of what has been done in recent years, the conditions of service of the teacher must be greatly altered before the quality of secondary education can become satisfactory.¹

25. General Review of Secondary Education (1937). The foregoing account of the history of secondary education between 1921 and 1937 will show that the most important feature of the period was a rapid expansion and multiplication of secondary schools, especially of those under private management. Obviously, such an expansion is a welcome feature of the educational life of a country. But it has also its darker side ; one has to note that this expansion of secondary education not only accentuated some of the existing defects of the system but also created new problems of its own. The most important of these may be briefly stated as under :—

(a) The large increase in the enrolment of girls at the secondary stage necessitated the planning of special courses suited to their needs and raised questions regarding the advisability of co-education, the organization of special secondary schools for girls, the appointment of women teachers in mixed secondary schools and the training of women teachers ;

(b) The opening of schools in rural areas necessitated the preparation of secondary courses in keeping with rural environment ;

(c) The rush of pupils to secondary schools and the absence of vocational courses to divert them into various walks of life increased the drift to the matriculation and to colleges ; and the work of universities was hampered by the inflow of a number of candidates who were not likely to be benefited by a University course ;

(d) There was a complaint from some quarters that the inordinate rush of pupils to secondary schools was leading to a lowering of standards ; and it was generally felt that the organization of secondary education was showing signs of a strain under the great increase in the number of schools and scholars ;

(e) The problem of educated unemployment began to loom large on the horizon, as the outturn of persons who had received a literary education was far in excess of the needs of the black-coated professions ;

(f) The problem of secondary education became virtually the problem of aided secondary schools, and questions regarding grants to aided schools and the remuneration and conditions of service of teachers working in them began to receive prominent attention ;

(g) Finally, there was a large increase in the secondary schools managed on a communal or sectarian basis. Although there are certain advantages in this type of school, especially with regard to the provision of religious instruction, there are some serious drawbacks as pointed out by the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1927-32* :—

The rapid multiplication of these schools has not only resulted in unnecessary duplication and extravagance, sometimes in weakening of discipline, but also in stimulating the unfortunate communal controversies which mar the progress of India. . . . It cannot be beneficial that boys should spend the impressionable years of youth in the narrowing atmosphere of a communal institution and that they should be denied intimate association with boys of other communities.¹

It was owing to these and other problems that a demand for a drastic reform of the system of secondary education began to be made during this period. As the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal observed :—

There is the problem of waste, of misdirected effort, of a training that fits a boy for college and almost unfits him for everything else, that takes boys away from the normal and natural occupations of the country and leaves them hopeless and helpless at the end. The first question that the educationalist must ask is ' what should and does it all lead to ? ' and this is the question which, in Bengal, is constantly shirked or to which, at any rate, no answer has yet been found. The existing system refuses to recognise that it has had its day and must cease to be, at any rate, as a general system for the whole province ; there must be changes or alternatives.²

It is these problems of great importance to which the Indian educationists of today have to find a solution.

26. Primary Education. The most important event of the history of Indian education under diarchy is the rapid development of mass education. We have seen in Chapter X that the slow advance of mass education was one of the weakest links in the modern educational system of India, and that Government policy had often been criticised on that account. Indian public opinion had shown a very keen interest in mass education and the liquidation of illiteracy and it was, therefore, generally expected that the Indian Ministers would try their best to grapple with the

problem of universal, free, and compulsory, primary education. This, in fact, they did ; and the following brief notes will show how this war against illiteracy was generally planned.

27. Primary Education Acts. The most important event of the decade 1917-27 was the passing of Compulsory Education Acts in most of the provinces of British India. Some of these Acts, it is true, were passed prior to the transfer of the education department to Indian Ministers. But, as action on most of them began to be taken only during the period under review, more appropriately, their study forms part of the development of education under diarchy.

The following table shows the details regarding the various provincial Acts of compulsory education as they were in force at the end of this period :—

Year.	Province.	Name of the Act.	Compulsion whether for Boys or Girls.	Whether applicable to Rural or Urban areas.
1919	Punjab	Primary Education Act	Boys	Both
"	United Provinces	"	Both	Municipal
"	Bengal	"	Boys (extended to girls by an amendment in 1932)	"
"	Bihar and Orissa	"	Boys	Both
1920	Bombay	City of Bombay P. E. Act	Both	Applicable to City of Bombay only
"	Central Provinces	P. E. Act	"	Both
"	Madras	Elementary Education Act	"	"
1923	Bombay	P. E. Act	"	Applicable to the whole of the Province except Bombay City
1926	Assam	"	"	Both
"	United Provinces	District Boards P. E. Act	"	To rural areas only
1930	Bengal	Bengal (Rural) P. E. Act	"	"

A detailed study of each individual Act is beyond the scope of this book. But the following comments on their main features will be found interesting :—

(a) These Acts transferred large powers of administration

to the local self-government institutions which were entrusted with the responsibility of making adequate provision for primary education in their areas. The extent of the powers transferred varied from province to province, and is given in detail in para. 46 *infra*.

(b) All the Acts make it a duty of the local authorities to study the needs of their areas and to prepare schemes for the expansion and development of primary education within their jurisdiction.

(c) In all the Acts, the initiative in the matter of introducing compulsion is left with the local authorities ; and in some Acts, as in Bombay, power is reserved to Government in certain circumstances, to take the initiative in introducing and enforcing compulsory education.

(d) In all provinces, the local authorities are given the power to levy an educational cess in order to meet their own share of the cost of providing primary education, whether on a compulsory or on a voluntary basis.

(e) In all provinces, Government undertakes to assist the local authorities financially in order to enable them to introduce compulsory education.

(f) The age of compulsion for elementary education varies from province to province. In provinces with a four years' course, it is generally fixed at 6 to 10 except in the Punjab where the optional age-period of 7 to 11 is also provided ; on the other hand, in provinces with a five years' course, the age of compulsion is generally fixed at 6 to 11.

(g) The Acts make provision for prosecuting parents for failure to send their children to school, and all Acts, except that of Madras, penalise the employment of children within the age-period of compulsion in areas where compulsory education is enforced.

The above analysis will show that the view taken in most of the provinces was that primary education is a subject of local administration and responsibility. It was in pursuance of this view only that Provincial Governments liberalised the constitution of local self government institutions, gave them additional

devolution of authority in primary education to local self-government institutions is the second forward step in the development of such institutions—the first having been initiated by Lord Ripon—and forms the most important characteristic of the period under review.

28. Provincial Programmes of Expansion. Equally interesting are the several schemes of expansion drawn up by Provincial Governments during this period, some of which are described below.

Madras.—In May 1923, the Government of Madras convened a conference to discuss the expansion and improvement of primary education. As a result of the recommendations of this Conference, Government carried out, during 1924-25, a survey of all the population centres in the Province where an elementary school ought to exist. Maps and consolidated registers of statistics were accordingly prepared for each taluk and the survey records were completed and published in 1925. The work is a monumental achievement and deserves to be copied by all Provincial Governments in India. A definite programme of expansion was also drawn up and a beginning was made with a view to providing a school in all school-less population centres with 500 or more persons. It was also decided to give liberal encouragement to private schools and to start departmental schools only in such areas where a private school was not likely to be established.

Bengal.—The schemes of expansion drawn up in Bengal were mainly three:—the Panchayat Union Scheme, the Biss Scheme, and the District School Boards' Scheme.

A Panchayat Union is a local body constituted under the Bengal Local Self-Government Act, 1885, and has usually a group of villages under its jurisdiction. The plan was to establish at least one cheap school for each Panchayat Union, the cost of the building (about Rs. 1,000) being entirely borne by Government. The maintenance of the school was mainly the duty of the Panchayat.

The second scheme is known as the "Biss Scheme" after its author, Evan E. Biss, who was put on special duty in 1920 to draw up a scheme for the expansion and improvement of primary education in Bengal. Biss found that private schools clustered and competed where fees could be secured while the

poorer and more backward areas went without schools. He, therefore, proposed the holding of an educational survey and the establishment of at least one school, public or private, in each centre of population within a radius of a mile and a half. If the population centre was a big one, Biss recommended the establishment of a set of schools whose work would be properly co-ordinated. He also suggested that the cost of such schools should be borne by Government and the Union or Municipality concerned on a fifty-fifty basis—the local bodies having the option of levying an educational cess under the Bengal Primary Education Act of 1919 to meet their own share of the cost.

The third scheme was the most ambitious of all, and was embodied later in the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act of 1930. The Act proposed the constitution of a School Board in each district consisting of a few officials and a majority of non-officials. The main duty of this body was to survey the educational needs of the district concerned and to adopt a definite programme of expansion and improvement. With this end in view, the Act gave the School Boards authority to introduce compulsory education and to finance it with the help of an educational cess and the grants which Government undertook to pay.

Bombay.—The Government of Bombay appointed, in 1921, a special committee under the Chairmanship of Sir N. G. Chandavarkar to enquire into the desirability and practicability of introducing universal, compulsory, and free elementary education in the Province. The main recommendations of the Committee may be summarised as under :—

(a) Compulsion should be introduced for boys only in the first instance and the education of girls should be developed on a voluntary basis. An exception to this rule may, perhaps, be made in the case of city municipalities where compulsory education may be introduced forthwith for boys and girls.

(b) An educational survey of each district should be carried out.

(c) Schools should be opened in one-tenth of the school-less villages every year, thus completing a programme of the adequate provision of schools in ten years.

(d) Compulsion should first be introduced in towns and then extended to villages. In school-less villages, compulsion may be introduced three years after a school has been opened therein in accordance with the recommendation (c) above.

The Committee expected that its programme of expansion would double the number of pupils under instruction within ten

would be Rs. 110 lakhs of which Government would have to bear Rs. 77 lakhs, the rest being paid by the local bodies.

Bihar and Orissa.—In 1925, the Government of Bihar and Orissa convened a conference of local authorities to consider programmes of expansion. The object of these programmes was to provide elementary education for 80 per cent of the boys of school-going age. Separate orders were passed on each individual programme but an idea about their general outline can be had from the following principles which came to be ultimately adopted by Government :—

(a) Each district board was required to maintain up-to-date maps showing all information of educational interest.

(b) Government accepted a ratio of 20 boys to one teacher in sparsely populated districts and 25 boys to one teacher in thickly populated districts.

(c) Government also accepted as a cardinal feature of its policy the provision of two teachers in every lower primary school.

(d) If sufficient numbers offered themselves, denominational schools were to be opened.

(e) Special schools were to be opened for depressed classes wherever possible, and their progress was to be reported every three years.

(f) Government did not agree to any further extension of free education, except where boards were prepared to meet the cost from their own resources.

(g) Government thought that time was not yet ripe for a universal scheme of compulsion in rural areas, but was prepared to consider individual cases for application of compulsion in limited rural areas.

Punjab.—The schemes of expansion in the Punjab deserve special notice. In the following interesting passage, the Director of Public Instruction of that Province explains the underlying principles of these schemes :—

The main principles which have guided the educational policy are those of expansion, economy, efficiency and equality. The mere fact that, four years ago, only 2·7 per cent (instead of the required 15 per cent) of the total population was receiving instruction, has demanded a speedy *expansion*. The very urgency of the expansion, allied with the serious financial shortage, has demanded the exercise of drastic *economy* so that every rupee saved should be made available to the much needed expansion. The depressing statistics showing that a very large proportion of the pupils have been congregated in the lowest class and thus rarely reach even the fringe of literacy, have demanded a large measure of *efficiency*. The alarming backwardness of several areas and communities have demanded a nearer approach to the *equality* in the advance that is being made.¹

The second point of interest in the Punjab system is the unit of the area selected for compulsion. The plan of the Government

availed themselves of them on a voluntary basis. If a school had accommodation, teachers, etc., for 100 boys, and if only 40 or 50 boys attended that school voluntarily, Government considered this to be a fit case to introduce compulsion *in the area served by the school*. This principle was described as *the doctrine of filling in the vacant places* and according to it, compulsion became "an economy, and not a luxury which must wait for better times".¹

The third feature of interest in the Punjab Scheme was its system of grants to the local boards. The Punjab Government *graded* the boards according to their economic capacities—the grade of each board being defined as the percentage of the additional expenditure that Government undertook to pay. These grades varied from 60 to 100. The grants given to the boards in 1918 were considered as *basic grants* and were continued in full; and in addition to the basic grants, Government agreed to pay to each board a percentage of its *additional* expenditure equal to its grade. This system admits of the payment of a larger grant to a poorer and more backward district and is vastly superior to the alternative system of paying a flat rate of grant to all the district boards in the province.

United Provinces.—In order to encourage the local boards to expand primary education, the Government of the United Provinces introduced an interesting scheme of grants which is known popularly as the *contract scheme*. The Director of the Province describes it in the following words :—

(a) Government prescribes for each board the minimum amount which it is bound to provide in its budget under each of the following five heads, *viz.*, (i) vernacular middle schools; (ii) ordinary primary classes, including training classes; (iii) Islamia schools and maktabas; (iv) depressed class education; and (v) female education.

(b) Towards the total expenditure by the boards under these heads, Government gives a lump general grant.

(c) Each board has, therefore, to provide in its budget an amount under each head not less than the minimum prescribed for that head. The difference between the amount provided in the budget and the amount actually expended is required to be credited to an education fund for each head; this fund can be used only for new buildings, equipment and similar non-recurring items of expenditure, under the head for which the savings have accrued.

(d) A board may not transfer, from the minimum prescribed expenditure, funds between the five heads specified, but may from funds at its disposal increase the provision under any of these heads, provided that it does not reduce

(e) If a board decides in any year to increase its recurring expenditure under any head over the prescribed minimum, it does so on the clear understanding that the board is committed to the increased recurring expenditure in future years, and that the minimum prescribed under that head will consequently be reckoned at the increased figure.¹

There is no need to pursue the subject further. The above outlines of some of the provincial schemes will show all the salient features of the manner in which the solution of the problem of universal primary education was attempted; and students of the documents of this period will admit that the experiment of the expansion of primary education was begun well and in right earnest by the Indian Ministers.

29. **Achievements of the Period 1922-27.** As may be easily anticipated, therefore, the expansion of primary education was very rapid in the quinquennium 1922-27. The following statistics tell their own tale:—

TABLE I.
General Results

	1921-22.	1926-27.
1. Number of Primary Schools	155,017	184,829
2. Number of Pupils in Primary Schools	6,109,752	8,017,923
3. Expenditure on Primary Education (direct)	4,94,69,080	6,75,14,802

TABLE II.
Areas under Compulsion

Province.	Municipalities and Urban Areas.	District Boards and Rural Areas.
Madras	21	3
Bombay	6	..
United Provinces	25	..
Punjab	57	1,499
Bihar and Orissa	1	3
Central Provinces	3	66
Delhi	1	..
Total	114	1,571

N.B.—The rural areas in the Punjab are the areas served by individual schools.

Commenting on these results, the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1922-27*, observes :—

The causes for this accelerated expansion are not far to seek. Economic conditions have improved, the finances of the provinces have expanded, post-war difficulties have largely disappeared, public interest has been directed towards primary and mass education, programmes of educational expansion have been undertaken both under and outside of the Elementary Education Acts in the various provinces, a large number of new schools have been opened, unrecognised schools have been recognised, and the number of areas in which compulsion has been introduced has increased.¹

30/ The Report of the Hartog Committee. The next quinquennium, however, witnessed a slackening of the pace of expansion due mainly to two causes : the first was the economic depression to which we have already referred. This led to the abandonment of most of the schemes of expansion and even necessitated large cuts in existing expenditure. The second cause of the slackening was the recommendation of the Hartog Committee to the effect that Government should adopt a policy of consolidation rather than of expansion,—a recommendation that came generally to dominate official view-point during the decade 1927-37. As the subject is of great importance, we propose to examine at some length the main findings and recommendations of the Committee on the subject of mass education.

It is interesting to note that the Committee decided to give special attention to the problem of primary education, because its condition was far from satisfactory, "due in part to the fact that while much attention has been paid in the past to a consideration of the higher forms of education, the problems of primary education have been comparatively neglected."² It is strange that this observation should have been made successively by the Despatch of 1854, the reviews of education held by Government of India between 1866-70, the Indian Education Commission, 1882, the Resolution of Government on Educational Policy dated 11th March, 1904, and then again by the Hartog Committee ! This can only mean that in spite of all the discussions and schemes for expanding primary education during the last hundred years or so, the problem had not yet been squarely and fully faced.

¹ pp. 115-16

To begin with, the Committee pointed out that there were *special difficulties in the path of the progress of primary education* such as the following :—

(a) Primary education in India is essentially a *rural problem* as 87 per cent of the population lives in villages. As the Committee observe :—

Primary education in towns is comparatively easy to provide, organize and make efficient. Schools and staffs are larger, good teachers are easier to secure, and adequate supervision and inspection can be more easily provided. It is less difficult to cater for the needs of particular communities or classes. On the other hand, sites and proper ' elbow room ' for schools cost more.

In rural areas school units are usually small ; adequate staffing is more expensive ; the conditions of life are not attractive to teachers unless they are specially selected and trained ; women teachers cannot, as a rule, live in villages unless circumstances are exceptionally favourable ; the teachers are isolated and the difficulties of administration, supervision and inspection are much greater ; and it is more difficult to secure regular and prolonged attendance of children.¹

(b) Poverty, illiteracy, and conservatism of the average parent which make him slow to appreciate the advantages of education, unwilling to send his children to a school or to keep them there for a sufficiently long period, and unable to make the financial sacrifices which are necessary to secure good education ;

(c) Low density of population coupled very often with scantiness of the means of communication, physical obstacles as in hilly areas or deltas, and unfavourable climatic conditions ;

(d) Existence of large tracts of backward areas ;

(e) Irregularity of attendance due to causes mentioned in (b) above and also to epidemic and seasonal illness ; and

(f) Difficulties created by barriers of caste, and by religious, communal and linguistic differences. As the Committee observe :—

The problem of effective school provision is complicated by the barriers of caste, by religious, communal and linguistic difficulties. Such complications are by no means unknown in other countries, but in many parts of India they are peculiarly acute, and they impede the construction of a system of mass primary education which on grounds of social solidarity as well as on grounds of economy and efficiency is now generally regarded as the best type of public system,—a system under which the children of all sections of the population sit together in the same school and enjoy equal opportunities of education. The existence of millions of persons who are regarded by the majority of the population as untouchable and who in some places are even regarded as "贱民" (lepers and outcasts) is a great obstacle to the progress of primary education.

creates an educational problem which it would be difficult to parallel elsewhere. In Madras, for example, large numbers of schools are situated in areas in which the Hindu social system does not permit a depressed class pupil to enter.

We refer later to the complications caused by communal and religious differences and the extent to which through insistence on segregate schools they are responsible for the provision of an uneconomic multiplicity of school units, and for the persistence of many unrecognised institutions which stand outside the public system.

The linguistic difficulty also, even where it does not arise out of communal differences and the affection of communities for their classical language, is in India serious. Most provinces are divided into a number of linguistic areas, sub-divided into bilingual and multi-lingual districts. In the Agency and Hill Tracts there are innumerable language groups and tribal languages.¹

The Committee then drew attention to the rapid growth in the number of primary schools and the pupils attending them, but came to the conclusion that the position was not as rosy as the figures would lead one to infer. The Committee found *that there was a good deal of waste in the system* which acted as a set-off against the progress in numbers. In the opinion of the Committee, the following were the main causes of this waste :—

(a) *Wastage and Stagnation*: The Committee found that there was a considerable diminution in enrolment from class to class in primary schools. Taking British India as a whole, the Committee calculated that there were 5,33,878 pupils in Class I in 1922-23, 1,61,228 in Class II in 1923-24, 86,846 pupils in Class III in 1924-25, 55,794 pupils in Class IV in 1925-26, and 33,588 pupils only in Class V in 1926-27. In other words, out of every 100 children reading in Class I in 1922-23, only 18 reached Class V in 1926-27 ! On this issue, the Committee observed :—

The diminution is mainly due to two causes, which we shall term 'wastage' and 'stagnation'. By 'wastage', in what follows, we mean the premature withdrawal of children from school at any stage before the completion of the primary course. There is of course a diminution in numbers from class to class due to natural causes, such as death and illness, but the mortality figures show that such diminution must be small compared to the total diminution. By 'stagnation' we mean the retention in a lower class of a child for a period of more than one year. Such stagnation obviously leads to the disproportionate size of the lower as compared with the higher classes. The figures taken by themselves do not indicate how far the excessive diminution in numbers from class to class is due to 'wastage' and how far it is due to 'stagnation', but our enquiries show that by far the more potent factor is 'wastage'.

In interpreting the figures it is true that some allowance must be made for special circumstances. A period of rapid expansion naturally results in an abnormal enlargement of Class I, and as a consequence, a temporary disproportion between the numbers in Class I and those in the higher classes. Again, in many

¹ pp. 39-40.

provinces a certain number of new admissions are usually made towards the end of the school year with the result that the new recruits, while swelling the enrolment of Class I, cannot hope to obtain promotion till after the completion of the following year. But even when we make all possible allowance and discount the figures liberally, the hard facts of wastage and stagnation are shocking.¹

(b) *Relapse into Illiteracy*: "The losses due to wastage," say the Committee,

prevent all but a few pupils from becoming literate, but even of these few it is not possible to say with any confidence that many will not rapidly relapse into illiteracy. It is impossible to give figures for such relapse but there is every indication that they are large. It is difficult to correlate at all satisfactorily the census figures for literacy with the figures for school attendance. But the fact that the number of literates in the age group 10-15 in the census of 1921 was approximately only half the number of pupils in the age group five to ten at school five years previously indicates not only waste but a rapid relapse into illiteracy.

The explanation of such relapse is simple. Retention of initial literacy acquired at the early age of ten or eleven depends largely on environment, and the environment of the great majority of Indian pupils who leave school at the primary stage is not conducive to such retention. The parents in the village home are usually illiterate, they are too poor to buy books, and attractive vernacular literature and periodicals suitable for children are not available, though there are vernacular books which might be read by children under religious impulse.²

(c) *Absence of Systematic Efforts at Adult Education*: Only sporadic attempts were made on a small scale to encourage night schools, classes for women, lantern lectures, village libraries, etc., but very little had been attempted on a systematic basis.

(d) *Inadequate Provision of Elementary Schools*: The Committee observe :—

The problem of school provision divides itself roughly into two : (a) provision for the smaller villages with a population of under 500, which number over 364,000 and (b) provision for the larger villages with a population of over 500, and for the towns which together number about 136,000. According to the census of 1921, 71·8 per cent of the population live in the larger villages (as defined above) and the towns. The only provinces in which more than 30 per cent live in smaller villages are the United Provinces (35 per cent), Bihar (36·5 per cent), the Central Provinces (40 per cent) and Assam (55 per cent). The problem of school provision in the smaller villages is very difficult. It may be solved to some extent by the rapid growth of motor traffic and by the establishment of branch schools ; but much remains to be done.

On the other hand, there is every reason to believe, that the vast majority of the 136,000 towns and larger villages are already provided with primary school-units for boys, of which the total number is over 162,000. In Madras, 80 per cent of the villages with a population of 500—1,000, and 93 per cent of the villages with a population of 1,000—2,000 have schools. The provision is most

liberal in Madras, Bengal and Bihar ; in the Central Provinces, United Provinces and Burma, it is least.

It is true that the existence of a school-unit does not imply that there is sufficient school accommodation ; and though many of the existing schools are not yet fully utilised, the increase in the number of pupils who would attend under a universal compulsory system would demand a very large increase in the total accommodation. It is also true that a better distribution of schools is needed.¹

(e) *Unsatisfactory Distribution of Schools*: The Committee found that in almost all the provinces, schools were distributed in an unsatisfactory manner so that "there were large areas without a school, while in others were many little schools indulging in cut-throat competition for the children."

(f) *Inadequate Utilisation of Existing Schools*: "There is also a great deal of waste of money and effort", write the Committee, owing to the small enrolment of many schools. There are very large numbers of boys who live within easy reach of a school and yet do not attend it ; while, as we have seen, there are also large numbers who come for a few months or for a year or two and then leave, before they have had any opportunity to become literate. It is in those provinces which have the largest number of schools that the average enrolment is smallest.²

(g) *Single-teacher Schools*: The Committee found that about 60 per cent of the primary schools in British India were single-teacher schools—the figures varying from 15.7 per cent in the Central Provinces to 76 per cent in Bengal. "On this matter," observe the Committee,

we have consulted a number of experienced witnesses. It may be that, in favourable circumstances, with a good teacher trained in methods of plural class teaching, a school of this type serves a useful purpose, but we cannot think that there is much promise of effective progress in a system which depends so predominantly on schools of this type. A teacher who is untrained and of meagre qualifications and who can obtain little or no assistance from the inspecting staff, cannot be expected single-handed to teach several classes with a large number of pupils, very unequally distributed among these classes.³

(h) *Ephemeral character* of many primary schools.

(i) The existence of a large number of *three-class single-teacher schools* was also responsible for waste because the pupils in these schools could not be expected to attain literacy or to retain it.

(j) *Unsuitable Curriculum*: The Committee agreed with the Royal Commission on Agriculture which pointed out that "education in rural areas should bear a close relationship to the

daily lives of the people" and that it was "essential to the happiness and efficiency of children in the villages that their upbringing should be in harmony with their environment," and observed :—

Much criticism has been levelled against the curricula adopted in the primary schools. A curriculum unrelated to the conditions of the village life results in a divorce between the interests of the school and the interests of the home and in the stiffening of the belief among the rural population that little benefit is to be obtained from the sacrifice involved in sending their children to school. Modifications in the curricula are doubtless required so that the pupils shall read about things which are familiar to them and shall calculate the value of those articles which are in common use in the life of the village.¹

(k) *Ineffective Teaching*: The Committee found that only 44 per cent of the primary teachers in primary schools for boys were trained—the percentage varying from 25 in Bengal to 66 in the United Provinces; that the average monthly salary of teachers varied from Rs. 8-6-0 in Bengal to Rs. 47-0-0 in Bombay; that the training given to primary teachers was both inadequate and unsatisfactory, and that its results were not always happy on account of the low general education of the persons recruited for training. The Committee, therefore, opined that these causes seriously reduced the efficiency of teaching and the effectiveness of primary education.

(l) *Inadequacy of the Inspecting Staff*: The Committee found that the average number of schools to be supervised by each inspecting officer varied from 61 in the Central Provinces to 177 in Bengal, and observed :—

Rules and regulations prescribe the number of visits (two or three) which should be paid to each primary school during the year. In many cases, it is physically impossible (even if his travelling allotments are sufficient) for an inspector to complete his duties, especially in those areas such as Assam or Bengal, where seasonal conditions make rapid travelling impossible. For example, a sub-inspector in Assam is asked to inspect 148 schools situated in hill tracts three times a year, a total of 444 visits in 365 days.² When the distance to be covered, the difficulties of travelling and the not infrequent insufficiency of allotments for travelling expenses, are taken into account, it is difficult to believe that the staff is sufficient even for the performance of the minimum routine duties of an inspector.³

The Committee then turned to the examination of the experiment of *compulsory education* that was being tried in certain areas. Here also, the Committee found that the position was

far from satisfactory. In their opinion the Compulsory Education Acts contained technical flaws ; the officials lacked experience ; local authorities showed no interest in the experiment and did not avail themselves of the power to prosecute ; and there were delays in the conviction of defaulters.

Secondly, the Committee strongly objected to the provision in the several Compulsory Education Acts which left the initiative in introducing compulsion entirely to the local authorities. They observed :—

Experience in Bengal, however, and to a lesser extent in other provinces, shows that local option may result in almost complete inaction on the part of local bodies for a considerable period of time to come. It seems clear that a mere enabling statute will not provide any guarantee for the speedy and widespread application of compulsion.

In our opinion, the responsibility for mass education rests primarily with the State ; and the provision of educational facilities for all classes of the community and for all areas should not be left entirely to the mercy of local authorities who may be unwilling, either for political or other reasons, to initiate schemes by which compulsion may be financed, or who, owing to the backwardness of the area of the people, may be unable to devise suitable measures for compulsion on their own initiative. Accompanied by necessary safeguards, the power to enforce compulsion should provide local Governments with the very necessary authority to supervise the expansion of mass education in the provinces in such a way that all areas and all classes of the community may benefit by the increased expenditure of public funds.¹

31. Recommendations of the Hartog Committee. The foregoing discussion has already indicated the lines on which the main recommendations of the Committee were based. These may be briefly summarised as under :—

(a) A policy of consolidation should be adopted in preference to one of diffusion.

(b) The minimum duration of the primary course should be of four years.

(c) The standard of the general education of primary teachers should be raised ; the training course should be sufficiently long ; the training institutions for primary teachers should be adequately staffed and made more efficient ; refresher courses and conferences of primary teachers must be frequently arranged ; and the remuneration and conditions of service of primary teachers should be such as will enable the profession to attract and retain men of good quality.

¹ pp. 86-7.

(d) The curriculum of primary schools should be liberalised. "We, therefore, feel strongly," wrote the Committee,

that the aim of every village school should include, not merely the attainment of literacy but the larger objective, namely, the raising of the standard of village life in all its aspects. A well-attended school directly related to the surrounding conditions can do much towards training the younger generation in ways of hygiene, physical culture, improved sanitation, thrift and self-reliance. The school itself can also, as notable examples have proved, claim a leading and respected place in the village community by directly assisting, in however simple a manner, in the provision of simple medical relief, adult instruction, vernacular literature, and attractive recreation.¹

(e) School hours and school holidays should be adjusted to seasonal and local requirements.

(f) Special attention should be given to the lowest class in primary schools and determined efforts should be made to reduce the large extent of stagnation and wastage that prevail therein.

(g) Rural uplift work should be undertaken and centred in the school.

(h) The devolution of authority in primary education to local bodies has been excessive. Primary education is a subject of national importance and hence it is the duty of Government to assume necessary powers of control and improve the efficiency of administration.

(i) The inspecting staff of Government should be considerably strengthened.²

(j) No hasty attempts should be made to introduce compulsion but attention should be directed to a careful preparation of the ground. As the Committee observed :—

We have been much struck by the feeling expressed in many places that the immediate panacea for all the defects which now darken the picture of primary education is to be found in compulsion. Although we regard compulsion as essential to the ultimate success of any scheme of mass education, we realise that the immediate and widespread application of compulsion would present serious, and in some places almost insuperable financial difficulties, and that a sound system of national vernacular education can only be developed upon lines which permit the consolidation of one position before another position is attacked. In many places a drastic reorganization of the elementary system should precede any wide application of compulsion; for an impetuous and ill-considered application of the principle would inevitably result in much unprofitable expenditure of money and even in an accentuation of many of the present evils. To compel children to attend or stay in ineffective, ill-equipped and badly staffed schools, such as are found at present in large numbers in many provinces, can only result in a serious addition to the existing waste. . . . In the Punjab . . .

¹ p. 78.

² For details of recommendations (h) and (i), see para. 46 *infra*.

the policy is not to attempt to apply compulsion throughout a large area, but rather to build up strong vernacular schools in rural areas and then gradually to extend the sphere of compulsion from one village to another as soon as each single school area appears to be ripe for compulsion. It is probable that the employment of such methods is conducive to the rapid and equitable application of compulsion. In every province, to a greater or lesser extent, there must be already a large number of schools which are well-attended and in which, with some addition to the staff and possibly to the buildings, compulsion might be applied immediately and economically.¹

§2. Criticism of the Hartog Committee's Report : The Official View. This report was warmly received in official circles and came to dominate official thought throughout the period under review. A study of the reports of the provincial Directors of Public Instruction of this period shows a general uniformity of ideas ; such defects as the prevalence of wastage and stagnation, extreme devolution of authority to local bodies, inadequacy of the inspecting staff, are found to be frequently emphasized. The official view was still predominantly in favour of the policy of consolidation which had been laid down by the Government Resolution of 1913. Out of deference to the strong public opinion, it had temporarily accepted the policy of expansion which thus held the field in the quinquennium 1922-27. The Report of the Hartog Committee, however, came as a triumph to the official view ; for it attempted to show that a policy of expansion had proved ineffective and wasteful and that a policy of consolidation alone was suited to Indian conditions.

A brief survey of the provincial policies of this period will be found very interesting. For instance, there was a protest from many quarters "against a reckless and impetuous multiplication of primary schools".² The Central Provinces report for 1927-32 takes consolation in the thought that "inefficient schools have been removed from the struggle....several schools with comparatively small enrolment have been closed".³ The Bihar and Orissa report for 1927-32 states that in the earlier years of the quinquennium, "many boards and individuals opened schools more rapidly than was prudent"⁴ and adds that the effects of retrenchment were *salutary* as it led to the disappearance of unaided institutions. In Bombay, the primary schools increased by a *meagre* 797 in five years (1927-32)—an event on

¹ pp. 87-8.

² *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, p. 4.

³ p. 42.

⁴ p. 51.

which the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India felt called upon to observe that it was doubtful "whether, with its depleted finances, this province can afford to multiply its primary schools at so *rapid* a pace, especially when *other aspects of education need prior attention.*"¹ In Madras, the number of primary schools decreased from 46,389 in 1927 to 41,141, in 1937 and the Director observed that "the policy of expansion which was in full swing between 1920 and 1930, countenanced the establishment of a large number of inefficient, uneconomic and superfluous schools which proved worse than useless. This policy of expansion has led to the recent reaction in favour of concentration and elimination, which is partly responsible for the reduction in the number of elementary schools."² We need not multiply instances. Those given above will show how the report of the Hartog Committee came to dominate the official view-point during this period.

33. Criticism of the Hartog Committee's Report : The Non-Official View. On the other hand, the non-official view, in general, gave a cold and hostile reception to the Hartog Committee's Report. The main points in this criticism may be summarised as under :—

(a) The non-official opinion was generally in favour of expansion, and a very rapid expansion at that. It was pointed out that the rate of expansion of mass literacy in India was extremely slow ; that the percentage of literacy had increased from 3·5 in 1881 to only 8·0 in 1931—an increase of less than one per cent in every decade ; that the rate of increase of literacy had not kept pace with the growth of population—which increased at one per cent every year ; that the increase in the number of illiterates was far greater than the increase in the number of literates ; 'that education must pour and not trickle' ; and that unless a definite programme for the liquidation of illiteracy was drawn up and carried out, the question of mass education in India would never be solved. As Shri R. V. Parulekar observes :—

Not only the example of other countries but their educational history also shows that rapid expansion must precede all other educational reforms. India has never realised the greatest truth in mass education that slow progress is no progress at all. 'Education can be so gradual as to allow the educated few to be absorbed afresh by the inertia and habits of the uninstructed mass. Education

produces its best effect not when it trickles slowly but when it is rapidly universalised.' The great truth can be illustrated easily. If we want to root out weeds from a big field so as to make it cultivable, we cannot achieve our object by uprooting a weed here or a weed there each day. By the time we proceed a little, the small spots cleared will have a fresh crop of weeds and this process will be almost endless. There is another reason which demands rapid expansion. It has been shown that in India nearly 75 per cent of the new literates produced by schools are not directly reflected in the percentage of literacy because of the high birth and death rate. Gaps rapidly created must be filled up with greater rapidity. Otherwise, progress is bound to be slow or at a standstill as at present.¹

(b) Secondly, non-official view did not accept the opinion of the Committee that *quality* must have prior claim over *quantity*. Whatever the merits of this view in the field of secondary or university education, it was urged that in a country like India with 92 per cent of its population still illiterate, the first objective of Government policy should be to banish illiteracy from the land ; and that the quality of education was a matter that should come *after* illiteracy had been liquidated.

(c) Thirdly, the validity of several of the conclusions drawn by the Committee was keenly contested. For instance, it was pointed out that the extent of wastage was greatly exaggerated by the Committee and that the method adopted by it for the evaluation of wastage was statistically defective² that the conclusion of the Committee that a large percentage of the pupils who attain literacy in schools lapse into illiteracy at a later date is logically inaccurate;³ that the average salary of primary teachers in Bombay was never Rs. 47 per mensem, etc.

These criticisms which are but a few among those that were actually offered show how the gulf between official and non-official views had widened during the period under review. In 1937, therefore, India stood almost at the parting of ways. It had to make its choice between these two views and accept either

¹ R. V. Parulekar : *Literacy in India*, pp. 110-11.

² For a detailed study of the problem of wastage and stagnation attention is invited to the *Report on Stagnation and Wastage in Primary Schools*, prepared by the Provincial Board of Primary Education, Bombay Province, Poona, and published by the Government of Bombay.

³ The Committee observed that " the fact that the number of literates in the age group of 10-15 in the census of 1921 was approximately only half the number of pupils in the age group 5-10 five years previously indicates not only waste but a rapid relapse into illiteracy "—p. 49 of the *Report*.

It will be seen that the total reduction amounts to 50 per cent and is due to causes such as—

- (i) Deaths ;
- (ii) Wastage, i.e., the pupils failing to attain literacy, in which case the question of lapse into illiteracy does not arise at all ; and
- (iii) Relapse into illiteracy.

Death rate in India is known to be very high ; wastage was estimated by the Committee itself at

a policy of rapid expansion involving, if necessary, a loss of quality or one of a deliberate attempt to improve quality necessarily involving a curtailment of a programme of expansion.

34. Achievements of the Period 1927-37. The combined effect of the lead given by the Hartog Committee and of the financial stringency caused by the world economic depression was that primary education made comparatively little progress in the period between 1927 and 1937. Compare the following statistics :—

	1921-22.	1926-27.	1931-32.	1936-37.
1. No. of recognised Primary Schools	1,55,017	1,84,829	1,96,708	1,92,244
2. No. of pupils in above	61,09,752	80,17,923	91,62,450	1,02,24,288
3. Total direct expenditure on primary education ..	Rs. 4,94,69,080	Rs. 6,75,14,802	Rs. 7,87,95,236	Rs. 8,13,38,015

It will be seen that the increase of pupils under instruction in the ten years between 1927 and 1937 is only slightly more than that in the quinquennium 1922-27 ; the increase in the number of schools is only 7,415 while that in the preceding quinquennium was 29,812 ; and the increase in expenditure is only about Rs. 138 lakhs, while that in the earlier quinquennium was about Rs. 181 lakhs. Even towards this small increase, Government contribution was smaller than that of the non-Government sources. Details of the total expenditure are not available ; but the following statistics of the direct expenditure on primary schools for boys will throw light on the problem :—

Source.	1921-22.	1926-27.	1936-37.
	(In	lakhs of	Rupees)
Government	233	304	344
Non-Government :			
(a) Boards	71	110	138
(b) Municipalities	35	53	83
(c) Fees	45	49	45
(d) Other sources	37	56	66

Similarly, we find that no serious attempts were made either to introduce compulsion extensively or to enforce it rigidly. The position of areas under compulsion in 1936-37 may be summarised as under :—

Province.	Urban Areas.	Rural Areas.	No. of villages in Rural Areas under compulsion.
Madras	27	7	104
Bombay	9	1	143
Bengal	1	..	..
United Provinces	36	25	1,224
Punjab	63	2,981	10,450
Bihar	1	1	1
Central Provinces and Berar ..	27	8	508
Sind	1	1	613
Orissa	1	1	14
Delhi	1	9	15
Total ..	167	3,034	13,072

The following special features of the situation may be noted :—

(a) Much greater progress has been made in urban areas than in rural ones. This is due to two causes ; firstly, the conditions in urban areas are more favourable to the introduction of compulsion ; and secondly, both Government and the local authorities are tempted to take up schemes in urban areas because the *additional* cost of compulsion in these areas is far less than that of introducing compulsion in rural ones.

(b) Except in the Punjab, the progress of compulsion in rural areas has been extremely slow. Out of the five lakhs of villages in India, only about 13,072 villages have been brought under compulsion. Out of these, as many as 10,450 were in the Punjab alone. The problem of compulsion is mainly a rural problem and hardly any adequate attempt has yet been made to solve it.

(c) Compulsion is needed more for girls than for boys ; and yet more boys have been brought under compulsion than girls. In some provinces, *e.g.*, the Punjab, compulsion can be applied only to boys ; in other provinces, even though the law permits the application of compulsion to girls, most of the compulsory schemes were applicable only to boys.

(d) The rate of extension of compulsion has been very slow. At the rate of progress seen in this period, it would take India nearly 500 years to introduce universal compulsion. In Bombay, for example, the Primary Education Act of 1923 contemplated the introduction of universal compulsion in ten years. But even in 1937, fourteen years after the passing of the Act, only 3 per cent of the population was brought under compulsion. (The City of Bombay which is not governed by the above Act has been excluded in these calculations.)

(e) Even in the few areas where compulsion has been introduced, its enforcement was far from satisfactory. The enrolment of children was not appreciable, and generally only about 60 to 80 per cent of the total number of the children of school-going age were enrolled. The average attendance was low and hardly better than in schools where no compulsion existed. Wastage in compulsory areas was as bad as in non-compulsory ones. The local authorities were unwilling to prosecute defaulting parents and very few prosecutions were launched under the Compulsory Education Acts. To sum up, it may be said that compulsion was not enforced in a rigid manner and that it existed more or less on paper only.

The official attempts, therefore, were concentrated throughout the period on qualitative improvement. The success achieved in this direction was not, however, remarkable. There was some improvement in the training of teachers—the percentage of trained teachers rising from 44 in 1927 to 57 in 1937. There were also several changes in the curriculum of training institutions mainly with a view to enabling teachers to co-ordinate instruction with rural life and environment. In some provinces, an attempt was also made to recruit “more suitable” candidates for training institutions.

This is all that can be said by way of achievements. The rest of the record is hardly one of success. Even at the end of the period, official reports still pointed out the very large prevalence of wastage and stagnation; hardly any attempt was made to provide reading rooms and libraries with a view to altering the environment that leads to lapse into illiteracy; the provision of the inspecting staff was even more inadequate at the end of

inspectors ;”¹ the single-teacher schools still dominated the situation, as indeed they threaten to do to the end of time ; and the salaries of primary teachers deteriorated in Bombay—where they were the highest—and did not improve in other provinces. All things considered, it may be concluded that the improvement in quality was not appreciable and was by no means an adequate compensation for the loss in quantity.

35. Vocational Education (1902-37). The history of vocational education in India prior to 1937 falls into three distinct periods. The first period of early beginnings ends with the establishment of the Universities in 1857 and has been dealt with in Chapter III. The second period of steady but slow advance ended in 1902 and its principal events have been described in Chapter VIII. It was Lord Curzon who turned a new page in the history of vocational education by giving a great impetus to agricultural, technical and art education. The third period in the history of vocational education, therefore, may be said to have begun in 1902 and closed in 1937 when Provincial Autonomy was introduced. We shall now narrate, in brief, the principal events of this last period.

36. Legal Education. The history of legal education in the period 1901 to 1937 can be divided into two sub-periods : 1901 to 1927 and 1927 to 1937. During the first period, there was a steady increase in the number of students in law colleges in British India which increased from 2,767 in 1901-02 to 8,608 in 1926-27. But in the meanwhile, the legal profession became overcrowded and ceased to have that popularity and remunerative character which it had in the period 1857 to 1901 and which continued, to some extent, in the period 1901 to 1927. Consequently, there was a steady decline in the number of students attending law colleges, which stood at 7,357 in 1931-32 and at 6,780 in 1936-37.

In 1937, there were 14 law colleges and 6 law departments of universities in British India. Besides these, six colleges affiliated to the Agra University also gave instruction in law. Of the 14 law colleges, 6 were conducted by Government, 1 was aided and 7 were unaided.

In 1937, the law courses of all the Indian universities began *after* graduation ; but the duration of the course was still an open

question, and some universities such as Calcutta and Delhi had a three years' course while most other universities had a course of two years only. In the same way, law classes affiliated to arts colleges and part-time law colleges still continued to exist, although not to the same extent as in the earlier period.

37. Medical Education. A number of important events in medical education occurred during the period under review.

(a) A Medical Council Act was passed by the Indian Legislature in 1933 and a Medical Council of India came to be constituted under the Act. From the educational point of view, the important duties of the Medical Council are two : to grant recognition to the medical courses of Indian universities, and to secure recognition from foreign medical councils to the degrees granted by Indian universities.

(b) The number of medical colleges in British India rose from 4 with 1,466 students in 1901-02 to 11 with 4,936 students in 1936-37. Of these, 7 were conducted by Government, 1 by the Lucknow University, 1 by the Bombay Corporation and 2 by private bodies. Similarly, the number of medical schools in British India rose from 22 with 2,727 students in 1901-02 to 30 with 6,999 students in 1936-37. The total expenditure on medical education rose from Rs. 722 thousand in 1901-02 to Rs. 4,361 thousand in 1936-37, of which as much as Rs. 2,767 thousand came from Government funds.

Of the new institutions that came to be established during this period, two deserve special notice. The first is the Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi, which was opened in 1916. It is the only Medical College in India which is meant exclusively for women. The second is the School of Tropical Medicine at Calcutta which was opened in 1921-22. It affords post-graduate instruction in tropical medicine and is the only institution of its type in India.

(c) An All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health was established at Calcutta by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1932. The objects of the Institute are, (i) to provide post-graduate training in public health and (ii) to carry out research

(d) There was a considerable increase in the number of women students undergoing medical education as the following figures will show :—

Number of women students in	1901-02.	1936-37.
Medical Colleges	76	447
Medical Schools	166	936

(e) In 1936-37, there were ten universities with Faculties in Medicine as against four in 1901-02.

38. Engineering Education. Engineering education also expanded considerably during the period under review. The number of engineering colleges in British India rose from 4 with 865 students in 1901-02 to 8 with 2,199 students in 1936-37. Owing to a change of classification introduced in this period, certain institutions that were regarded as 'engineering schools' in 1901-02 were classed as 'technical schools' in 1936-37, and hence it is not possible to compare the engineering schools of 1901-02 with those of 1936-37.

Of the eight engineering colleges, six were conducted by Government. An account of four of these was given in the last chapter. The two Government colleges opened during this period were the Bihar College of Engineering, Patna, and the MacLagan Engineering College, Lahore. The third college was started by the Benares Hindu University and the fourth—the N. E. Dinshaw College, Karachi,—was the result of private effort.

Government continued to recruit the servants required for its Public Works Département from the ranks of the students of the engineering colleges and schools although the system of guaranteed appointments was discontinued during the period under review.

In 1936-37, the total expenditure on Government schools and colleges of engineering came to Rs. 1,703 thousand of which Rs. 1,221 thousand came from Government funds.

39. Veterinary Education. The period under review witnessed an expansion of veterinary education due, amongst others, to the following causes :—

(a) The Civil Veterinary Department was relieved in 1903,

became free to devote itself to the work connected with agricultural problems.

(b) The expansion of agricultural departments during the period under review led also to the expansion of the Veterinary Department—the number of officers recruited in India rising from 408 in 1904 to 911 in 1912. This increased demand—which went on increasing in the following years—was bound to be reflected in the expansion of veterinary education.

The main events of this period in veterinary education were the following :—

(a) In the quinquennium 1902-07 all veterinary schools were abolished.

(b) In addition to the three veterinary colleges mentioned in the last chapter, two more colleges were opened by Government—the first at Madras in 1905 and the second at Patna in 1930.

(c) An Imperial Veterinary Research Institute was opened at Muktesar in the United Provinces, in the quinquennium 1917-22, for giving post-graduate training in veterinary science.

It may be pointed out that, as in the last period, the object of veterinary education in India still continued to be service under Government and all the institutions for veterinary education also continued to be maintained by Government.

40. Forestry Education. As in the case of veterinary education, forestry education also continued to be provided entirely by Government with the object of training Government officials. In 1936-37, there were three institutions of forestry education in India.

(a) The first was the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, whose activities are mainly devoted to research, service of information, and instruction of an advanced type. The work of the institute was divided into six branches dealing with silviculture, botany, entomology, economic forestry, utilization, and timber development.

(b) Indian Forest Ranger's College, Dehra Dun, which trained students in a specialised course of two years.

(c) The Forest College, Coimbatore, which gave instruction in a 23-months' course in forestry.

41. Art Education. It was stated in the last chapter that

and of defining their true objectives had been a matter of dispute in 1901-02. The whole question was, therefore, reviewed by Curzon in 1904 and the following orders were issued :—

32. There are four Schools of Art in British India—at Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Lahore. The aims to be pursued in them, and the methods proper to those aims, have been the subject of much discussion during recent years. The Government of India are of opinion that the true function of Indian Schools of Art is the encouragement of Indian Art and Art industries ; and that in so far as they fail to promote these arts or industries, or provide a training that is dissociated from their future practice, or are utilized as commercial ventures, they are conducted upon erroneous principles. Their first object should be to teach such arts or art industries as the pupil intends to pursue when he has left the school. Examples of the arts which may thus be taught to those who will practise them professionally in future, or to drawing masters, are : designing (with special reference to Indian arts and industries), drawing, painting, illumination, modelling, photography and engraving. The art industries taught in Schools of Art should be such as are capable of being carried on in the locality, and in which improvement can be effected by instructing pupils or workmen by means of superior appliances, methods or designs. Instruction in these arts or art industries should be directed to their expansion through the improvement of the skill and capacity of the pupil or workman, but it should not be pushed to the point of competing with local industries, of doing within the school what can equally well be done outside, or of usurping the sphere of private enterprise. The schools should not be converted into shops nor should the officers of the Education Department be responsible for extensive commercial transactions ; but samples of the wares produced may legitimately be kept for sale or for orders, and may be exhibited in public museums. A register of the workmen or pupils trained in schools should be kept, with the object of enabling orders which may be received to be placed with advantage. The teaching should be in the hands of experts, trained as a rule in Indian colleges, or in Art Schools. The specialization of a limited number of arts and art industries in the several schools should be preferred to the simultaneous teaching of a large number. Free admission and scholarships should, as a general rule, be discouraged, and should gradually be replaced by payment of fees ; but this is compatible with giving necessary assistance to promising pupils, and with the payment of wages to students as soon as their work becomes of value.¹

During the next thirty years, the schools of art were reformed on the lines laid down in the Government Resolution quoted above. In 1936-37, there were 14 schools of art in British India with 2,106 students. When it is remembered that some of these “Schools of Art” were really craft schools which gave no instruction in the fine arts, it is obvious that the expansion of art education cannot be said to be satisfactory.

Of these 14 institutions, six schools with 1,544 scholars were maintained by Government. The four schools of art that existed in 1901-02 were noticed in the last chapter. The two new institutions opened during the period were the Drawing and

¹ *Government Resolution on Educational Policy*, 11th March, 1904.

Design Classes attached to the R. C. High School, Ahmedabad, and the Government School of Art and Crafts, Lucknow.

42. Commercial Education. Commercial education made considerable progress during the period under review. In 1936-37, eight commercial colleges were working in British India as against *nil* in 1901-02. The first college to be opened was the Sydenham College of Commerce in Bombay (1913) which was designed to meet the needs, not only of Bombay, but of India as a whole. The other commercial colleges were the H. L. College of Commerce, Ahmedabad, the Hailey College of Commerce, Lahore, and the Commerce Departments of the Universities of Calcutta, Dacca, Allahabad, Delhi and Lucknow. The total number of students reading in these institutions in 1936-37 was 1,336. The colleges at Bombay and Lahore were conducted by Government, and that at Ahmedabad was due to private enterprise.

Besides these colleges, there were 357 commercial schools with 12,586 pupils in British India in 1936-37. These were distributed as under :—

Province.	Institutions.	Scholars.
Madras	273	7,348
Bombay	29	1,842
Bengal	20	1,827
U. P.	1	18
Punjab	12	276
Bihar	12	556
Assam	1	27
Sind	7	606
Orissa	1	21
Delhi	1	65
Total ..	357	12,586

It is worthy of note that of these 357 commercial schools, only 18 were conducted by Government and the rest by private bodies with very little support from the State.¹

In 1936-37, eight universities had Faculties in Commerce as against nil in 1901-02.

43. Agricultural Education. The question of agricultural education received considerable attention during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. In 1901, Government created the post of an Inspector-General of Agriculture in India, and provided him with an assisting staff of several agricultural experts. The agricultural departments were considerably expanded; and in 1905, the Government of India announced that they would set aside Rs. 20 lakhs annually for the development of agricultural experiment, research, demonstration, and instruction in India.

(a) *Agricultural Education at the Collegiate Stage:* The Government Resolution on Educational Policy, 1904, laid down a new policy regarding agricultural education at the collegiate stage. It observed :—

36. For a country where two-thirds of the population are dependent for their livelihood on the produce of the soil, it must be admitted that the provision for agricultural education in India is at present meagre and stands in serious need of expansion and reorganization. At Poona in Bombay and Saidapet in Madras there are colleges teaching a three-years' course, which is fairly satisfactory at Poona, though the staff is hardly strong enough, while at Saidapet the training is somewhat defective on the practical side. In the United Provinces the school at Cawnpore has a two-years' course, especially intended for the training of subordinate revenue officials in which direction it has done and is doing very good work, but the teaching staff is weak and the equipment inadequate. At Nagpur a school with a two-years' course gives good practical education, and special arrangements are made for a vernacular class for sons of landowners and others. Bengal has added to the Engineering College at Sibpur, near Calcutta, classes which give a two-years' agricultural training to students who have taken their B.A. degree at the university or have passed the F.Y. standard in the college; but the conditions are not such as to admit of a thoroughly satisfactory course. In the Punjab and Burma no attempt has yet been made to teach agriculture. In all these institutions instruction is given almost entirely in English, and until advanced text-books have been compiled in the vernacular, this must continue to be the case in all but the most elementary classes.

37. At present, therefore, while the necessity for developing agricultural resources of the country is generally recognized, India possesses no institution capable of imparting a complete agricultural education. The existing schools and colleges have not wholly succeeded, either in theory or in practice. They have neither produced scientific experts, nor succeeded in attracting members of the landholding classes to qualify themselves as practical agriculturists. Both of these defects must be supplied before any real progress can be looked for. In the first place an organization must be created by which men qualified to carry on the work of research, and to raise the standard of teaching can be trained in India itself. Before agriculture can be adequately taught in the vernacular, suitable text-books must be produced, and this can only be done by men who have learnt the subject in English. The Government of India have therefore under

College in connection with an experimental farm and research laboratory to be carried on under the general direction of the Inspector-General of Agriculture, at which it is intended to provide a thorough training in all branches of agricultural science, combined with constant practice in farming work and estate management. In addition to shorter courses for those students who are intended for lower posts, there will be courses of instruction extending to five years, which will qualify men to fill posts in the Department of Agriculture itself, such as those of Assistant Directors, Research Experts, Superintendents of Farms, Professors, Teachers and Managers of Court of Wards and Encumbered Estates. It is hoped that a demand may arise among the landowning classes for men with agricultural attainments and that the proposed institution may succeed in meeting that demand. Arrangements will also be made to admit to the higher courses those who have undergone preliminary training at the Provincial Colleges ; and thereby exercise upon those colleges an influence tending gradually to raise their standard of efficiency.

This new policy in agricultural education consisted of three steps. The *first* step was the creation of a central institute which would train experts capable of studying the problems of Indian agriculture and of applying the principles of Western science to bring about an improvement in the methods usually employed by Indian agriculturists. The idea received a further impetus on account of a donation of £30,000 given by an American philanthropist—Mr. Henry Phipps—for the encouragement of scientific research in India. It was, therefore, decided to establish a Central Research Institute at Pusa (in Bihar). The Institute began its work in 1908 and was transferred to Delhi after the earthquake of 1934. Similarly, Government established at Bangalore, in 1923, an Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying which gave instruction in a two-years' course.

The *second* step in the new policy was to create an agricultural college in each important province. As the Government of India observed :—

We propose to establish in each province an Agricultural College and Research Station, adequately equipped with laboratories and class rooms, to which will be attached a farm of suitable size. At each institution the superior staff will, it may be hoped, ultimately consist of an expert agriculturist, an economic botanist, an agricultural chemist, an entomologist, and a mycologist ; and a selected member of this staff will, in addition to discharging his duties as an expert, be the Principal of the College. The staff will be required to combine teaching with research work, for we do not consider it desirable at present to duplicate the staff in the manner proposed by some Provincial Governments ; and we are convinced that research will ordinarily be more active and better sustained if it is associated with lecturing, which will check any tendency to the investigation of problems unlikely to lead to practical results. The experts, however, will need ample leisure for research and for tours in connection with their

of specialists may not be frittered away on merely elementary tuition, and that provision may be made for necessary lectures when members of the staff are away.

The institutions will fulfil a two-fold purpose. The problems connected with the agriculture of each province will be studied in the laboratory and in the field, while students will be given a thorough general education in all branches of agricultural science. The farm will afford a field for experiment and for the test of laboratory research, as well as a training ground for the students in the practical application of science to agriculture.

Each institution with the farm annexed and—a very important point—a whole-time Director of Agriculture to be presently proposed, will form the nucleus out of which the fully organized department for the province will be developed with greater or less rapidity as circumstances admit.¹

Unfortunately, this policy was not carried out in full. Even in 1936-37, there were, in British India, only six colleges of agriculture (as against three in 1901-02) at Coimbatore, Poona, Cawnpore, Naini, Lyallpur and Nagpur. The agricultural college at Saidapet, described in the last chapter, was abolished in 1905. Similarly, the agricultural classes of the Engineering College at Sibpur were abolished. The Agricultural Department of the Poona College was now developed into a separate Agricultural College. The agricultural schools at Cawnpore and Nagpur were raised to the status of colleges and three new agricultural colleges were opened at Coimbatore, Lyallpur and Naini. Of the six agricultural colleges that were thus organized during this period, five were conducted by Government, while the college at Naini—known as the Allahabad Agricultural Institute—was conducted by the American Presbyterian Mission.² It will be seen, therefore, that even in 1937, several important provinces such as Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Sind and N.W. Frontier had no agricultural colleges of their own.

The *third* step in the new policy in agricultural education was to remove the defects of the agricultural colleges of the earlier period which had “neither produced scientific experts, nor succeeded in attracting members of the land-holding classes to qualify themselves as practical agriculturists.” This unhappy result, it was admitted, was due to the fact that most of the students that came to the agricultural colleges did so to qualify themselves for employment under Government, and it was hoped that the new colleges that were now organized would be free from these defects. But this expectation was not fulfilled and the

¹ *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1902-07*, Vol. I, pp. 176-7.

² In 1910, an agricultural college was opened by Government at Sebour in Bihar and Orissa; but

question of the reform of agricultural colleges came up again for discussion at the meeting of the Board of Agriculture held in 1913, at the Conferences of Agriculturists and Educationists held at Pusa in 1916 and at Simla in 1917. The general conclusions arrived at in these conferences were the following :—

(i) No attempt should be made to introduce uniformity in the syllabuses of agricultural colleges ; and freedom should be given to each province to develop courses of instruction which are best suited to its local conditions ;

(ii) Each Provincial Government should be free to decide whether its agricultural college should or should not be affiliated to the local university ;

(iii) Primary education in rural areas should be adapted more closely to rural needs ; and

(iv) The multiplication of agricultural middle schools and high schools is essential, not only for the more general diffusion of agricultural knowledge among the cultivators, but also for raising the standard of work in agricultural colleges by widening the range from which students can be selected for higher agricultural training.

As will be seen in the next sub-section, no satisfactory provision for agricultural instruction was made at the secondary stage. Consequently, the agricultural colleges had to recruit their students from amongst those who had undergone a purely literary education and who did not often have even an aptitude for manual labour. This difficulty was bound to affect adversely the work at the collegiate stage. The agricultural colleges of this period, therefore, did not succeed in giving practical training to agriculturists or landlords ; and their students still continued to seek employment under Government in the revenue, agriculture, or rural development departments rather than take up the work of agricultural improvements and reorganization.

Although the colleges thus failed in their objective of training practical agriculturists, they had some success in the other objective of training expert scientists. The six colleges and the institutes at Pusa and Bangalore raised considerably the standard of advanced instruction in agricultural science obtainable in India. As an important goal in vocational education is the

highest training in every important vocation, the agricultural colleges of this period can, in spite of their deficiencies, be said to have made some material progress.

(b) *Agricultural Education at the High School Stage*: Regarding the provision of agricultural education at the upper secondary stage, the Royal Commission on Agriculture made the following observations :—

We are altogether opposed to the purely theoretical teaching of agriculture at the high school stage as this would merely mean the addition of another subject which would be regarded as an easy one to be 'crammed' for the Matriculation examination; nor, where high schools are situated in the towns and are filled by town-lads, do we advise the addition of any course of agriculture. Where, however, schools contain a large proportion of boys from rural areas and have facilities for the provision of a farm or a garden, the case is different. The high school curriculum has been broadened in recent years by the introduction of such practical subjects as hygiene and manual work and this might well be carried a stage further by the addition of practical as well as theoretical instruction in agriculture. The addition to the curriculum of a combined course of practical and theoretical instruction in elementary agriculture somewhat on the lines of that now given in the middle schools of the Punjab type but of a rather more advanced character would, we believe, be productive of good results. . . . The institution of such a course should not be allowed in any way to interfere with the instruction of the boys in science and the improvement of the present standard of teaching it. Adequate instruction in elementary science at this stage is of the greatest importance for the boy who intends to go on to an agricultural college.¹

(c) *Agricultural Education at the Middle School Stage*: In the same way, the Commission strongly recommended the establishment of agricultural middle schools.² At the time of the Commission's report, two types of such schools prevailed in India—one in Bombay and the other in the Punjab. The Commission carefully considered the advantages of each of these types and recommended the adoption of the latter. It observed :—

In the Punjab type, elementary agriculture is an optional subject in the curriculum of the ordinary vernacular middle schools. In the words of a Circular which was issued in 1923 : 'the aim is to enrich the middle school course in rural areas by the inclusion of agricultural training and thus to bring it more in keeping with the environment of the pupils; and the object is to use agriculture as a means of mental discipline and training and as an important accessory to the general subjects taught in these schools.'

Under this system, the instruction given in the class room is both illustrated and supplemented by practical work in all agricultural processes on the land. For this purpose, farms of about three acres in extent were attached to the schools in which the new course was first introduced but, owing to financial

¹ Report, para. 461

stringency, the alternative of school gardens, half an acre to an acre in extent, was adopted in 1923. Six periods per week are devoted to the course by each of the four classes which make up the vernacular middle school in the Punjab. All the work on the farms and gardens, except that of looking after the bullocks on the farms, is done by the boys themselves and it is interesting to note that many of the farms and gardens are not only self-supporting but have an annual balance to their credit. The teaching is in the hands of trained and carefully selected teachers who have first taken the ordinary senior vernacular training course and have then completed a separate course in agriculture at the Lyallpur Agricultural College. An additional link between the agricultural and educational departments is provided by the fact that the general supervision of these activities is entrusted to an adviser in agricultural training who is an officer of the Education Department. His headquarters are at Lyallpur Agricultural College. When we visited the Punjab, there were 66 schools of this type, 26 of which had farms attached to them and 40 gardens. It was hoped to increase the number during 1927-28 to 121, of which 64 would have farms and the others gardens. The Punjab model has been very closely followed in the United Provinces, where there are, or shortly will be, some twenty of these schools. In Bombay, there are forty-three schools known as 'agricultural-bias' schools of a very similar type.

We consider . . . that the Punjab type of school has much to recommend it. It is true that this method of imparting instruction in elementary agriculture in rural middle schools has not been in use sufficiently long to enable conclusions as to its merits to be reached. It may be, as we were told in Bombay, that most of the boys who pass through the course will prefer to become teachers or village accountants to farming of their own land. But even if this should prove to be so, the value of the training in agriculture they have received will not be lost to the countryside and there would still remain a large residuum who would take up agriculture as their occupation. In the meantime, there is no doubt that the classes have so far proved a great success and that they have attained a popularity which has been denied to schools of the vocational type. Although no approximation to a final solution has been attained, it is, in our view, in this direction that the true solution of the problem of relating the instruction given in middle schools in rural areas to their environment is to be found.¹

From the account of vocational education at the secondary stage given in para. 23 *supra* it will be seen that very little was achieved during the period under review on the lines recommended by the Commission—a result which was due largely, if not exclusively, to the financial stringency that began soon after the publication of the report of the Commission. The number of high schools teaching agriculture as an optional subject or of agricultural-bias classes of the Punjab type was extremely small as compared to the number of high and middle schools that gave literary education and the problem of agricultural instruction at the secondary school stage still remained unsolved at the end of the period under review.

¹ *Abridged Report*, pp. 65-6.

44. Technical and Industrial Education. We saw in Chapter VIII that technical and industrial education in India was generally neglected till the end of the nineteenth century. By the beginning of this century, however, the question began to receive prominent attention in official circles and the Government Resolution on Educational Policy, 1904, gave the following new lead on the subject :—

Technical education in India has hitherto been mainly directed to the higher forms of instruction required to train men for Government service as engineers, mechanics, electricians, overseers, surveyors, revenue officers, or teachers in schools, and for employment in railway workshops, cotton-mills and mines. The institutions which have been established for these purposes, such as Engineering Colleges at Roorkee, Sibpur and Madras, the College of Science at Poona, the Technical Institute at Bombay, and the Engineering School at Jubbulpur, have done and are doing valuable work, and their maintenance and further development are matters of great importance. The first call for fresh effort is now towards the development of Indian industries, and especially of those in which native capital may be invested. Technical instruction directed to this object must rest upon the basis of a preliminary general education of a simple and practical kind, which should be clearly distinguished from the special teaching that is to be based upon it, and should as a rule be imparted in schools of the ordinary type. In fixing the aim of the technical schools, the supply or expansion of the existing Indian markets is of superior importance to the creation of new export trades, and a clear line should be drawn between educational effort and commercial enterprise. As a step towards providing men qualified to take a leading part in the improvement of Indian industries, the Government of India have determined to give assistance in the form of scholarships to selected students to enable them to pursue a course of technical education under supervision in Europe or America. They hope that the technical schools of India may in time produce a regular supply of young men qualified to take advantage of such facilities, and that the goodwill and interest of the commercial community may be enlisted in the selection of industries to be studied, in finding the most suitable students for foreign training, and in turning their attainments to practical account upon their return to this country. The experience which has been gained in Japan and Siam of the results of sending young men abroad for study justifies the belief that the system will also be beneficial to Indian trade.

33. Industrial schools are intended to train intelligent artisans or develop those local industries which are capable of expansion by the application of improved methods or implements. Schools of this type are not numerous, nor have they at present succeeded in doing much to promote the growth of industries. A recent enumeration gives their total number as 123, with 8,405 pupils in attendance, and the number of different trades taught as 48. Some are conducted by Government, either as separate institutions or attached to schools of art, while others are managed by local authorities, or by private persons under a system of grants-in-aid. A large proportion of the pupils who attend them have no intention of practising the trade they learn, but pass into clerical and other employments, using the industrial schools merely in order to obtain the general education which they could acquire in ordinary schools at less cost to the State, but at greater cost to themselves. Even for those who do intend to follow the

to hold their own with artisans who have learnt their craft in the bazaar. The industries selected are frequently not those which are locally of most importance, and there is an undue predominance of carpentry and blacksmith's work amongst them.

34. An attempt will now be made to remedy these defects. The Government of India do not expect a large immediate increase in the number of industrial schools, and they desire rather to encourage experiment than to prescribe fixed types for this form of education. Admission will be confined to those boys who are known by their caste or occupation to be likely to practise in after life the handicrafts taught in the schools, and the courses of study will be so ordered as not to lend themselves to the manufacture of clerks but to bear exclusively upon carefully selected industries. A distinction will be drawn between those types of school which will be suitable for the large centres of industry, where capital is invested on a great scale and the need of training artisans is already recognised by the employers, and those adapted to places where hand industries prevail, and where the belief in the value of technical training has yet to make its way. In the former the prospects are favourable for the establishment of completely equipped trade schools, such as are found in other countries; in the latter search has still to be made for the kind of institution which will take root in Indian soil. Suggestions for experiment based upon observation of the habits and tendencies of Indian artisans have been placed before the Local Governments. They will be pursued further under the advice of skilled experts in particular industries.

The main events in technical education of the next thirty years can be conveniently studied against the background of these important recommendations.

(a) *Technological Studies*: In 1901-02, it will be recalled, there was no provision in India for technological training. The Government of India had, therefore, to choose between two alternatives—either to develop technological institutions in India or to send Indian students abroad to receive technological training. It chose the latter alternative because it was then believed that technological institutions would not succeed in India, and decided to give ten scholarships annually to enable Indian students to obtain technological training in the United Kingdom. "The object of these scholarships," says the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1907-12,

is to qualify the holders, on returning to India, to assist in promoting the improvement of existing native industries, especially those which are or may be organized on a considerable scale and those in which Indian capital is or may be embarked. The subjects are annually chosen by local governments in consultation with mercantile opinion. Agriculture, law, medicine, forestry and veterinary science are excluded from the scheme. Engineering, at first excluded, has now been admitted; and recently a scholar was sent to study architecture. There is no examination, nominations are made by local governments and final selections by the Government of India. Those are chosen who are considered to

in the subject and the intention of devoting himself in India to the practice of what he has learned. The value of each scholarship is £150 a year. The scholar also receives his travelling expenses and his education fees. The tenure of the scholarship is for two years but it may be extended. Government does not guarantee the holder any employment on his return. Ordinarily, one scholarship is awarded to each province annually, but more may be given, subject to the total limit of ten scholarships.¹

Between 1905-1917, one hundred and thirteen scholarships were given and here is a description of the results obtained :—

Of these, 36 have not yet completed their time abroad. Five are employed in industrial firms abroad, and four in state employ outside India—mainly in connection with the war. The scholarships of two were cancelled ; two refused to return to India. Two are undergoing further education. Three are dead, all of whom had been employed—two in India and one by the Bristol Corporation. The whereabouts of two is unknown. Of the remaining 56, 31 are in private employ in India, 18 in the employ of Government or Native States, one is translating scientific works into Hindi, one joined the bar, one is a sub-deputy collector, and four unemployed. . . . The private employment obtained in India is almost always industrial, and usually under a firm, though a few ex-scholars have started their own business. The state posts always have some bearing on industries and are connected with geological surveys, forestry, or educational institutions.²

By 1917, a revision of the scheme was called for on various grounds, but mainly because of a feeling, which had grown up during this period, that the results of these scholarships had not justified the expectations formed of them. A special committee, known as the Morison Committee, was appointed to enquire into the problem and as a result of its recommendations, the following changes were introduced :—

(a) The maximum number of scholars at any one time in Europe was raised to 30.

(b) The period of each scholarship was fixed at not less than two or more than five years. Arrangements were also made for giving scholarships to selected persons for doing practical work in India before going to England.

(c) Power to select scholars was given to provincial governments.

(d) In selecting candidates, preference was given to those who had aptitude for the industry and suitable academical qualifications.

(e) Preference was given to industries such as textiles, mining, pottery, tanning, matches, glass, sugar, pencils and paper ; and law, medicine, forestry, veterinary science, agriculture, civil engineering (except sanitary and municipal), geology, the extraction of alkalis and vegetable oil were excluded.

In 1921, the whole scheme was transferred to provincial governments as a result of the introduction of diarchy.

In the meanwhile, opinion had grown considerably against this scheme of technical scholarships. To begin with, it was

argued that the first duty of Government was to develop Indian industries ; and that technological training of Indians would be of no use so long as the main industries of the country remained under non-Indian control.

Secondly, the charge that Indians had no love for technological studies was denied and it was argued that ten scholarships a year were too few for the country. In 1904, an " Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians " was formed at Calcutta and with the help of subscriptions and donations, it gave 16 scholarships in 1904, 44 in 1905, and 96 in 1906. The exact number of scholarships given in later years is not known ; but in 1916-17 it was reported that 156 of its scholars had returned to India and that 140 of them were employed.¹ It would even appear that several students went abroad on their own and so far as the period under review is concerned, the holders of Government scholarships formed but a small minority even among the Indian students of technical sciences in the United Kingdom, to say nothing of the Indian students in other lands. For instance, consider the following statistics :—

United Kingdom.	1926-27.	1931-32.
1. Holders of Government Scholarships	57	52
2. Total number of Indian students of technical science in the United Kingdom	321	318

Thirdly, disputes arose over the industries to be selected for scholarships and it was even questioned why all the students should be sent to the United Kingdom only. For instance, a majority of the scholarships granted by the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians were for study in America and Japan and the subjects of study were agriculture, leather, mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, practical chemistry, spinning, weaving, handlooms, matches, soap, buttons, enamel, sericulture, glass and mining.

Fourthly, there was also an opinion—it is not possible to state how far it was true—that English firms were, for some reason or the other, unwilling to train Indian students in technical

¹ Note by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to the *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, p. 261 and the *Quinquennial Review of Progress of Education in India, 1922-27*, Malaviya, p. 11.

industries;¹ and a suggestion was often put forward that Government should produce its requirements in India rather than buy them in England so that by the starting of these industries, Indians would get a chance of technical training in their own country. Failing that, it was urged that contracts for Indian Government Stores should be placed only with such firms as would agree to train Indian apprentices.

Fifthly, Indian opinion was keenly advocating the establishment of technological institutions in India.² It was urged that India cannot depend eternally on other nations to train its youths and that it is the duty of Government to provide facilities for the highest education of every type in India itself.

The whole question, therefore, was referred to a special committee, presided over by Lord Lytton, and known popularly as the Committee on Indian Students in England, 1921-22. This Committee made a careful study of the difficulties usually encountered by Indian students and made several suggestions to overcome them. But of utmost importance was its recommendation that the ultimate solution of the problem lies in the development of the highest technological institutions in India itself. It said :—

India has now been set on the road to self-government and autonomy, and it must be obvious that her sons and daughters ought to be able to receive their education within her own borders. We believe, therefore, that the only permanent solution of the problem is the development of education in India in all its branches as early as possible. This view has been pressed upon us by all the witnesses that have appeared before us. The position is perhaps best summarized thus by Sir Charles Mallet : ' It is, I believe, in the development of education in India that the only permanent solution of our problem lies. Hitherto the tradition has been that only men trained in England were qualified for the prizes of the profession in Indian administration, medicine, law. We have readily encouraged Indian students to come here, fit and unfit, educated and uneducated, and have taught them that a smattering at least of English education was the best recommendation for professional success. Until we frankly abandon that tradition Indian students will inevitably flock here, and probably, as time goes on, in numbers with which British institutions will refuse to cope. We are at present manufacturing the difficulties we deplore. May it not be well to consider whether this tradition should not be given up and a new tradition substituted, namely, that India must and can provide an adequate education even for the ablest of her sons ? Instead of trying to make good Indians into indifferent Englishmen, to superimpose a superficial English training in a few years at Oxford or a few years in London at the Bar, might it not be possible to develop an Indian type at least as highly educated and as competent

¹ *Vide* the evidence before the Lytton Committee, 1921-22.

even for administrative purposes as any hybrid? Such an undertaking would be slow and difficult and costly; but may it not be that the change has to come? It would mean raising the standards of Indian universities, and of Indian education generally to levels never yet attained. It would mean an Indian Bar and Judicature, trained, organized and developed on their own lines. It would mean a highly-trained medical service, and opportunities for medical and industrial training far in advance of anything yet attempted. It would not, of course, mean, for many years at any rate, less intercourse with England or less intellectual stimulus from English sources; quite the reverse. But it would be a natural instead of an unnatural system, and its home would be in India, not here. I do not underrate the difficulties involved in adopting such a policy fully and frankly. But I submit that it may prove to be the only final remedy for the difficulties we find in the Indian student problem today.' The same view was expressed by Sir W. Meyer as follows: 'The great difficulty in regard to Indian students is the number of men who come over, very many of whom would much better be trained in India itself. We cannot, of course, prevent such students leaving India for study, or so-called study, in England, but a good deal might be done by the Indian Government to minimise the attractions which draw them.'

We have expressed the view that the educational side of the problem can only be solved by the improvement of conditions in India; and we desire to repeat our conviction that no Government in India, whatever its constitution, should be satisfied until the universities of that country are staffed with the teachers and equipped with the material necessary to ensure the best education which any Indian can require. When that has been done no Indian will be under the necessity which now exists to seek his education abroad.¹

During the period of 1921 to 1937, therefore, the efforts of Government and of the public were mainly directed to organizing the highest type of technological instruction in India itself. Among the institutes that thus came to be organized, we may mention the following:—

(i) *The Bose Research Institute, Calcutta*: The Institute was founded in 1917 by the late Sir J. C. Bose with the object of training a band of able and devoted workers in the cause of research. In the words of the founder, "the function of the Bose Institute differs from that of college teaching. Only by long and arduous personal training are the scholars made competent to undertake original investigation on intricate and hitherto unsuspected phenomena. Post-graduate scholars are carefully selected for receiving special training out of candidates who have taken degrees in Science. They are admitted on condition that they devote themselves wholly to the prosecution of research." The Institute provides facilities for investigations in (a) Plant Physiology and Genetics, (b) Bio- and Agricultural Chemistry, (c) Zoology and Animal Physiology, (d) Anthropology, and (e) Theoretical and Experimental Physics.

(ii) *The Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Cawnpore* : This Institute was established in 1921 with the object of creating (a) a technological research centre in order to promote the industrial development of the United Provinces, and (b) a recruiting centre for technologists qualified to occupy positions on the supervising staffs of selected industries. It has two sections : a general research section in which advanced students are trained in methods of industrial research, and an oil section in which students are specially trained for higher posts in oil-seed crushing mills, oil refineries, soap-works, and paint and varnish works.

(iii) *The Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi* : The establishment of this Institute has already been described in para. 43 *supra*. Its activities are mainly devoted to research, experiment, and education. As regards research, the Institute deals with problems of all-India importance, or with problems that cannot be studied conveniently or properly by provincial departments of agriculture. On the educational side, the Institute provides post-graduate courses in agriculture and also serves as an information bureau on all agricultural matters. Lastly, the Institute conducts an experimental farm in New Delhi and also controls a number of research stations at other places in India.

(iv) *The Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore* : The Institute owes its origin to the generosity of the famous Tata family and began its work in 1911. Its laboratories provide facilities for post-graduate work in five main branches of science, *viz.*, Physics, General Chemistry, Organic Chemistry, Bio-Chemistry, and Electrical Technology. The Institute also maintains an excellent scientific library comprising upwards of 30,000 volumes and conducts a *Journal* devoted to research.

(v) *The Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad* : This institution was established by the Government of India in 1926 in order "to provide high grade instruction in Mining Engineering and in Geology along the lines of the courses of instruction given in the Royal School of Mines, London, and similar mining colleges of Great Britain." It is located on a site which is within easy reach of the coalfields of Raniganj, Giridih, Bokaro, and Jharia, which are together responsible for 95 per cent of the total output

competitive examination to which only students who have passed the Intermediate examination of an Indian University are admitted. The School provides three-year courses in Coal Mining, Metal Mining and Geology and four-year courses in Mining-Engineering and Geology.

Besides these institutions which were not affiliated to any university, there were technological courses of high quality provided in some Indian universities. For instance, a Department of Chemical Technology had been established in the University of Bombay; a very advanced course in Electrical Engineering was provided in Benares University, etc. But in such matters, progress is necessarily slow and even at the end of the period under review, Indian students had still to go abroad in fairly large numbers for technical studies. In 1936-37, as many as 220 Indian students were studying technical subjects in the United Kingdom alone.

(b) *Technical and Craft Schools*: Unfortunately, the statistics given in the official reports do not give separate figures of technical and craft schools. It is, therefore, not possible, for the period under review, to estimate separately the progress under each of these heads. But it may be stated that, in 1936-37, the total number of *technical, craft, and industrial schools* was 535 with an enrolment of 30,509. Of these, 140 were conducted by Government, 31 by boards and 364 by private agencies of which only 38 were unaided. The total expenditure on these schools came to Rs. 46,68 thousand out of which Rs. 28,24 thousand came from Government funds.

Among the technical schools of this period, we may mention the *Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute*, Bombay, which provided courses in mechanical and electrical engineering, textile manufactures, technical and applied chemistry, and sanitary engineering and plumbing; the *R. C. Technical Institute*, Ahmedabad, which provided three years' courses in cotton spinning, cotton weaving and mechanical engineering; the *Jamshedpur Technical Institute*, Tatanagar, which offered several courses for training young men for posts in the Tata Iron and Steel Company; the *Government School of Technology*, Madras, which offered courses in mechanical and electrical engineering and printing; the *Government Textile Institute*, Madras, which gave instruction in

as knitting ; the *Calcutta Technical School*, which trained apprentices for the various industrial concerns in and around Calcutta ; the *Technical Schools* at Kanchrapara, Kharagpur and Pahartali, which trained workers for railway workshops ; the *Victoria Diamond Jubilee Technical Institute*, Lahore, which offered training in mechanical and electrical engineering ; the *Government Technical School*, Lahore, which had departments in electro-mechanics, die-pressing and die-making ; and the *Technical Institutes* at Ranchi, Tirhut and Jamalpur, which catered to the needs of industries in Bihar.

45. **Conclusion.** This review of the growth of vocational education in the period 1902-37, may be advantageously compared with that in the earlier period. The following points of contrast may be noted :—

(a) In the period of 1854-1902, vocational education was mostly organized with a view to supplying the needs of the public administration. This domination of Government service continued, even during the period under review, in the case of veterinary and forestry education. In most other branches of vocational education, however, there was a change for the better and young men and women now began to be educated to meet the needs of modern society and to aid the development of industries and commerce.

(b) In the period of 1854-1902, there were no technological institutions in India, nor did Indians go abroad in large numbers for technical studies. In the period 1902-37, however, Indian students began to undergo technical and vocational training in several foreign countries such as England, Germany, America, and Japan. At the same time, attempts were made to develop institutions for imparting the highest scientific and vocational education in India itself.

(c) In the period 1854-1902, almost all the institutions of vocational education—with the exception of the industrial or craft schools organised by missionaries—were conducted by Government ; but in the next period, private effort, especially Indian private effort, began to play a much larger part.

It is true that the actual achievements were not great and that the nation had yet a long way to go. But it is still a satisfactory feature of the period under review that the main lines on

which vocational education ought to be reorganized were clearly formulated and that a fairly good start had already been made in what cannot but be a long and difficult journey.

46. The Education Departments. The character and organisation of the Departments of Education underwent a complete change during the period under review. As stated already, fresh recruitment to the I.E.S. was discontinued in 1924. But owing to financial stringency and the wave of retrenchment that started in 1922, the creation of a new Provincial Service (class I) to take its place took a long time in most provinces. The delay was also partly due to the fact that the I.E.S. 'took an unconscionable time in dying',¹ as all the existing incumbents were continued in office with full protection for their rights and privileges. In 1929, the Hartog Committee found that the progressive extinction of the Indian Educational Service, accompanied by the failure to reconstitute the provincial services had been disastrous to the organization of Indian education, and recommended that the reconstitution of the provincial educational services could brook no further delay.² This made the Provincial Governments immediately active and by 1936-37, a Provincial Service (class I) had been created in all Provinces except Madras and the North-West Frontier. The relative position of the I.E.S. and the new Class I service, as it stood in 1936-37, is shown in the following table :—

Province.	Total No. of Posts sanctioned for the new superior service (class I).			No. of I.E.S. Officers who held posts sanctioned for the new superior service (class I).		
	Men's Branch.	Women's Branch.	Total.	Men's Branch.	Women's Branch.	Total.
Bombay	50	4	54	21	1	22
Bengal	54	5	59	11	..	11
United Provinces	22	1	23	6	..	6
Punjab	27	4	31	9	..	9
Bihar	32	3	35	10	..	10
C. P. and Berar ..	20	2	22	8	2	10
Assam	33	..	33	..	..	..
Sind	1	1	2	..	..	..
Orissa	9	1	10	2	..	2

Two other problems of departmental organisation became significant in this period. Owing to the transfer of education to the control of Indian Ministers, the total activity in the Department increased considerably, especially as several new schemes were undertaken. There was also a considerable increase which inevitably accompanies such changes, *i.e.*, the work connected with the questions, resolutions, bills etc., in the re-constituted legislatures. It was, therefore, felt that the Headquarters staff of the Directors of Public Instruction should be greatly strengthened. Accordingly, posts of Assistant or Deputy Directors of Public Instruction were created in several provinces, with a corresponding gain in efficiency. Secondly, the status of the Director of Public Instruction *vis-a-vis* the Secretary to Government in the Education Department also became a subject of controversy. As the Hartog Committee wrote :—

There were two reasons in former days for the appointment of an Education Secretary. The first was the concentration in many provinces of all executive power in the Lieutenant Governor who, through pressure of his manifold duties, was unable to maintain personal contact with all heads of departments. With the distribution of powers first among Members of Council, and, since the Reforms, among Members and Ministers, this reason has disappeared. The second reason was the assumption that the Director of Public Instruction would require reinforcement on the administrative and political side. As a matter of fact, under existing conditions, it is only rarely that a Secretary is in a position to give much administrative guidance. Government does not demand from this officer an expert knowledge of education or of educational administration as an initial qualification ; and it often gives him so short a tenure of office that it is impossible for him to acquire it. Sir Charles de la Fosse told the Islington Commission that during his seven years of service as Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces there had been six Secretaries in charge of Education. This custom of rapid change has not been abandoned. During the last eight years there have been nine Secretaries for Education in Madras, seven in Bombay, Bengal and Bihar, five in Assam and four in the United Provinces. It might be urged perhaps that the Director of Public Instruction needs expert assistance on the financial side of administration ; but we believe that the Finance Departments examine in greater detail than was formerly the case, the proposals of the spending departments, and the Finance Committees of the legislatures also exercise important functions in regard to this matter. Under the new constitution, the political aspects of educational policy are in no danger of being overlooked ; the Minister and the Education Standing Committee of the Legislative Councils are particularly concerned with them.

So far from reinforcing educational administration the Education Secretariat, through no fault of its own, is often an obstacle to the ready and effective despatch of business. In giving evidence before the Calcutta University Commission, who went into this matter, Mr. G. E. Fawcus, now Director of Public Instruction, Bihar, said that " at the present moment things were being done

it was then sent to the Secretariat by the Director, and the work of noting would be done all over again. The work would be halved if the Director became Secretary ; there would be one office instead of two, the Director would have a better class of clerks at his disposal and he would have all the printed records before him for reference ". As we have seen there are two provinces at present in which there is no separate Secretary for Education. There is no evidence that these provinces have suffered under this system. It is true that in Bengal the plan of assigning to the same person the posts of Director of Public Instruction and of Deputy Secretary to Government, was tried for a short time and was abandoned ; but we do not think that this single instance offers any basis for generalisation as against the experience obtained elsewhere.

The duties of the Director of Public Instruction are excessive and he needs relief, but he is not given that relief by having placed over him an Education Secretary with no expert knowledge of educational administration. It may happen, and indeed it has happened, that an Education Secretary has had educational experience, and in those circumstances has been of great use to the Department, but the circumstances are exceptional and are not likely often to recur.¹

But in spite of this eloquent pleading, the old system continued in most provinces. It was felt that through it the Minister could obtain an impartial and independent scrutiny of all proposals made by the Director and that this was an advantage which should, on no considerations, be allowed to be lost.

The inadequacy of inspecting staff was another frequent cause of complaint in this period. On the one hand, the number of educational institutions, particularly those under private management, was increasing very fast. On the other hand, financial stringency (coupled with the view that large 'overhead expenditure' on direction and inspection was unnecessary) was preventing a corresponding increase in inspecting establishment. This often resulted in educational inefficiency and the Hartog Committee wrote very strongly on the subject. It said :—

It will be of interest to compare the provision made for inspection in India with that in England. The area of England and Wales is about 58,000 square miles, the population is 36 millions, and there are 34,000 elementary and secondary schools with about six million pupils. The area of British India is about 1,100,000 square miles, the population is 247 millions, there are some 200,000 primary and secondary schools with about ten million pupils.

It should also be borne in mind that, in England and Wales, the local authorities usually employ large and competent staffs who relieve the Government staff of the Board of Education of a great deal of administrative work. In India, the staffs of local bodies are usually very scanty, and a great deal of the work of administration and accounting of these bodies has to be done by the staffs of provincial Education Departments.

It has been calculated that, in England and Wales, the higher inspecting staff amounts to 241 (172 men and 69 women), while in the whole of India the number of inspectors who belong either to the Indian Educational Service or to a provincial service is only 282 (225 men and 57 women).

It will, we think, be generally admitted that if the system of public education in India is to be made efficient the inspecting staffs in the provinces must be both enlarged and improved. We have referred to the contrary opinion that inspection is an unnecessary luxury. We regard it as no more unnecessary than the regular inspection of a railroad, without which the inevitable flaws constantly occurring in the permanent way would lead to accidents and loss of life. Everyone acquainted with the educational system in India is aware of the flaws in schools which are rarely inspected. In some cases they become periodically evanescent and in others, so we have been told, they cease to exist except for the purpose of receiving a grant payable to a teacher who gives no instruction. Accidents of this kind do not, like railway accidents, involve physical injury or death, but they involve not only waste of public money but, what is more serious, waste of children's lives and of their opportunities. It is not only for the making of plans and policy for the future but for the efficiency of the daily work in the schools that a good inspectorate is essential.¹

But by far the most important controversy of this period referred to the relations of the Department to primary education. Prior to 1921, the Education Departments exercised a considerable amount of control over primary education although the subject was, in theory at least, transferred to local bodies. But, as shown earlier in this Chapter, the Primary Education Acts passed between 1919 and 1930, transferred large powers of control to local bodies with the result that the Department had hardly any say in the administration of local bodies. It almost seemed that no sooner did the Indian Ministers obtain authority over education, than they proceeded straight to divest themselves of the largest and the most valuable part of that authority by transferring primary education to local bodies. The wisdom and the results of this step became the subject of a controversy very early in this period. The Hartog Committee examined it in detail and pronounced against it. Its main findings and recommendations on this subject are given below :—

(a) *Excessive Devolution of Authority*: The Hartog Committee did not think that the administration of primary education by local bodies was wrong in principle. Rather, it felt that such administration would even be desirable. All the same, the Committee did feel that there had been an excessive devolution of authority to local bodies. It said :—

In *Madras*, all primary schools are inspected by the departmental inspectors. The Corporation of Madras is the only local body which maintains a supervising

staff of its own it would appear, therefore, that while the Government still retain control over the expenditure on primary education and the duty of inspecting all schools, they are no longer in a position to initiate schemes for expansion or to regulate the provision of elementary education in the districts. In *Bombay* primary education is almost entirely under the control of district boards and municipalities operating through the school Boards Viewing the position in Bombay as a whole, we think it is to be regretted that a system of primary education which had been framed on sound lines should have been handed over to the control of local bodies without the insertion in the statutes or rules of sufficient safeguards to ensure that Government, working through its Ministers and the Education Department, would be able at least to guide future developments In *Bengal* Government is still mainly responsible for the organisation and control of primary education. We understand, however, that the draft Primary Education Bill which is under consideration proposes to establish school boards in each district on somewhat similar lines to the district educational councils now in existence in Madras. The draft Bill also proposes to entrust the maintenance and management of all public institutions for the training of teachers in primary schools to the school boards¹ In the *United Provinces*, Primary education is largely in the hands of district boards and municipalities which are responsible for the provision, recognition, maintenance and aid of both primary and middle vernacular schools Our evidence leads us to believe that the transfer of control has been undertaken without a sufficient consideration of the desirability or otherwise of handing over all the powers and functions hitherto exercised by the collectors or the officers of the Education Department We have been informed that the Education Department was not even consulted before the District Boards Act was passed. Even in respect of the limited powers which the Government have retained in regard to the control over expenditure and the qualifications and pay of teachers, insufficient authority has been vested in Government to secure that their orders are carried out. We have been informed that, short of suspending the whole work of a board, Government have no method by which they can insist on their orders being carried out (In the *Punjab*), Primary education is largely controlled by district boards and municipalities The inspecting staff of the Education Department inspect all schools, but the chairmen of the local bodies exercise considerable control over the work of the deputy inspectors and sub-inspectors our evidence shows that the main difficulty at present is the absence of any adequate power in the hands of Government even to enforce the existing statutory rules when the local bodies choose to ignore them.²

(b) *Failure of Local Bodies to use their new Authority properly* : The Hartog Committee also surveyed the manner in which the local bodies had used the new powers delegated to them and came to the conclusion that, on the whole, they had not been properly exercised. It said :—

There is thus ample evidence that local bodies are very inexperienced in the difficult work of educational administration, that they are often reluctant to consult educational officers, and that, in consequence, there is much that is wasteful and ineffective in the present system.

We now turn to the question of the appointment, promotion and transfer of teachers. In England these matters, which involve much detail where the

¹ The proposals were carried out under the District Boards Act, 1903.

number of teachers is large, are dealt with by local bodies with the assistance of a highly trained and competent staff. Local bodies in India do not usually employ such staffs, although in a few places there are executive officers for educational purposes. In most cases the executive powers in these matters are delegated by the local body, or are actually transferred by law, to the chairman (as in the United Provinces under an Act of 1928). It is on the one hand a disadvantage to place on an unpaid officer heavy administrative responsibilities; on the other hand, when abuses of power occur, they are easier to deal with if the responsibility is placed on a single individual than if it is placed on a body of persons. It is a distressing feature in the present system that local bodies and their chairmen have in many instances gravely abused their powers for political and other purposes, and that teachers are being used as election agents, and are transferred at election times for the purpose of influencing elections. . . . The advice of the inspecting staff in these matters is frequently unsought, and when advice is tendered it is often ignored. Small wonder is it that the teacher finds it necessary to devote the greater part of his energies towards ingratiating himself with some influential member of the board in order to obtain a transfer to a more desirable locality or to secure his retention in his present desirable school. The chairman of one district board writes that some of the teachers devote much of their time to paying frequent visits to members in order to get themselves transferred or in trying to get the order of their transfer cancelled. The effect upon the discipline among the teachers and the tuition in the schools is deplorable, and disaster must certainly follow in those districts where these practices are allowed to continue. . . . In Bihar, the Director of Public Instruction gives in his Quinquennial Review a number of specific instances of irregularities. We quote a few of these instances. . . . ' Another case involving hardship to teachers was one in which a member of a district board used his position as a means to secure from teachers loans which he did not repay ' . . . ' Grave irregularities have taken place in connexion with the distribution of money for primary school buildings. In one case a sum of Rs. 300 was sanctioned for expenditure on the house of the chairman of the local board himself ' when we examined the Director of Public Instruction, Bihar, . . . (he) informed us that, although his report had been published for nearly a year, not a single one of his illustrations had been challenged.¹

(c) *Assumption of Larger Powers by Government Essential:* In view of all the facts of the case, the Committee was of opinion that, in the interests of primary education, it was absolutely essential to strengthen the position of the Department and to retransfer to it some of the powers that had been devolved on local authorities in recent years. It said :—

We have not suggested, nor do we suggest, that the responsibilities of Ministers in the provinces should be reduced. On the contrary, we are of opinion that they have been reduced too much already by a devolution on local bodies which has taken the control of primary education to a large extent out of their hands with unfortunate results. The relations between Provincial Governments and local bodies demand further consideration and adjustment. The formation of an educated electorate is a matter for the nation. Under recent legislation, powers have been devolved on local bodies in such a way that the Ministers responsible to the legislature have no effective control of the expenditure of money

voted for mass education ; and in some cases, owing to inadequate inspection, they have little information as to the results of that expenditure. It is clear that the new factor of ministerial responsibility has not been taken sufficiently into account.¹

47. Education of Women (1921-37). A great social and political awakening, unequalled by that in any preceding period, occurred among women in the two decades following the first World War and led to a great improvement in their social position.

(a) In the *social field*, the age of marriage was now rising fast, particularly among the upper classes of Hindus and in urban areas. This was due partly to a realisation of the evils of child-marriage, but more especially to the rise of the age of marriage among educated men and to the break up of the old joint-family system. Although the British Government was unwilling to legislate on the matter on grounds of social and religious neutrality, the reformed legislatures under the Government of India Act, 1919, which had an elected majority did not have any such fear with the result that the Sarda Act was passed in 1929 and the minimum age for marriage was fixed at 14 for girls. The age of consent was also raised in 1925 to 14 (thirteen in the case of a man approaching his own wife). It is true that these Acts, or particularly the Sarda Act, were not vigorously enforced ; but even their being placed on the statute-book was a great victory in principle and had an educative value. The remarriage of the upper class Hindu widow was now becoming more common and, on the whole, there was a tendency to accord a better social treatment to women.

(b) In the *political field*, women had already obtained the right to vote in elections to local bodies early in this century and could also be elected as representatives on them. Between 1921 and 1937, however, this political progress was carried further. They were given, for the mere asking, the right to vote in the elections to the legislatures and the right to stand as a candidate in such elections. Even a certain number of seats were reserved for them. In England or U.S.A., women had to wage a protracted and bitter struggle against men in order to win the franchise. But the Indian women got political rights with very little effort and within the short space of twelve years. The main cause for this easy victory was the fact that, by 1917, when Indian women demanded votes for themselves, the public opinion in England

¹ Report, pp. 346-7.

was already in favour of women's suffrage. This view influenced Indian public opinion also, and a favourable decision on the problem was both quick and easy. In fact, it would be a truism to say that the battle for women's suffrage in India had been fought on English soil during the preceding century.

Another factor that helped the development of education among women was the new leadership that was now rising up in their midst. The spread of secondary and collegiate education among women in the earlier period had created a band of women workers who could take an intelligent interest in the social, political and economic questions facing the country. They now came forward and began to agitate for the education of women and the amelioration of their social position. The All-India Women's Conference was established in 1926 and the first All-India Women's Educational Conference was held in 1927. Such new leadership from their own midst naturally had a far greater significance than an agitation carried on by men for the same purposes.

(c) But by far *the greatest contribution of this period to the emancipation of women was made by Mahatma Gandhi* and its effects were felt in all walks of life—social, political and educational. He was a staunch advocate of the equality of men and women and took every occasion to use his influence for ameliorating their condition. His writings on the subject are extremely valuable and have formed one of the most powerful arguments for the emancipation of women. As Rajkumari Amrit Kaur observes:—

A passionate lover of humanity, an implacable foe of injustice in whatsoever form or sphere, it is small wonder that Gandhiji early espoused the women's cause. And, as in everything that he has preached, he began the reform in his own home. Being as harsh as truth and a merciless critic of himself, the moment he realized he was a 'slaveholder' as he has called himself, his attitude to his wife changed, and with that change began his work for the emancipation of womankind as a whole. With his masterly pen and from every platform he has, throughout his long life of service, preached against the wrongs done to women in the name of law, tradition and even religion. He has spoken out fearlessly against enforced widowhood, purdah, the dedication of girls to temples, prostitution, early marriage, the dowry system, the economic bondage and marital slavery of women. 'Man and woman are equal in status'. 'I am uncompromising in the matter of women's rights. In my opinion she should labour under no legal disability not suffered by man. I should treat daughters and sons on a footing of perfect equality'. 'It is sad to think that the Smritis contain texts which command no respect from men who cherish the liberty of women as their own and who regard her as the mother of the race.' 'The saying attributed to Manu

enough witness, if witness were needed, of his burning desire to see woman restored to her natural and rightful place in society.

In his own institutions and programme of work he has paid equal attention and given equal place to girls and women. There is an air of freedom and self-confidence in the girls and women that have lived with him or been under his care whether in Sabarmati or Sevagram or elsewhere, which is a joy to behold and rarely visible in Indian society elsewhere. Nothing delights him more than the success of women in any sphere of life. The Spinners' Association, the child of his creation which is perhaps nearest his heart, is in essence a women's association. It is not for nothing that he named it thus. Those of us who have been privileged to come close to him and serve him have found in him not only a "Bapu"—a wise father, but what is far more precious a mother, before whose all-embracing and understanding love all fear and restraint vanish.¹

(d) *The war waged by the Indian people to attain independence* also did considerable service to elevate the status of women and to remove the stigma of the inferiority of the female sex. Under the lead given by Mahatma Gandhi, women began to enter politics. They took part in the non-co-operation movement of 1921, the Civil Disobedience movement of 1931 and the Quit-India campaign of 1942. They fought shoulder to shoulder with men, went to jail, faced lathi charges and even bullets, and in all manner possible, played a role worthy of the noble daughters of India. Their sacrifices and sufferings in the cause of national freedom could not but influence the attitude of men and it was these sacrifices that mostly secured to them newer rights and privileges. In the western countries, women fought *against* men to emancipate themselves. In India, they fought *with* men against a foreign power and won their emancipation as a tribute of gratitude.

(e) *Expansion*: As a result of all these events and forces which led to the emancipation of women, there was an unprecedented spread of education in their midst as the following statistics will show :—

TABLE NO. I
Recognised Institutions for Girls

Year.	Arts Colleges.	High Schools.	Middle Schools.	Primary Schools.	Special institutions.	Total.
1921-22 ..	12	120	548	22,579	258	23,517
1926-27 ..	18	145	656	26,621	316	27,756
1931-32 ..	20	218	787	32,564	380	33,969
1936-37 ..	31	297	978	32,273	404	33,989

TABLE NO. II
Enrolment of Girls by Institutions

Year.	In Arts Colleges.	In High Schools.	In Middle Schools.	In Primary Schools.	In special institutions.	In unrecognised institutions.	Total enrolment.
1921-22	938	25,130	85,079	1,195,892	11,184	77,580	1,395,803
1926-27	1,624	39,858	123,892	1,545,963	14,729	90,745	1,816,811
1931-32	2,966	75,479	170,997	2,073,141	18,981	123,120	2,464,641
1936-37	6,039	114,481	216,965	2,607,086	23,027	138,833	3,107,654

N.B.—The statistics for 1921-22 in para 18 of the preceding Chapter (which were taken from table III-A of Q.R. 1917-22) are different from those for 1921-22 given in these tables (which are taken from Chapter VI of Q.R. 1932-37). The exclusion of Burma is the probable explanation.

(f) *Co-education*: One welcome development of this period was the growing popularity of mixed schools, at least at the primary stage. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1932-37*, observes:—

Almost all the provinces report an increasing measure of progress in co-education. The following table shows the percentage of girls reading in boys' schools.

Province.	No. of girls reading in boys' institutions.	No. of girls reading in girls' institutions.	Total No. of girls.	Percentage of girls in boys' Schools to total No. of girls.
Madras	550,788	370,701	921,489	59.8
Bombay	129,530	197,041	326,571	39.7
Bengal	181,327	552,062	733,389	24.7
United Provinces	85,565	139,123	224,688	38.1
Punjab	26,432	219,627	246,059	10.7
Burma	189,686	40,634	230,320	82.4
Bihar	50,922	63,314	119,236	42.7
Central Province and Berar	35,777	48,951	84,728	42.2
Assam	48,136	42,875	91,011	52.9
North-West Frontier Province	1,588	15,368	16,956	9.4
Sind	14,288	32,166	46,454	30.8
Orissa	43,195	16,798	59,993	72.0
Coorg	2,776	1,108	3,884	71.5
Delhi	366	12,436	12,802	2.9
Ajmer-Merwara	773	4,525	5,298	14.6
Baluchistan	..	1,289	1,289	..
Bangalore	887	6,343	7,230	12.2
Other Administered Areas	383	6,577	6,960	5.5
British India	1,362,419	1,775,938	3,138,357	43.4

Co-education is an economic way of making education possible for a large number of girls in areas where they have no schools of their own. But if the educational advantages, which its advocates claim for the system, are to be obtained, it is essential that the staffs in all co-educational institutions should contain a reasonable proportion of women. While something has been done in Madras and the Punjab in this direction by engaging married couples in the same schools, no serious efforts appear to have been made in other provinces. Bombay reports that very few of such schools employ women teachers and that most of the schools, in which both boys and girls are to be found, are co-educational only in a restricted sense. The United Provinces Report also states that at present there are only a few women engaged in those boys' school to which girls are admitted and suggests that the problem of securing women teachers for these schools is one which needs immediate attention. Bengal also considers that there are definite advantages in having boys and girls in the same school provided there is at least one woman teacher on the staff.

The Punjab Report is in favour of encouraging co-education at the primary stage because "the province cannot afford separate schools for boys and girls in the majority of villages. Hence, in many cases, the alternative is not between co-education and a separate girls' school, but between co-education and no education at all for girls. It is obvious, however, that the fact that a handful of girls read in a boys' school does not make that school a co-educational one. A school is not co-educational in the real sense of the word unless there is a mixed staff and a fair proportion between girls and boys. At the lower primary stage, the ideal is almost certainly a mixed school in charge of women teachers, since women, if well qualified and trained, are certainly better teachers of little boys than men are". With this end in view, the Punjab is training the wives of teachers at Lyallpur, and Jullundur in two batches of 20 as a first step towards creating a supply of women teachers for co-educational schools.

The Government of Bihar also have reaffirmed their policy of co-education at the lower primary stage as the best solution of the question of the early education of girls. They have also introduced an age limit for the admission of boys to primary schools and it is contemplated that no boy above the age of 10 should ordinarily be found in a lower primary school. They have further decided that in order to encourage co-education at the primary stage, local bodies might grant capitation allowances, as far as their funds permit, to the teachers of boys' schools for teaching girls (who pay no fee) in classes above the infant class. Several local bodies are paying such allowances, but one inspector of schools remarks that 'the growth of co-education does not require the artificial aid of the capitation allowance, since girls' education is getting genuinely popular due to the increasing demand for educated brides by young men who now have some voice in the settlement of their marriages'.

The Women's Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education, which examined in 1936 the question of girls' primary education in India, also considered that co-education at the primary stage should be the ultimate aim in all small rural areas but where the numbers of children were large, separate schools were desirable. They emphasized the importance of appointing women teachers in mixed schools and recommended that in mixed schools or boys' schools where women teachers were appointed, at least two should be posted to the same school.¹

(g) The Report of the Hartog Committee : The progress made in the education of women between 1921 and 1937 should not

make us overlook the fact that even in 1937, the *total* education of women was very backward, that the number of girls at school was only about 2·38 per cent of the total population (as against 15 or 20 per cent that ought to have been there), and that the literacy of women was only 3 per cent ! In other words, all the awakening created and the progress made so far was, at best, a preparation for a really great drive to be launched. Moreover, there was even now a general feeling that the education of women was not being properly planned, that it was merely developing as a replica of the education of boys (which, in itself, was unplanned and defective), and that important problems like differentiation of curricula were not being handled properly. In short, it was felt that a stage had at least been reached when a *planned, comprehensive, and large-scale* drive for the education of women could be successfully made. This was more or less the view of the Hartog Committee whose findings and recommendations on the subject are given below :—

- (1) The literacy of women in India is highest in the province of Bombay.¹
- (2) There is a great disparity between the education of boys and girls. This disparity is growing year after year and it is even more significant than what it appears at first sight because it increases as we go up the educational ladder.
- (3) The public expenditure on girls' education is still small compared to that on boys' education. This disparity is increasing, notwithstanding the fact that, owing to greater difficulties, girls' education must necessarily be more expensive than that of boys, and as a consequence, there is a growing disparity between the number of educated men and educated women.
- (4) The education of girls and women in India is of extreme importance at the present moment because it vitally affects the range and efficiency of all education. The dualism between an educated manhood and an ignorant womanhood lowers the level of domestic life and even reacts on personal and national character. The education of women is required, not only in the family but in administration and public affairs as well.
- (5) The main obstacles to the progress of the education of women are the conservatism and the prejudices of the people, early marriages and purdah.
- (6) The progress of the education of women differs from province to province. Even in the same province it differs from urban to rural areas or from one community to another.
- (7) A whole-time woman officer of high standing and experience must be appointed at the headquarters to prepare plans and programmes for the expansion of girls' education.

¹ This position is still true in so far as the provinces are concerned ; but the states of Travancore-Cochin and Baroda show a higher literacy percentage for women. In Baroda, this result is due to the existence of the matriarchal system. In Travancore-Cochin it is due to the existence of the matriarchal system.

TABLE NO. I

Total number of Muslim Pupils (and girls) receiving education with comparative percentages

Province.	Percentage of Muslim population to total population.	Muslim pupils (all institutions).	Percentage of Muslim pupils to total pupils.	Percentage of Muslim female population to total female population.	Percentage of Muslim girl pupils to total number of girl pupils.
Madras	7.5	356,267	11.2	7.5	11.4
Bombay	8.8	183,036	13.7	8.4	12.4
Bengal	54.9	1,656,398	51.7	55.2	55.2
United Provinces	14.8	301,284	18.3	14.9	15.5
Punjab	56.5	624,687	48.6	56.9	43.9
Burma	4.0	33,946	4.5	3.1	4.5
Bihar	12.8	150,425	14.9	12.9	21.5
Central Provinces and Berar	4.4	53,312	10.7	4.2	13.6
Assam	32.0	126,090	27.4	33.0	22.5
North-West Frontier Province	91.8	70,214	71.0	92.9	40.4
Sind	72.8	89,812	46.7	72.7	36.5
Orissa	1.6	9,726	2.9	1.6	4.3
Coorg	8.4	610	5.0	6.6	3.8
Delhi	32.5	16,067	31.0	32.2	25.5
Ajmer-Merwara	17.3	5,638	19.9	16.8	1.6
Baluchistan	87.4	5,074	68.8	91.4	42.6
Bangalore	21.3	2,777	14.8	20.4	11.3
Other Administered Areas	4.0	3,476	15.3	21.6	8.7
British India	24.7	3,688,839	26.1	24.1	25.6

(8) Women should be represented on all local bodies and educational committees.

(9) It is absolutely essential to increase the strength of the inspecting agency for girls' schools.

(10) The professional education of women at the collegiate level is extremely backward.

(11) Secondary education for girls has been successfully developed in urban areas but the opportunities for higher education afforded to the girls in the smaller towns and rural areas are extremely limited.

(12) Primary education of girls is extensive in urban areas but is generally limited and inefficient in rural areas.

(13) Wastage and stagnation exist very largely in boys' schools but their extent in girls' schools is even greater.

(14) Co-educational primary schools, in spite of the obvious difficulties, are preferable to segregated ones.

(15) Owing to social and economic conditions, compulsion for girls must necessarily be of slower growth than compulsion for boys; but it is necessary to include at least a majority of the girls of school-going age in every general scheme of compulsory education. (The first part of the recommendation is correct; but the second is a wrong remedy. There should be no time-lag between the introduction of compulsory education for boys in a given area and compulsory education for girls in the same area).

(16) Alternative courses should be provided at the high school stage, and at a later stage in special institutions preparing for a diploma rather than a degree. The universities might well go half way to meet the girls' schools in this matter by recognizing the value of the courses in domestic science, hygiene, music, etc., for girls. It is, in any case, most desirable that the high school courses for girls should not be entirely dominated by university requirements devised for boys.

(17) The shortage of women teachers, particularly at the primary stage, is due to lack of adequate training facilities, the unwillingness of women who are brought up and trained in towns to work as teachers in rural areas, and inadequacy of the pay offered. Special attention must, therefore, be paid to the removal of these difficulties and especially to the training of girls from rural areas to become primary teachers.

The Committee conclude their Report with the following emphatic recommendations :—

The whole case for women's education rests on the claim that education is not the privilege of one sex, but equally the right of both and that neither one sex nor the other can advance by itself without a strain on the social and national system and injury to itself. The time has come to redress the balance, and we believe that the difficulties in the way of women's education are beginning to lose their force and the opportunity has arrived for a great new advance. We are definitely of opinion that, in the interest of the advance of Indian education as a whole, priority should now be given to the claims of girls' education in every scheme of expansion.¹

48. Education of the Muslims (1921-37). The education of Muslims made very good progress between 1921 and 1937. There was no longer any need to say that the Muslims were a backward

¹ Report, p. 183.

community in education. In fact, the actual position in 1936-37 was that the spread of education among the Muslims was even greater than among the Hindus *as a whole*. It is only in comparison with the advanced classes among the Hindus that Muslims may be said to be educationally backward ; but such a comparison is hardly correct.

The statistics of Muslim education for 1936-37 are given in table on p. 716 and table given below :—

TABLE NO. II

Muslim Pupils in 1936-37 arranged according to stages of Instruction

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
1. Arts Colleges	14,281	346	14,627
2. Professional colleges	2,402	74	2,476
3. Secondary schools	2,45,232	9,675	2,54,907
4. Primary schools	23,38,172	7,08,166	30,46,338
5. Special schools	1,08,890	4,395	1,13,285
6. Unrecognised schools	1,76,578	80,628	2,57,206
Total ..	28,85,555	8,03,284	36,88,839

It will be seen that (a) taking India as a whole, the total enrolment of Muslim pupils is now even greater than the average for all communities ; (b) in the Province of Bengal, Punjab, N.W.F. and Sind, and in the centrally administered area of Baluchistan, Muslims were in a majority but their education was not so advanced as that of the minority communities in those Provinces ; (c) on the other hand, in Provinces like Bombay or Madras where the Muslims were a minority community, their education was far in advance of that of Hindus, taken as a whole ; (d) education was now spreading fairly rapidly even among Muslim girls and the community was no longer backward even in this respect, when compared with the Hindus as a whole ; (e) secondary and collegiate education was spreading rapidly among Muslim boys, although the position of the Muslim girls left a good deal to be desired in these fields ; and that (f) on the whole, the Muslim community had now fully made up for its initial neglect of modern education. This great progress was due (a) partly to the continued patronage of Government since 1871-72 ; (b) partly to the attempts made by the community itself ; (c) and partly to the general social and political awakening

The Hartog Committee made a special study of the problem of Muslim education. Some of its observations were based on the inference, drawn from the statistics of 1927, that the Muslims are generally a backward community in education and these are hardly of interest now. But its findings regarding separate or special institutions are very important. All the main findings and recommendations of the Committee, however, are given below :—

(a) *Special Position of Muslim Education* : The position of the Muhammadan community in India is peculiar in many respects and some conspicuous features in the existing system of Indian education are due either to the community's insistence on certain principles or to attempts on the part of Governments to give it special help. The community is still educationally backward, though less than formerly, and though for a considerable time past Governments have generally recognised the desirability of finding remedies for its backwardness in the public interest. It is a minority community in most of the provinces but in the social polity of India it is undoubtedly the most important minority. It has insisted on religious instruction, given by Muhammadans, as an integral element in school education for Muhammadan pupils, and has attached great importance to Arabic and Persian as classical languages of Islamic religion and culture, and to Urdu as a linguistic bond of union among Muhammadans throughout India. And it is on the whole a poor community, consisting largely of cultivators and petty tradesmen.

These circumstances account for the fact that at the present day—

- (a) provision for the education of many Muhammadans is made in segregate institutions ;
- (b) special assistance is given to Muhammadan pupils by way of stipends, scholarships and fee remissions ;
- (c) special inspecting agencies for Muhammadan educational institutions have been established in a number of provinces ; and
- (d) reservations of different kinds are made either to secure the admission of Muhammadans to the ordinary educational institutions or to secure the presence of an adequate number of Muhammadans on their teaching staffs.¹

(b) *Separate and Special Institutions and their Disadvantages* : A very large number of Muslim pupils receive instruction in 'separate' or 'special' institutions. The 'Separate' institutions include Islamic colleges, which prepare for the ordinary examinations of a university, and Islamic secondary schools which prepare boys for the matriculation. They include also the Islamia primary schools in the United Provinces, and primary schools in Madras, Bombay, Punjab, Burma and the Central Provinces. These separate institutions are generally staffed and maintained by members of the Muhammadan community, but in some cases they are maintained by Government and local bodies. . . . The 'special' institutions include Islamic intermediate colleges in Bengal ; the high and junior *madrasahs*, which are mostly in Bengal ; *maktabs* ; *mulla* schools in Sind ; and Koran schools.²

The Table No. III on the next page shows, as far as it has been possible to ascertain, the total number of these 'separate' and 'special' institutions :—

TABLE NO. III

'Separate' and 'Special' institutions for Muhammadans

Province.	'Separate' institutions.			'Special' institutions.			Other schools.	Total recognised institutions.	Un-recognised schools.	Grand Total.
	Colleges.	Secondary schools or Madrasahs.	Primary schools or Islamia schools.	Madrasahs.	Maktabas.	Mulla or Koran schools.				
Madras	2	17	3,166	..	67	..	12	3,264	783	4,047
Bombay	..	13	2,061	..	..	827	39	2,940	808	3,748
Bengal	4	25	..	538	19,919	..	6	20,492	804	21,296
United Provinces	2	18	693	..	2,294	..	..	3,007	Not known Do.	3,007
Punjab	1	65	308	..	..	..	..	374		374
Burma	..	7	178	..	..	..	4	189	89	278
Bihar and Orissa	..	..	..	..	3,477	..	14	3,491	280	3,771
Central Provinces	..	37	242	..	..	..	1	280	23	303
Assam	..	..	..	10	102	..	..	112	205	317
Total ..	9	182	6,648	548	25,859	827	76	34,149	2,992	37,141

Thus, the 'separate' institutions are to be found mainly in Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces; and the 'special' institutions mainly in Bengal, Bihar and the United Provinces, especially in Bengal. It will be noticed that there are no 'special' institutions in the Punjab. The institutions shown in the Table in column 8 as 'other schools' are mainly training classes for teachers.¹

In the past, the establishment of 'separate' and 'special' educational institutions for Muhammadans has undoubtedly brought Muhammadan pupils under instruction more extensively and more quickly than would have been the case had the only facilities been those afforded by the undenominational and publicly managed schools. But the official reports and the evidence which we have received indicate very clearly that, generally speaking, these institutions have done but little to raise the general standard of education among Muhammadans to that of other communities, that a great many of them are accentuating the educational backwardness of the community, that their enrolment is increasing year by year and that a continuance of these institutions on a large scale would be prejudicial both to the interests of Muhammadans themselves and to the public interest.

Even as regards the 'separate' institutions for higher education, which offer inducements to young Muhammadans to pursue the ordinary courses, it is doubtful whether the advantages to the community are not outweighed by the disadvantages. We are aware that several of the Islamic colleges and schools are large, well-equipped and efficient institutions, and there is no reason why they should not continue alongside similar institutions maintained by other communities. But where the Muhammadan community is small, it is impossible to provide, except at disproportionate cost, a separate institution which will be as efficient as the ordinary college or school. A small institution can rarely have as efficient a staff as a large one, and the pupils lose much of the stimulus of healthy competition and much of the training in character which is derived from well-organised corporate life. We cannot believe, for example, that the students (less than ten in number in 1927) reading in the degree classes of the Government Muhammadan College, Madras, are enjoying the same opportunities for all-round education as are enjoyed by the Muhammadan students (over a hundred) reading in the degree classes of the other colleges in the Presidency town.

It is, however, in the 'special' schools that the Muhammadan pupils, suffer most from the relative inefficiency of the segregate institutions—*madrasahs* *maktabs* and Koran schools—which they attend. It has been noted that the special institutions are to be found mainly in Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar, and it is to these provinces, in particular, that our observations in regard to them apply. . . .

In Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar, the evidence as to the inefficiency of the 'special' institutions is almost unanimous. An inspector of schools in Bengal has stated that 'The *maktabs* and *madrasahs* are extremely inefficient. This is not prejudiced criticism but is the unanimous verdict of the Muhammadan inspectors. . . . It is extremely unlikely that the products of such institutions will ever be able to compete successfully with those who have been taught in ordinary high schools. This is the private opinion also of many Muhammadan gentlemen'. In the majority of cases, a *maktab* has only three classes and is a single-teacher school. In the United Provinces, it was the unanimous opinion of the Committee appointed to report on the state of primary education of boys of the Muhammadan community and of educationally backward communities that 'in quality the education given in special Muhammadan institutions is

¹ Report, p. 196.

inferior to that given in ordinary mixed schools maintained by municipal and district boards. The gravity of the situation was realised when it was understood that 33 per cent. of the Muhammadan boys receiving primary education are enrolled in Islamia schools and maktabas. The Committee attributes the failure of maktabas and Islamia schools to. . . . (a) the unwillingness of boards in straitened circumstances to expend money from their own funds on inferior denominational schools, (b) lack of healthy competition incidental to their sheltered condition, (c) inferior tuition, and (d) insufficient and over-lenient inspection. In *Bihar*, our evidence shows that the *maktabas* are very similar to those in Bengal and that they are in most cases inefficient three-class single-teacher schools.¹

The Muhammadan pupil of a 'special' school is very seriously handicapped in climbing the educational ladder not only by the inefficiency of most of these institutions, but also by the fact that, having begun his education in an institution which stands outside the ordinary organisation of schools, it is not easy for him to take his place later in one of the ordinary schools or colleges. This is particularly the case in Bengal where the vast majority of the special schools exist². . .

(c) *Other Handicaps of Muslim Pupils* :—Even a Muhammadan boy who takes the ordinary primary course, whether in an ordinary or in a 'separate' school, is also handicapped in climbing the educational ladder, though to a lesser extent. In the first place, we have received evidence that in Bihar and the United Provinces, local bodies are reluctant to open 'separate' Islamia Urdu teaching primary schools, even in places where there is a large Muhammadan population; and that many of the schools which have been opened are starved through insufficiency of financial support by the local bodies. In the second place, even if a Muhammadan boy succeeds in completing the ordinary primary course there is insufficient opportunity for him to go further. The majority of the Muhammadan population is scattered in villages far from secondary schools. The handicap due to the paucity or absence of secondary schools, particularly of middle vernacular schools, in the villages, is most serious³. . . .

Many Muhammadan pupils are also handicapped if they desire to pass from a primary to an anglo-vernacular school. In general, Muhammadans are poor and live in rural areas. They find it difficult and beyond their means to send their sons to distant schools. In most provinces, even when the anglo-vernacular schools are within easy distance they are usually managed by members of other communities, and Muhammadans consider them uncongenial.⁴

The Hartog Committee came to the definite conclusion that the then existing methods of Muslim education intensified the separation of the communities. It, therefore, desired to minimise this evil and proposed that it would be better to institute a common system of education for the two communities with certain modifications in the case of Muslims. It said :—

We have no doubt whatever that, both in the public interest and in the interest of the Muhammadan community, the sooner the segregate Muhammadan institutions and particularly those which we have classed as special institutions, are replaced by a system under which Muhammadan pupils in all stages will take their place in ordinary schools, side by side with pupils of other

¹ *Report*, pp. 199–200.

² *Ibid.*, p. 201.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

communities, the better. Such a change can obviously take place only gradually. Accommodation must first be provided in other institutions for their pupils, and some segregate institutions will no doubt make good their claim to continuance.

Representations made to us on behalf of the Muhammadan community show that they are prepared to fall in with a policy which will bring Muhammadan pupils into the ordinary publicly managed schools if they can obtain certain safeguards of which the principal are :—

- (a) Provision of opportunities for Muhammadan religious instruction ;
- (b) (in the United Provinces and Bihar) adequate provision for the teaching of Urdu ;
- (c) adequate provision for the training and employment of a suitable proportion of Muhammadan teachers ;
- (d) proportionate reservation of places for Muhammadan pupils in institutions where accommodation is insufficient to admit all applicants ; and
- (e) adequate representation on local educational authorities or other bodies managing schools¹

We fully appreciate the force of the general arguments against a policy of "reservations" or "preferences" in favour of particular communities or groups or sections of a people, and we admit that special reservations or preferences inside a public system of education of a democratic community require justification. A fair field and no favour is a maxim which commands ready assent. Yet in India no one now disputes that if the 'depressed' and 'untouchable' classes are to be enabled to start fair, something special must be done for them, and to this extent they are treated as favoured communities. Again, the most efficient system is the best appears to be a self-evident truth. But 'efficiency' is not an absolute but a relative term ; it denotes the degree in which a machine, an institution or a system achieves its aim, and the degree in which the amount or value of the product corresponds to the amount of effort or money expended in producing it. The efficiency of a single school may, perhaps, be judged by reference to a relatively restricted aim, but the efficiency of a public educational system must be judged by reference to a very broad aim. In India, if anywhere, a description of that aim as nothing short of 'nation-building' will find ready acceptance.

If, therefore, special arrangements inside the public system of education were made now, and possibly for some time to come, to enable the Muhammadan community to take its full share in the life and in the advance of the nation, this would not, in our opinion, be inconsistent either with sound democratic or sound educational principles. We wish we could say that no reservations are necessary and we should certainly wish that they should be as small as possible. As complications of an educational system they are undesirable in themselves, but since in our belief they represent a necessary alternative to leaving the Muhammadan community in its present backward state, and leaving it to take the poor chances afforded by a system of segregate institutions, we have no hesitation in embracing that alternative as justifiable on broad grounds of national policy.²

(d) *Religious Education* : Of all the reservations proposed, however, the hardest nut to crack was that of religious education.

¹ *Report*, p. 203.

² *Ibid.*, p. 206.

The common schools were secular since their inception and although missionaries and others had agitated for the provision of religious education, the momentous decision of the Indian Education Commission had closed the controversy and prohibited all religious instruction in publicly managed schools. The issue was not opened for about four decades. In 1911, however,

Government of India invited local Governments to set up committees to consider the provision for moral and religious instruction. Considerable variety of opinion was expressed regarding the possibility and efficiency of religious instruction. The provinces in which advance was most confidently recommended were Bengal and Bihar. Even prior to 1917, relaxation of the general rule had been permitted, for example, in the United Provinces, the Punjab and Burma, in favour of children whose parents desired religious instruction for them. The conditions usually imposed were that it should be given by persons other than the ordinary staff outside ordinary school hours, and not at the cost of public funds. In the Central Provinces and Assam, there was also some relaxation, mainly in favour of Muhammadans, though little advantage was taken of it.

In 1921, the Government of India addressed all local Governments on the question of the introduction of religious instruction into Government schools and stated that they were "of the opinion that the embargo which hitherto has been placed on the introduction of religious instruction in publicly managed schools may be removed". Certain conditions to be attached to its introduction were indicated, *viz.*, no preference to any particular religion to the exclusion of others, no charge on public funds and the instruction to be given outside regular school hours.

In Madras, orders were accordingly issued permitting religious instruction in publicly managed schools on those conditions. The Punjab Code permitted it in Government or local board schools on those conditions and at the express wish of the parents. In Bihar, the provision of religious instruction for at least two hours a week in school hours was made obligatory in Government and non-denominational schools. At present, all pupils are required to attend the religious instruction provided for their particular community unless their parents desire them to be exempted; it is to be given ordinarily by members of the school staff selected by the headmaster and also, if necessary, by honorary teachers approved by the headmaster. In the Central Provinces, religious instruction was permitted in Government and local board schools out of school hours, and at the expense of the communities which provided it. In Assam, special facilities for religious instruction for Muhammadan pupils were provided in all publicly managed schools.¹

It was these experiments that made the Hartog Committee think that, after all, the concept of 'secular education' was not an inescapable concomitant of the Indian school-system and that it ought not to be difficult to provide for the religious education which the Muslims demanded even in a system of common schools for all. It said:—

demand for combined religious and secular instruction in the same institution to consider whether they should not try to meet that demand in the ordinary school. It is obvious, as we point out elsewhere, that if the system of primary education is to be rescued from the waste and ineffectiveness which afflict it, a great effort has to be made and the system of primary schools has to be re-organised. For that purpose, it is of the first importance to decide whether the relatively ineffective and expensive plan of maintaining segregate schools for Muhammadans shall be continued, or whether arrangements for providing them with opportunities for religious instruction and observance in the ordinary schools shall be adopted. There can be no doubt that if, in provinces where the educational progress of the Muhammadan community is impeded by religious difficulties, such arrangements for religious instruction can be made as will induce the community to send its children to ordinary schools, the public system will gain both in economy and efficiency, and much will be done to free the community from the handicap and reproach of educational backwardness.

We are fully aware that such arrangements are not easy to make and that in other countries they have given rise to much controversy. The arrangements would probably vary with the circumstances of each province, and it is not for us to suggest any particular plan. But, in our opinion, the time is ripe and more than ripe for a determined effort to devise practical plans.

Arrangements of the kind that we suggest would obviously be facilitated by an increase in the number of qualified Muhammadan teachers in the ordinary schools and by the provision of separate hostels in schools and colleges where boarding accommodation is provided.

We need hardly say that where the path of educational progress of other communities is blocked in a similar degree by difficulties connected with religious instruction, arrangements similar to those made for Muhammadans should be conceded to those communities.¹

But unfortunately, very little practical good came out of these proposals; and, in spite of a good deal of discussion, the education of the two great communities continued to be largely in isolation from each other.

49. **Education of the Harijans (1921-37).** A great achievement of Indian Ministers was that they could spread education among the Harijans at a rate faster than that in any preceding period. The extent of this achievement can be seen from the statistics given on page 726.

(a) *Official Attempts to Spread Education among the Harijans:* In accordance with the severity of untouchability, the extent of Harijan population, and the progress in education already achieved, both the extent and nature of the measures adopted to assist the education of the Harijans varied from Province to Province, and even in the same Province, from time to time. As an illustration, we give below the developments in the three

Provinces of South India—Madras, Bombay and the Central Provinces and Berar.

No. of Harijan Pupils (by Provinces)

Province.	No. of Harijan pupils in	
	1921-22.	1936-37.
Madras	157,113	328,445
Bombay	36,543	80,486
Bengal	96,552	436,796
United Provinces	59,873	161,407
Punjab	3,732	28,870
Bihar and Orissa	15,096	{ 43,583 Bihar 48,835 Orissa
Central Provinces and Berar	28,919	43,583

N.B.—Regarding the very great increase in Bengal, it has to be stated that it is partly due to re-classification of castes and tribes and to the inclusion of several new castes and tribes under the expression then in use, *viz.*, 'Depressed Classes'. But even when allowance is made for this, there was no doubt that education was spreading among the Harijans at a very fast rate. (*Vide* Hartog Committee Report, p. 219.)

This great expansion was due to three main reasons: (a) the official attempts to spread education among the Harijans; (b) the great contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to the cause of the removal of untouchability; and (c) the awakening among the Harijans brought about by their own accredited leaders led by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

In *Madras*, untouchability exists in its most severe forms; and consequently more vigorous steps had to be taken to help the Harijans. These included—

- (i) the appointment of a Commissioner of Labour (with seventeen District Labour Officers to assist him) and entrusting him with the task of encouraging the education of Harijans;
- (ii) the insistence on the right of Harijan pupils to admission into all public schools;
- (iii) refusal of grants-in-aid to private schools which did not admit Harijan pupils;
- (iv) the removal of all public schools to places which would be accessible to the Harijans;
- (v) institution of large numbers of stipends and scholarships to Harijan pupils;
- (vi) remission of fees; all Harijan pupils were admitted on payment of half-fees in all institutions; and
- (vii) special provision for the training of Harijan teachers.

In the earlier years, the Madras Government emphasized the use of special schools in addition to the insistence on admission of Harijan pupils into common

rose from 7,651 to 10,035. But this emphasis was dropped in later years. The Hartog Committee definitely recommended that the policy of separate schools was wrong because (i) it tends necessarily to emphasize the differences between Harijans and the caste Hindus, (ii) and because it largely and unnecessarily increases the cost of compulsory education. The great drive for the removal of untouchability started by Mahatma Gandhi and the demand of the Harijans themselves for equality of treatment also gave great support to the movement for the abolition of special schools. Consequently, the earlier emphasis on special schools was abandoned and in the last years of this period, the Madras Government adopted a new policy under which special schools ceased to be the rule and were opened 'only in places where owing to caste prejudices, the existing schools are not accessible to them or in places where there are no schools whatever.'¹

In *Bombay*, a special Committee, popularly known as the Starte Committee, was appointed in 1929-30 to report on the condition of all backward classes (inclusive of Harijans), and it made the following recommendations :—

- (a) Reaffirmation of the Government policy that there should be equality of treatment for all classes of children in publicly managed institutions ;
- (b) Encouragement of common schools as opposed to special schools for Harijans ;
- (c) More frequent interchange of teachers in common and special schools ;
- (d) Institution of additional scholarships and relaxation of age-limits in certain conditions ;
- (e) Increasing the number of Harijan teachers in primary schools.

All these recommendations were accepted by Government. A Backward Class Board consisting of officials and non-officials and a separate Backward Class Department under an I. C. S. Officer were created to watch over the interest of all backward classes and to see that their progress is continuous and that their rights are upheld. The admission of Harijan pupils to common schools was emphasized so that by 1936-37, only about 20 per cent of the Harijan pupils were to be found in 'special schools'. The policy of appointing more and more Harijan teachers in common schools was also adopted so that by 1935-36, there were as many as 979 Harijan teachers out of whom 601 worked in common schools. In 1936-37, the Director of Public Instruction reported that 'not only has there been a general awakening among these classes themselves, but the prejudice against them is dying out. Scheduled class pupils are now admitted freely into all but a very few schools and sit in the class alongside other children. And it is only when the school is held in a temple that there is any difficulty about admitting scheduled class pupils. Necessary steps are now being taken to move these schools to other buildings, and, if no other building is available, to other villages.'²

"In the *Central Provinces*" said the Hartog Committee in 1929, "the educational rules have been amended so as to prevent the refusal of admission of any depressed class pupil into a publicly managed institution and so as to prevent any differential treatment of depressed class pupils reading in publicly managed schools. Under the grant-in-aid code, special two-thirds grants may be paid to schools for the depressed classes opened by private management and capital grants may also be paid for the erection of hostels for the depressed classes.

¹ *Report of the D.P.I. Madras (1936-37)*, p. 140.

² *Report of the D.P.I. Bombay (1936-37)*, p. 215.

Fee remissions and scholarships have been liberally awarded and bonuses have been paid to the headmasters of primary schools for each pupil from the depressed classes who passes the Primary Certificate examination." ¹ After 1929, the Provincial Government also adopted the policy of discouraging special schools, with very good results. In 1936-37, it was reported that 'there is no longer any need felt for separate schools for depressed class pupils as the Harijan boys are freely allowed to take their place in schools, as in most other public places, without any objection from other communities.' ²

We have dealt with these three Provinces in detail because the evil of untouchability is far keener in the South than in the North of India. Similar measures were also adopted in all the Provinces of Northern India as well so that, by 1936-37, the total enrolment of Harijan pupils increased very considerably—particularly in common schools—and the prejudice of untouchability began to die out very quickly. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1932-37* observes:—

In *Bengal*, considerable progress has been made by the backward classes in education during the last five years in spite of the financial distress in the country which necessarily hit these desperately poor people very hard. . . . The extension of the franchise and the reservation of a number of seats for the backward classes in the Provincial Legislature created great enthusiasm amongst them for higher education and if larger educational facilities are made available for them, they will undoubtedly make greater progress and take their rightful place in the public life of the province.

In the *United Provinces*, the number of depressed class pupils showed a steady improvement from year to year, and this was more apparent in the ordinary vernacular schools than in the special schools for the depressed classes. The increase of 53 per cent in the enrolment of depressed class pupils attending ordinary schools is significant of the waning of caste prejudices.

In the *Punjab*, the 'segregate' schools for the depressed classes have been practically abolished. 'The obstacles of social bigotry and religious prejudice are almost extinct. Untouchability in so far as the schools are concerned, is a matter of the past now. Preferential treatment is given to depressed class children in the matter of training as teachers, and their subsequent employment.'

In 1933, the Primary Education Committee of *Bihar* made some recommendations regarding the education of the depressed classes, *e.g.*:—

- (1) Schools receiving aid from local bodies should, if depressed class pupils are excluded, be removed to other sites.
- (2) Depressed class pupils should be given equal facilities for their lessons with other pupils *i.e.*, they must be admitted to the school house and be given a seat in front of the teacher and the blackboard.
- (3) More adequate facilities should be provided for the education of depressed classes, especially in the form of special schools in areas where a considerable population of these classes is concentrated, but the provision is to be only a temporary measure to last until these children are freely admitted to ordinary schools.

These recommendations were given effect to by Government, as far as feasible, without delay.

In *Orissa*, there were 505 schools mainly intended for depressed classes out of which 10 were for girls. The need for these special schools still continues in some areas, though the prejudice against the admission of depressed class pupils to ordinary schools is weakening.¹

Two very significant developments of this period were (a) the employment of Harijan teachers in common schools on a fairly large scale and (b) the insistence on the idea that Harijan pupils will not only be admitted to common schools but be given equality of treatment. The Hartog Committee had laid particular emphasis on these two aspects. It said :—

If, as we hope will be the case, pupils of the depressed classes are admitted in large numbers to the ordinary schools, steps should be taken to ensure that a certain number of suitably qualified and trained teachers chosen from those classes should be recruited to the staffs of the ordinary schools. The adequate representation of these classes on the local educational bodies, such as is found in Madras and Bombay, is also desirable.

We desire to point out in conclusion that it will not be sufficient for Government merely to insist on the admission of the children of the depressed classes to the ordinary schools. It will be necessary to see that the regulations are carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter, and that the children are treated on equal terms in all respects with the children of other communities.²

The drive against untouchability launched by Mahatma Gandhi and the demand of the Harijans themselves for proportional representation in all public services and equality of social treatment also helped this movement to a very great extent. By 1936-37, it was a gratifying sight to see several Harijan teachers working in common schools, thereby helping materially to break down untouchability, and Harijan pupils sitting on terms of equality with those of the "superior" Hindu castes. Not that everything was quite all right even now. The Harijan teachers had to bear several handicaps, particularly in villages, in the matter of housing accommodation. The Harijan pupils also did not always get the equality of treatment they deserved. But the situation had very considerably improved since 1921-22 and social opinion was so greatly awakened as to bring the total disappearance of untouchability within sight.

(b) *Contribution of Mahatma Gandhi* : Far more significant than the official efforts for the education of the Harijans was the great contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to the cause of the removal

of untouchability, the spread of education in their midst, and the general amelioration of their condition. It was due to his extreme devotion to the cause and ceaseless efforts to abolish untouchability that the greatest change came about in the mentality of caste Hindus. Dr. Ambedkar once said that untouchability would not vanish within an imaginable distance of time because 'a two thousand year twist of the human mind' cannot be untwisted or turned in the opposite direction except very slowly.¹ All the same, it is a fact of history that no single individual did more to undo the twist than Mahatma Gandhi.

All throughout his public life, Mahatma Gandhi had preached against untouchability. In 1920 he wrote, 'Untouchability cannot be given a secondary place in the programme. Without the removal of that taint, Swaraj is a meaningless term'.² In 1921, while speaking at the Depressed Class Conference at Ahmedabad, he said, 'I regard untouchability as the greatest blot on Hinduism'.³...Hinduism has sinned in giving sanction to untouchability....So long as the Hindoos wilfully regard untouchability as a part of their religion, as long as the mass of Hindus consider it a sin to touch a section of their brethren, Swaraj is impossible of attainment....We ought to purge ourselves of this pollution. 'It is idle to talk of Swaraj so long as we do not protect the weak and the helpless'.³ He continuously talked and preached on these lines; but it did not produce any appreciable effect upon society until his epic fast of 1932. Under the Communal Award announced by the British Government, separate electorates were given to the Harijans as well. Gandhiji felt that this would result in a great disadvantage to Harijans and on September 20, 1932, went on a fast to have the Award set aside. In an extremely touching interview in the Yerwada Jail before he began his fast, he explained his object in the following words:—

I am a touchable by birth, but an 'untouchable' by choice and I have endeavoured to qualify myself to represent, not the upper ten even among the 'untouchables' because be it said to their shame there are castes and classes among them, but my ambition is to represent and identify myself with, as far as possible, the lowest strata of 'untouchables', namely the 'invisibles' and the 'unapproachables' whom I have always before my mind's eye wherever I go, for they have indeed drunk deep of the poisoned cup. . . . I am convinced that

¹ B. R. Ambedkar: *What Gandhi and His Congress have done to the Untouchables*, p. 195.

² C. Rajgopalachari: *Ambedkar Refuted*, p. 18.

³ D. G. Tendulkar & Others: *Gandhiji, His Life and Work*, p. 352.

if they are ever to rise, it will not be by reservation of seats but will be by the strenuous work of Hindu reformers in their midst and it is because I feel that this separation would have killed all prospect of reform that my whole soul has rebelled against it, and. . . . in my capacity of being a self-chosen 'untouchable', I am not going to rest content with a patched up pact between the 'touchables' and the 'untouchables'. . . . What I want, what I am living for and what I should delight in dying for, is the eradication of untouchability, root and branch. . . . It is in order to achieve this, the dream of my life for the past fifty years that I have entered today the fiery gates. . . . My life I count of no consequence. One hundred lives given for the noble cause would, in my opinion, be poor penance done by Hindus for the atrocious wrongs they have heaped upon helpless men and women, of their own faith. I therefore would urge them not to swerve an inch from the path of strict justice. My fast I want to throw in the scales of justice and if they are roused to a sense of their duty, it will have served its purpose. . . . If I had anything more to give, I would throw that in also to remove this curse, but I have nothing more than my life. . . . I believe that if untouchability is really rooted out it will not only purge Hinduism of a terrible blot but its repercussions will be world wide. My fight against untouchability is a fight against the impure in humanity.¹

The fast ended on September 26 as an agreement on the problem was reached between the leaders concerned and was accepted by Government. But in the course of this week, the whole of India was shaken as it never had been before. On September 25, a meeting of national leaders held at Bombay under the chairmanship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya resolved as follows :—

The Conference resolves that henceforth, amongst Hindus no one shall be regarded as an untouchable by reason of his birth and that those who have been so regarded hitherto will have the same right as other Hindus in regard to the use of public wells, public schools, public roads and other public institutions. This right shall have statutory recognition at the first opportunity and shall become one of the earliest Acts of the Swaraj Parliament if it shall not have received such recognition before that time.

It is further agreed that it shall be the duty of all Hindu leaders to secure, by every legitimate and peaceful means, an early removal of all social disabilities now imposed by custom upon the so-called untouchable classes, including the ban in respect of admission to temples.²

It will be shown in Chapter XII that the work of the Congress Ministries after 1937 generally followed the directions given by this resolution.

In 1933 Gandhiji changed the name of his paper to *Harijan* in order to show his solicitude for the cause. In May of the same year, he went on a 21-day fast in order to intensify the efforts for the amelioration of the Harijans. He described it as a

¹ Press Interview, Yeravda Jail, Sept. 20, 1932. Quoted in *Gandhiji, His Life and Work* Ed. by D. G. Tendulkar & Others.

² Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya : *The History of the Indian National Congress*, p. 536.

“prayer for the purification of myself and my associates for greater vigilance and watchfulness in connection with the Harijan cause”. He made over the land, the building and the crops of the Sabarmati Ashram to the Harijan Movement. That was the only institution which he could call his own or which people could call his, and the sacrifice moved the people a great deal. On November 7, 1933, he started from Wardha on a strenuous tour for the uplift of Harijans and to collect funds for the work of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. In about 10 months, he covered every province of India and made an intensive study of the problem. Besides the great educative and propaganda value of the tour, he collected eight lakhs of rupees for the cause.

These epic events created an unprecedented wave for the removal of untouchability. The response to the clarion call of Gandhiji for the work of Harijan uplift was

so quick and so ample that the complexion of affairs began to be transformed almost every hour and every minute. There was the Nawab of Bhopal offering 5,000 rupees donation to the Hindu Reform Movement. . . . A remarkable wave spread over the whole country and what was even more important than the achievements was the spirit which permeated the land from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. The spirit of helpfulness, and the recognition of the duty of the caste Hindus to the ‘untouchables’ covered a wide range of activities. Scholarships for high school students, institutions for vocational training such as shoe-making, tailoring, tanning, carpentry, weaving, homeopathy. . . preparatory schools, hostels for students, medical relief centres for Harijans, sinking of new wells, employment of Harijans in factories, commercial firms, shops and homes of caste Hindus. . . . supply of bullocks to Harijan villages, increase of Harijan labour wages, library service, *akhavas* and social clubs in Harijan *bastis* and distribution of dresses to Harijan children and blankets to adults : these are some of the acts of philanthropy (really duties) undertaken by the Great Harijan Organisations brought into being by Gandhi.¹

The establishment of the Harijan Sevak Sangh with Shri Amritlal Thakkar as Secretary was another great achievement of this awakening. One would, therefore, entirely agree with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he said that, during his span of years, Mahatmaji had “done the work of a score or more of vital and energetic persons adding to it his own peculiar contribution which none else could give”.²

(c) *Contribution of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar* : Dr. Ambedkar worked for the same cause from the other side. Gandhiji’s main work lay among the caste Hindus, and its greatness is to be

¹ Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya : *Gandhi and Gandhism*, p. 424.

measured by the extent of change brought about in the minds of the caste Hindus. But, however painful, it is a fact of history that he did not have a very large following among the Harijans themselves. On the other hand, Dr. Ambedkar was a Harijan by birth (Mahatmaji called himself an 'untouchable by choice')—and therefore was destined to be the leader of these people by virtue of his birth, complete identification with their cause and unequalled capacity. He roused them to a sense of their political importance; he made them feel that they were human beings entitled to certain treatment and privileges, not as a charity, but as a matter of right. It was his great personality and selfless devotion to the cause that was primarily responsible for securing a great deal of attention and funds for the education of the Backward classes from the British Government. In a way, his work was complementary to that of Mahatma Gandhi, although owing to differences of approach, he often came in conflict with Gandhiji and the Congress.

The great service of Dr. Ambedkar to the cause is the awakening that he created among the Harijans. He gave them a leadership which they sadly lacked and which was very badly needed. He put the problem of the Harijans before the country in its true perspective—political, social and economic. He showed that the cause of Harijans cannot be regarded (as unfortunately it often was) as one of charity or social service, or even as an ethical issue of self-purification. It was really a great political, social and economic issue. He stated its *political* aspects unambiguously when he said :—

It is a problem of securing to a minority liberty and equality of opportunity at the hands of a hostile majority which believes in the denial of liberty and equal opportunity to the minority and conspires to enforce its policy on the minority. Viewed in this light the problem of untouchables is fundamentally a political problem.¹

Its *social* aspects of equality of status or vocational opportunity were also emphasized by him when he said,

If I may say so, the servile classes do not care for social amelioration. The want and poverty which has been their lot is nothing to them as compared to the insult and indignity which they have to bear as a result of the vicious social order. Not bread, but honour is what they want.² . . . "The Untouchables may acquire knowledge and learning. . . . So far so good. But will the Untouchables be free to make use of their knowledge and learning? Will they have the right to choose their profession? . . . To these questions the answer is an emphatic

'No' There is no doubt that the Untouchables would much prefer the orthodox system of untouchability. A compulsory state of ignorance imposed upon the Untouchables by the Hindoo *Shastras* made scavenging bearable. But Gandhism which compels an educated untouchable to do scavenging is nothing short of cruelty.¹

He also argued that the problem involves the liberation of Harijans from the economic bondage of the caste Hindus and said :—

Those who believe that Untouchability will soon vanish do not seem to have paid attention to the economic advantages which it gives to the Hindus. . . . The Untouchable cannot do anything to get rid of his untouchability. . . . For untouchability to vanish it is the Hindu who must change. Will he change ?²

He has even threatened, on more occasions than one, that the Harijans would all change their religion if their lot was not quickly improved. His was, therefore, a militant attack on the caste Hindu attitude. But it was badly needed, for, it not only mobilised the Harijans round a common banner but also awakened the caste Hindus to a better sense of their duties.

It was mainly the work of the two great personalities, Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar, that was responsible for the great awakening among the Harijans, which made them desire further and more extensive education ; it was their work that led to a tremendous awakening among the caste Hindus and resulted in easier and more widespread admission of Harijan children into common schools and securing a kindlier and more equitable treatment to them ; even the very intensive efforts made by Government during this period to spread education among the Harijans were more due to the efforts of these two personalities than to any other cause.

50. Education of Backward Classes other than Harijans (1921-37). Unfortunately very little was done in this period to further the cause of education among the aboriginal and hill tribes. The missionaries continued to be the principal agency as before and the old methods of encouragement continued to be adopted although on a slightly greater scale. The number of pupils under instruction appears to have been considerably increased, but exact statistics for comparison are not available.

Regarding the "Criminal tribes", work continued to be done along lines evolved earlier in the period between 1902 and 1921.

¹ Ambedkar : op. cit., p. 295.

As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1932-37*, observes :—

In *Madras*, there are settlements for criminal tribes at five places. In these settlements education is compulsory for all children of school age. In 1936-37, 1,103 pupils—530 boys and 573 girls were under instruction. . . . In the *Madura* district, the number of *Kallar* schools was 258 in 1936-37 with an enrolment of 12,424 pupils. Boarding houses are maintained for *Kallar* pupils and 924 special scholarships and stipends were awarded to them during the quinquennium. 73 fee remissions and 353 boarding grants were also sanctioned for the *Koravas*, a criminal tribe in the *Salem* district. In *Bombay*, there are several settlements and free colonies for criminal tribes, and day and night schools are maintained by Government for the education of these tribes. These schools are in charge of a special officer called the Backward Class Officer. . . . Out of the total population of 8,231 in settlements proper, the number of children attending day and night schools are 1,924 and 228 respectively and out of the total population of 7,212 in free colonies, the corresponding numbers are 1,336 and 210. . . . In addition 344 children from the settlements and free colonies attend outside primary schools and 15 children attend English schools. In *Bengal*, the Salvation Army maintained a residential school with separate hostels for boys and girls of the *Karwal Nats*, a criminal tribe. The enrolment in 1936-37 was 42 boys and 31 girls. . . . In the *United Provinces*, there are seven settlements for criminal tribes. A vernacular primary school is maintained in each settlement, attended both by boys and girls of these tribes. The progress made is reported to be satisfactory and the girls are found particularly promising. . . . In the *Punjab*, the total number of schools of all grades for criminal tribes has decreased from 59 in 1932 to 57 in 1937, but enrolment has gone up from 2,391 to 2,444. The number of pupils attending ordinary village schools has fallen by 9 per cent from 6,304 to 5,857. This decline is attributed to economic depression in rural areas, to grants of exemption to members of wandering criminal tribes on a large scale and to the traditional aversion of several tribes towards education. . . . Two students have passed the B.A. examination and one is studying in the LL.B. Class ; four boys and one girl are studying in the arts colleges, six boys and two girls are receiving training in the junior vernacular and senior vernacular classes, and one boy is in the Senior Anglo-Vernacular Class of the Central Training College, *Lahore*. In *Bihar*, there are 7 schools specially intended for the children of criminal tribes. . . . The number of children of criminal tribes under instruction in *Orissa* was 1,776 out of which 152 were girls. 15 were in secondary stage, 1,517 in the primary stage and 244 in unrecognised schools.¹

54. **National Education (1921-37).** After the upheaval of 1920-22 had cooled down, the movement of national education received a *quantitative* set-back in the sense that the number of educational institutions which described themselves as “national” was very greatly reduced. The old idea of asking the students in the ordinary institutions to come out and of providing a parallel system of schools for them was primarily based, as stated earlier, on the view that *Swaraj* would be won in one year. But as it became more and more evident that the political struggle would

continue for some years to come, the concept of running a parallel educational system was more or less given up. Lala Lajpat Rai had already advocated the view that a system of national education can be provided, not by private enterprise, but only by a *National State* so that the development of national education would have to await the attainment of freedom. As early as in 1920, he had written as follows :—

Universal popular education must be provided by the State, and should be the first charge on State revenues. Any attempt to provide for national education by private agencies and private funds is futile, and to attempt it is to attempt the impossible. Moreover, it diverts public attention from the State. A national system of education must be provided for, enforced, financed and controlled by the nation, and in performing that function the nation must be represented by the State. It may be pointed out, as has in fact been done by Mr. B. G. Tilak, in his views on national education, that in India the nation, not being represented by the State, that function must devolve, at least for some time, on private national agencies. The remedy, in my judgment, lies in concentrating our energies on the task of converting the State into a national agency.¹

This view came to be accepted more and more with the result that the work of national education was now restricted to the organisation of a few institutions on an experimental basis. This was a change for the better because the limited resources in men and money could now be harnessed to the development of new ideas and concepts rather than be dissipated in mass work at a lower level.

(a) *The Jamia Millia Islamia* : The several national universities that came into existence between 1920-21 had more or less a chequered career. But the Jamia Millia Islamia continued to do active and useful work. For administrative reasons, it was shifted from Aligarh to Delhi in 1925. It has refused to seek recognition at the hands of Government for, in the words of its promoters, it has preferred "the hardships and ordeals of an honourable independence to the enervating security of a permanent grant which would frustrate its noblest ambitions." Its objects are the following :—

(i) It seeks to broaden the education of the youth on their own cultural heritage without rejecting what is true and useful in the culture of others. It inculcates the spirit of service, of tolerance, of self-control and self-respect.

(ii) It aims at building character by providing adequately for the intellectual and emotional needs of the growing mind and

affording constant opportunity for active self-expression, and by replacing the discipline of fear by the development of initiative and responsibility.

The Jamia Millia is conducting :—

(i) A residential University College, imparting higher instruction in the arts and social sciences, with special provision for imparting instruction in modern languages and social sciences to graduates of Arabic Madressahs. There is a library for reference and study consisting of over 20,000 volumes, and a Natural Science laboratory.

(ii) A residential High School on modern lines with opportunities for developing skill in the arts and crafts, with special emphasis on individual work.

(iii) A residential Primary School, conducted mostly on the Project Method, with a school garden, a school bank and co-operative shop, managed entirely by the boys.

(iv) The Jamia Education Centre No. 1, the first of a projected number of centres for primary and adult education.

(v) The Jamia Chemical Industries, attached to the Jamia Science Laboratory for manufacturing various chemical preparations of daily use.

(vi) The Urdu Academy, which, by its publications, has made a substantial contribution to serious literature in Urdu.

(vii) The *Jamia*, an Urdu monthly magazine of Social Science and Literature.

(viii) The Maktaba (Jamia Book Depot), with about the largest stock of Urdu books and a creditable record in the publication of educational literature.

About four hundred students from various parts of India and other Asiatic lands are studying in the Jamia.

The Jamia has no permanent funds ; and according to the promoters " may never have any beyond the courage and sacrifice of those who are conducting it and the appreciation and sympathy of the public." It has been receiving substantial aid from the Governments of H.E.H. the Nizam and Bhopal and also from the Delhi Municipality. But its biggest source of income is the large number of its supporters called " Hamdardane Jamia ", whose number is about 7,000, and who contribute a part of their earnings to the maintenance of the Jamia.

(b) *The Viswa-Bharati* : Another institution of an All-India character that was brought into existence without reference to Government grants was the *Viswa-Bharati* which was founded and endowed by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on 6th May, 1922, with the declared object of—

(i) bringing the diverse cultures of the East into more intimate relationship with one another ;

(ii) approaching the science and culture of the West from

(iii) realising in common fellowship and humanitarian activity, the concord of the East and the West, and thus bringing about the conditions that may lead to world harmony.

The institution is co-educational and residential and has attracted students, not only from every part of India, but also from distant parts of Asia and Europe. It maintains the following departments :—

(i) *Vidya-Bhavana*, or a School of Research, where facilities are available for research in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Hindi, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Bengali literature and in Indian philosophy, Buddhism, and Indian mysticism ;

(ii) *Cheena-Bhavana*, or a School of Sino-Indian studies, which has a library of about 100,000 volumes in Chinese. Its object is to encourage Indian students to study Chinese culture and *vice versa* ;

(iii) *Shiksha-Bhavana*, or a College which is affiliated to the Calcutta University ;

(iv) *Kala-Bhavana*, or a department of Fine Arts, which has introduced a new school of painting that has received world-wide recognition ;

(v) *Sangit-Bhavana*, or a School of Music and Dancing ;

(vi) *Sriniketan*, or an Institute of Rural Reconstruction ; and

(vii) *Silpa-Bhavana*, or a School of Industries whose object is the encouragement and promotion of the cottage industries in the district.

In connection with the problem of national education, mention must also be made of certain great institutions which have been working independently of the official system and trying to revive the ideals of ancient Hindu or Muslim education. Of the several institutions of this type, we choose three as representative—the *Gurukul University* which tries to revive ideals of ancient Indian education and the *Darul Uloom*, Deoband and the *Darul Uloom Nadwatul Ulema*, Lucknow, which try to revive Muslim ideals in education.

(a) *The Gurukul University* : The Gurukul University was established by the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab, in 1902. It began as a small elementary school and has now grown into a full-fledged university. From the very beginning, the university has refused Government grants and has, therefore, been independent of all Government influence and control. In 1924, it was shifted to its present site at Kangri where it conducts its work in “sylvan solitude” which is “free from the uneducational influences of city life.” It admits students between the ages of six and eight (or even ten, in cases of exceptional fitness). The ordinary course of instruction runs over 14 years and at the end of it, a student becomes a *Snataka* or graduate. After a further

The Gurukula system is both for boys and girls and a Gurukula for girls teaching up to the college standard has been working at Dehradun since 1923.

In the first four classes Sanskrit, Hindi, Arithmetic, Geography, Drawing, History, Religion and Morality are taught. For what is called hand-and-eye-training, lessons are given in clay-modelling, mat-weaving, spinning, kindergarten, etc. In the fifth class, English and physical science are added. After the *Adhikari* or Entrance examination, the students join the university classes, which are divided into three colleges, namely *Veda Mahavidyalaya* or Divinity College, *Sadharana Mahavidyalaya* or Arts College and *Ayurveda Mahavidyalaya* or Medical College. In the first two colleges, *Veda, Darshana* (i.e., Indian Philosophy), Sanskrit Literature, English, History, Economics, Western Philosophy, Comparative Study of Religions, and Chemistry form the subjects of study. In some of these subjects, students take also the post-graduate course. In the *Ayurveda Mahavidyalaya*, in addition to ancient Indian medicine, instruction is given in modern medical science. The medium of instruction in the university as a whole is Hindi and very great importance is assigned to the study of Sanskrit.

The Gurukul system of education tries to revive certain ideals of ancient Indian education. Its fundamental principles have been thus stated :—

(i) Education must be imparted in residential institutions which will combine the *home* and the *school* in one. The word *Gurukula* means the *home of the teacher*. Under the Gurukul system the child moves from the smaller family of the father to the bigger family of the teacher, but the atmosphere of the home is continued to be maintained and he gets the best of both the home and the school.

(ii) Education must be free ; and free lodging and boarding must be provided for every child in the home of the teacher.

(iii) Birth or status shall not be a discriminating factor in the development of any child. Equality of treatment is accorded to all and all children live alike, dress alike, and spend their days alike.

(iv) A consistent attempt is made to inculcate the qualities of endurance and hardihood.

(v) Great emphasis is laid on the building up of character, on the observance of *Brahmacharya*, and the sublimation of the sex-instinct.

(b) *Darul-Uloom, Deoband* : This institution was established in 1864. It is a Muslim University conducted on orthodox lines and attracts students, not only from all parts of India, but also from all parts of the Islamic world. It is regarded as the fourth Muslim University of the world, the first three being Jamia Azhar, Jamia Zetuna, and Jamia Tunis. This is a fully residential university and instruction is imparted in Arabic, Persian, Tajveid (reciting of the Holy Quran), Tybb (Unani Medicine) and Tabligh (missionary activity). There is also a Department of Arts and Crafts and drill and physical training are emphasized. Its

names and are awarded the *Fazil* degree. It has about 1,600 students on its rolls out of whom about 100 are from outside India.

(c) *Darul-Uloom Nadwatul Ulema, Lucknow* : This institution was established in 1898 and its ideological position is midway between the orthodox university of Deoband or a modern university like Aligarh. It turns out a type which may be termed the *modern Moulvi*.¹ This institution also attracts students from all parts of India and other Islamic countries. Its alumni suffix the term *Nadvi* to their names. The number of students is about 300 and like the Darul Uloom, Deoband, this is also a residential institution.

It should not be supposed, however, that the concept of national education was restricted within the four walls of the few places that described themselves as *national*. Some of its aspects were becoming commoner and were even being adopted by the official system. For instance, the success in introducing the modern Indian languages as media of instruction in most secondary schools which was achieved in this period was due mainly to the struggle over national education. Similarly, the attempts made at this time to evolve a national language and to popularise it were also a sequel to the upheaval of national education. Even the atmosphere within the recognised schools began to change a great deal. The old insistence on photographs of the King-Emperor or the singing of 'God Save the King' now almost disappeared, especially in private schools; photographs of national leaders began to be seen in schools and were not objected to; except on a few tense occasions, the singing of *Vande Mataram* and other national songs became a common thing in most school assemblies; and, in short, an atmosphere more favourable to the development of patriotism began to prevail in secondary and collegiate institutions. These and such other indirect victories of national education, therefore, can be said to have more than compensated for the loss in numbers.

52. Adult Literacy. This review of the principal events in the educational history of India between 1921 and 1937 may now be closed with a brief account of another field in which useful pioneer work was done at this time, *viz.*, the problem of spreading literacy among the adults. Although *literacy* is not equivalent to education, it is nevertheless the first indispensable step towards

it ; and, in a country like India where 88 per cent of the people were returned as illiterate even in the census of 1941, the extreme urgency of a drive to liquidate adult illiteracy needs no special pleading. It is to the credit of Indian Ministers that they took the first few steps in this direction, although their work was sporadic and far too inadequate to meet the requirements of the situation.

(a) *Adult Literacy Work prior to 1921* : The problem of the liquidation of adult illiteracy had received hardly any attention prior to 1917. It is true that a few *night-schools* were organised since very early days ; but these were *primary schools conducted at night* rather than adult classes proper. In 1882-83, the Indian Education Commission spoke of them in the following words :—

Our information regarding the extension of night-schools is scant. The subject finds no separate place in the Reports of our Provincial Committees of Madras and Bengal. At the same time, long before Sir George Campbell drew attention to them, their importance had been fully recognised in Bengal, and night-classes have in many cases been attached to improved village schools. No statistics are, however, given. In Bombay, and to a much less extent in the Central Provinces, this class of institution is established on a definite basis. In Bombay there were, in 1881-82, 3,919 scholars attending 134 vernacular night-schools, of which 84 were departmental, 48 inspected, and 2 aided. The schools are found in every Division of the Presidency, and are as popular with the Muhammadans as with the Hindus. In addition to them there were 223 night-classes attached to day-schools in the Southern Division which were attended by 4,962 persons. At Belgaum one of these classes is attended by 90 students, of whom 60 belong to the low caste of Mahara. The attendance of low-caste men at night-schools is an interesting fact. At Kaira, in Gujarat, the night-school is exclusively attended by low-caste men, and the townspeople have frequently remonstrated against their education. The schools are chiefly attended by men who have to labour in the day-time, and the instruction is limited to the barest rudiments of reading and writing, and a little ciphering. They have proved a great success, and more are demanded than the Department can supply. In Bombay the Theistic Association has opened two aided night-schools for working men and messengers, and they are attended by 185 pupils. At Kurla, a suburb of Bombay, a night-school is attended by factory boys who work all day in the mills ; and the Inspector of that Division reports that he has five applications for new schools which his funds will not enable him to open. In the neighbourhood of Calcutta also a few night-schools are attached to factories. The experience gained in Bombay proves that night-schools may become an assured success not only in towns but in villages. It must often happen that until a man or a boy is brought face to face with the practical needs of his daily life, he will fail to realise the full value of an elementary education, and then without special facilities he cannot obtain such education. For this and many other reasons the demand for night schools will probably increase with due encouragement. *We therefore recommend that night-schools be encouraged wherever practicable.* Although the subject of school-hours is not immediately connected with night-schools, yet... the success of night-schools in Bombay illustrates the

boy and the field labourer cannot attend school in the day-time, and they must remain ignorant just when they most feel the want of knowledge, unless the arrangements of the Department or of school managers are made to fit into the scheme of their daily avocations. In all departmental systems there is great danger arising from the rigidity of fixed rules, which require constant re-adjustment to varying wants. Even the hours of labour differ in different Provinces of India, and the seasons of sowing and reaping vary with the class of cultivation. The indigenous schools as a rule recognise these distinctions, and the Departments should not be less considerate. Accordingly we recommend that as much elasticity as possible be permitted, as regards both the hours of the day and the seasons of the year, during which the attendance of scholars is required, especially in agricultural villages and backward Districts.¹

It will be seen that these early night-schools were meant for the part-time education of those who were employed—children as well as adults. They differed, therefore, from the modern adult literacy classes where children are not admitted. Moreover, their number was very small and the concept of liquidating mass illiteracy was not even entertained at this time. These schools were, at best, an attempt to provide primarily for the part-time education of children who were compelled to seek employment on economic grounds and, incidentally of such adults as may choose to attend them.

In spite of the recommendation of the Indian Education Commission to encourage night-schools, very few practical steps were taken to develop the movement. Even in 1901-02, the only Provinces that maintained night-schools were Madras, Bombay and Bengal. The history of these institutions is thus described² by the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1897-1902*:—

Madras, Bombay, and Bengal have a system of night-schools in which the instruction is wholly or mainly of the primary grade. The house and staff of an ordinary day-school are used, the teachers receiving special remuneration in the form of extra pay or grants-in-aid. The system has never had much success, and it will be seen from the following table that the number of schools and pupils has diminished greatly during the quinquennium under review:—

Province.	Schools.		Pupils.	
	1896-97.	1901-02.	1896-97.	1901-02.
Madras	1,437	775	25,424	14,212
Bombay	239	107	5,408	2,380
Bengal	1,587	1,082	Not stated.	19,516

Between 1902 and 1917, the movement declined still further and the position of the night-schools in the latter year was as follows :—

Night-schools, which the Bengal Director defines as those held after ordinary school hours to suit the convenience of persons who cannot attend day primary schools, exist in some provinces. Bombay records 111 such institutions with 3,197 pupils, Bengal 886 with 18,563, Bihar and Orissa 259 schools and the district of Yeotmal in Berar 32 schools with 515 pupils. Teachers in day-schools ordinarily conduct these schools for an extra allowance. The reports state that they have but little success, unless, writes Mr. Jennings, they are managed by enthusiastic committees or are under the immediate supervision of inspecting officers. The number in Bihar and Orissa marks a large decline.¹

When the Government of India Act, 1919, was passed and diarchy was to be introduced, interest in the problem was revived again and the question of educating adults, large numbers of whom were enfranchised under the Act, began to be seriously entertained. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1917-22*, observes :—

The question of adult education began to engage public attention towards the close of the period under review, interest in it being stimulated by discussions on the franchise... In some provinces the question received serious consideration and... a few organised experiments were made. In the *United Provinces* the local Government in 1921 offered a subsidy to six municipalities for the development of a system of night-schools for adults. Bareilly now reports reasonable success, twelve schools with 475 pupils, and Lucknow has had four schools. Benares and Agra confessed to failure. Except in the Bareilly district night-schools have not succeeded in rural areas in the United Provinces. In the *Punjab*, on the other hand, over a hundred night-schools have been opened mostly in rural areas and mostly under the auspices of the Co-operative Credit Societies. 'One of these societies has gone so far as to resolve that any member who remains illiterate at the end of two years will be turned out of the society. Another society has made education compulsory for the sons of its members...' *Bombay* reports a similar development. There are 37 schools maintained from funds placed by the late Sir V. D. Thackersey at the disposal of the Central Co-operative Institute, Bombay. The schools are controlled by the Education Department and have special inspectors to look after them. These Bombay night-schools are circulating schools stationed at each centre for two years. Each class is open for two hours daily, except on Sundays and public holidays. Generally the local board buildings are used and the local board teacher. To claim a school an attendance of at least 20 pupils between the ages of 16 and 40 must be guaranteed, who are members of a co-operative society or children of such members. The course includes grounding in the three R's and elementary knowledge of co-operative accountancy. There are examinations at the end of each year and rewards are given to successful candidates. It is hoped to develop village libraries in connection with these schools. In the *Central Provinces* the number of pupils in night-schools rose from 500 to 1,400. 800 of these attend seven schools financed by the Manager of the Empress Mills and run by the Y.M.C.A. for the benefit of the employees in the Mills and members of the depressed classes.

In *Bengal* there are 1,500 schools classed as night-schools but they are ordinary primary schools held outside the usual school hours. There are in addition 100 continuation schools with three thousand pupils which are intended to carry on the education of those who have passed the primary standard. There are also forty schools for adults run by co-operative societies. The number of night-schools in the *Madras Presidency* rose from 707 to 2,456, with a corresponding increase in enrolment from 17,606 to 58,233. 'Steps were taken to prevent the recognition of schools as night-schools which contained only children and which might well be considered as ordinary elementary schools. Work in night schools continues to be largely experimental, and amongst the problems engaging the attention of the department are the effective supervision of managements, the framing of suitable curricula, the question of seasonal schools, for example for agricultural labourers, and the prevention of over-lapping with day elementary schools.'¹

(b) *Adult Literacy Work between 1921 and 1937*: The transfer of education to the control of Indian Ministers in 1921 created much greater interest in the problem than ever in the past and the movement made considerable progress. More night-schools and classes were organised, particularly in Madras, Punjab, and Bengal and although the work done was insignificant with respect to the goal to be reached, the following statistics for 1927 given by the Hartog Committee² show good progress in comparison with those for 1921-22 given previously :—

Schools and Classes for Adults (by Provinces)

Province.	Males.		Females.	
	Institutions.	Pupils.	Institutions.	Pupils.
Madras	5,604	151,691	33	..
Bombay	193	6,390	9	788
• Bengal.. ..	1,519	30,873	1	155
United Provinces ..	26	723	..	..
Punjab	3,784	98,414	2	53
Burma.. ..	2	147	1	86
Bihar & Orissa ..	1	74	..	..
Central Provinces ..	29	689	1	269
Assam	..	..	..	..
Total ..	11,158	289,001	47	1,351

¹ Paras. 230-36.

Owing to the economic depression and consequent financial stringency that set in after 1927, however, the interest in the problem again waned and the number of night-schools or adult classes declined considerably in the next decade as the following statistics for 1936-37 will show :—

Province.	Males.		Females.	
	Institu- tions.	Pupils.	Institu- tions.	Pupils.
Madras	(a) 586	(a) 22,420	..	..
Bombay	171	5,777	9	522
Bengal	557	13,963	..	..
United Provinces	286	8,103	..	(b) 33
Punjab	189	4,975	..	(b) 13
Burma	15	1,449	..	..
Bihar	(c) 123	(c) 3,166	..	(b) 11
Central Provinces & Berar ..	(d) 28	(d) 1,150	2	354
Assam	2	110	..	(b) 3
North-West Frontier Province	7	(e) 154	..	..
Sind	24	715	..	(b) 6
Orissa	2	133	..	..
Delhi	14	345	..	(b) 4
Ajmer-Merwara	12	231	..	..
Total ..	2,016	62,691	11	946

(a) Includes 582 night-schools with the strength of 22,236.

(b) Reading in institutions for males.

(c) Includes 122 night-schools with 3,150 pupils.

(d) Includes 20 night-schools with 191 pupils.

(e) Excludes enrolment of one school for which figures are not available.¹

It will be seen from the foregoing account that, from the quantitative point of view, the work done in spreading literacy among adults prior to 1937 was hardly of any importance. But its ideological significance and utility as spade-work are considerable. It was these early attempts, and particularly those made between 1917 and 1937, which created and maintained public interest in the problem; and it was in them that the first ideas of compelling the employers to make their employees literate, mobilizing the spirit of service among the students to expand the movement and to reduce its cost, roping in local bodies, co-operative societies, and other semi-official and non-official agencies to assist in the work, etc., were first evolved. These ideas, it

would be seen later, were more fully exploited by the Congress Ministries when they accepted office in 1937 and tried to organise mass literacy campaigns.

53. Review of the Period (1921-37). We are now in a position to take a rapid survey of the principal achievements of Indian Ministers in the sixteen years of the diarchical rule (1921-37) in the Provinces. In the field of *University education*, we find (a) the constitution of the Inter-University Board, (b) the incorporation of five new Universities, (c) the democratisation of the older universities by substantially increasing the number of elected seats on the Senate, (d) large expansion in the number of colleges and students, (e) opening of several new faculties, (f) provision of several new courses of studies and research, (g) development of inter-collegiate and inter-university activities, (h) provision for military training (although on a small scale) and (i) greater attention paid to physical education, health and residence of students. In the field of *secondary education*, we find (a) unprecedented expansion of secondary education as a whole, (b) great increase in the number of secondary schools in rural areas, (c) large expansion in the secondary education of girls, (d) the adoption of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction on a very large scale throughout the secondary course, and (e) some improvement in the training and service conditions of secondary teachers. In *primary education*, this period witnessed (a) the passing of several Acts of primary education, (b) the execution of several schemes of compulsion and expansion on a voluntary basis, (c) a large increase in the number of schools and pupils (although the ideal of universal, compulsory and free primary education was far from being reached), and (d) some improvement in qualitative aspects. A few attempts, unfortunately sporadic and inadequate, were also made to spread literacy among the adults. In *vocational education*, there was a general all-round development and a few earnest attempts were made to provide the highest type of education in India itself. The recruitment to the I.E.S. was discontinued in 1924, a new Provincial (Class I) Service was organised instead, and the whole of the Education Department was practically Indianised by 1936-37. The Muslims, long backward in education, now made up for their deficiencies in the past and, in some respects,

of women also made great progress and the period witnessed the passing of several laws to ameliorate their position, the grant of political privileges to them, and the birth of a new leadership in their midst. A tremendous drive to banish untouchability was launched in this period by Mahatma Gandhi and the Harijans themselves were organised politically under the leadership of men like Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Consequently, the official system could substantially reduce the *Special* schools for Harijans (if not abolish them altogether) and help in bringing about a great expansion of education among the Harijans. These are great achievements, indeed, and they appear all the more significant when we remember that the Indian Ministers of this period had to work against several difficulties such as (a) absence of Central grants, (b) general financial stringency, (c) lack of support from the Congress, (d) periodical political struggles and the inevitable disturbances connected with them, (e) and the absence of co-operation from the I.E.S. over the greater part of this period. This record of achievements definitely gave a lie to the fears of those who had opposed the transfer of education to popular control in 1921 and strengthened the view of those who had expected good results. In fact, they were sufficiently good to justify the view that a further transfer of powers was called for and that education ought to be completely transferred to Indian control *without any limitations*. This is almost exactly what happened in 1937 when *Provincial Autonomy* was introduced in eleven Provinces of British India, and greater (or almost complete) control over education was given to Indian Ministers. The principal events of this new era in educational history will be narrated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWELVE

EDUCATION UNDER PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY (1937-47)

1. **Provincial Autonomy.** The Government of India Act, 1935, marked a further step in the onward march of India to complete political independence. It put an end to the inherently defective diarchical system of administration, abolished the distinction between *reserved* and *transferred* departments, and placed the whole field of Provincial Administration under a Ministry responsible to a legislature which had an overwhelming majority of elected members. This new system of governance, popularly known as *Provincial Autonomy*, came into operation in 1937 in eleven provinces of British India.

With the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, earnest hopes of a great educational advance were at once raised. Most of the difficulties which had hampered the work of the Indian Ministers between 1921 and 1937 were no longer there. The world economic depression and the consequent financial stringency dominated the scene no longer; money had begun to flow in more freely and the finance portfolio was no longer held by an Executive Councillor who was not amenable to the influence of the Ministers; the I.E.S. had almost been liquidated and the European officers within it were now an extremely small minority; and popular support was ensured because the Congress which was the most influential political organisation in the country had accepted office in seven provinces out of eleven and in the remaining four provinces also, the ministries had the clear support of the majority of the population. It was, therefore, hoped that the new Provincial Governments working under the Government of India Act, 1935, would be able to plan educational reconstruction with a bolder and a freer hand and execute it with vigour, firmness, and speed.

Unfortunately, these hopes did not materialise. The first and foremost cause of this failure was that the Congress remained in power only for a short while. It assumed office for the first time in 1937; but within two years, the Second World War broke out in September 1939. Difficulties arose in the

the Congress and the British Government over the question of the *war and peace aims* of the Allies (with special reference to their application to India) and the Congress resigned in 1940 after having been in office for less than three years. Between 1940 and 1945, the "Section-93" or "Caretaker Governments" were in charge. Their principal objective was the prosecution of War and hence educational reconstruction had more or less to mark time till the popular ministries came back again in 1946. The Congress was, therefore, in office a second time for about two years till the withdrawal of the British Power on 15th August 1947. In other words, out of the ten years of Provincial Autonomy, popular Governments were in office for only five. Secondly, this was a time when political problems dominated the whole scene and educational matters were consequently relegated to a very subsidiary position. The year 1937-38 was dominated by disputes over the powers reserved to Governors; 1939-40 by discussion of the war and peace aims of the Allies; 1940 to 1945 by the Second World War itself and the Quit-India Movement; and 1946-47 by the preparations for the withdrawal of the British power and the partition of India. It will, therefore, be seen that there was hardly any time when some political trouble or the other was not on the anvil. Thirdly, throughout the whole of this period, the triangular fight between the British, the Congress and the Muslim League was so intensive and so vital that all other issues were completely eclipsed. For all these reasons, it is hardly to be wondered if the national leaders could not devote adequate time and money to educational reconstruction and if the educational advance under Provincial Autonomy did not at all come up to the high hopes aroused in 1937.

The achievements of this period can be conveniently studied under three groups. In the first group, we shall include (a) changes introduced in educational administration by the Government of India Act, 1935; (b) educational activities of the Government of India; and (c) developments in university, secondary, primary, and vocational education. In the second group, we shall study the three most distinctive contributions of the Congress Ministries, *viz.*, (a) Basic Education, (b) Adult Education (including large-scale literacy campaigns) and (c) intensive

among the Harijans. In the third group, we shall analyse the various short-range or long-range plans of educational development in India which were prepared in this period, *viz.*, the plan prepared by (a) the National Planning Committee, (b) the All-India Educational Conference, and (c) the Central Advisory Board of Education ; and also (d) the Five-Year Plans (1947-52) prepared by the Central, Provincial and State Governments in India. Sections 2 to 13 will deal with the first group of events ; 14 to 16 with the second ; and 17 to 22 with the third.

2. Education under the Government of India Act, 1935. With these introductory remarks, we shall now turn to a narrative of the main events in the educational history of the decade, 1937-47.

To begin with, it is essential to understand how the position of education was affected by the Government of India Act, 1935. As stated already, the Act of 1919, made education a subject which was " partly all-India, partly reserved, partly transferred with limitations, and partly transferred without limitations ".¹ The Government of India Act, 1935, improved this anomalous position considerably and divided all educational activities in two categories only—Federal (or Central) and State (or Provincial)—as follows :—

(a) *Federal (or Central) Subjects :*

(i) The Imperial Library, Calcutta ; the Indian Museum, Calcutta ; the Imperial War Museum ; the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta ; and any similar institution controlled or financed by the Federation ;

(ii) Education in the Defence forces ;

(iii) The Benares Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University ;

(iv) Preservation of ancient and historical monuments ;

(v) Archæology ; and

(vi) Education in Centrally Administered Areas.

(b) *State (or Provincial) Subjects :*

All matters regarding education other than those which have been included in the Federal list given above were regarded as State or Provincial subjects.

The old distinction between *reserved* and *transferred* subjects disappeared with diarchy and the education of Anglo-Indians and Europeans, therefore, ceased to be a *reserved* subject. But even at this date, the apprehension that the Indian Ministers would take away the privileges which this minority had enjoyed

so far was so strong that the following protection was provided to them in the Act itself :—

83. (1) If in the last complete financial year before the commencement of this Part of this Act a grant for the benefit of the Anglo-Indian and European communities or either of them was included in the grants made in any Province for education, then in each subsequent financial year, not being a year in which the Provincial Legislative Assembly otherwise resolve by a majority which includes at least three-fourths of the members of the Assembly, a grant shall be made for the benefit of the said community or communities not less in amount than the average of the grants made for its or their benefit in the ten financial years ending on the thirty-first day of March, nineteen hundred and thirty-three :

Provided that, if in any financial year the total grant for education in the Province is less than the average of the total grants for education in the Province in the said ten financial years, then, whatever fraction the former may be of the latter, any grant made under this sub-section in that financial year for the benefit of the said community or communities need not exceed that fraction of the average of the grants made for its or their benefit in the said ten financial years.

In computing for the purposes of this sub-section the amount of any grants for capital purposes shall be included.

(2) The provisions of this section shall cease to have effect in a Province if at any time the Provincial Legislative Assembly resolve by a majority which includes at least three-fourths of the members of the Assembly that those provisions shall cease to have effect.

(3) Nothing in this section affects the special responsibility of the Governor of a Province for the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities.

Subject to this restriction, the Indian Ministers got control over the education of Anglo-Indians and Europeans for the first time in 1937. Needless to say, there were hardly any incidents in any Province which justified such reservations and guarantees ; and the transfer of Anglo-Indian and European education to popular control materially helped to clear away unnecessary fears and prejudices.

3. Educational Activities of the Government of India (1937-47). The Government of India Act, 1935, did not alter the character of the Central Government because the federation contemplated by it did not materialise till 1947. The Central Government, therefore, continued to be responsible to Parliament throughout the period under review. In 1946, however, the Education Department of the Central Government came under nationalist control for the first time when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru formed his interim Cabinet. On 15th August 1947, it was made a full-fledged Ministry and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad became the first Federal Minister of Education.

The following are the most important educational activities of the Government of India. Many of them are recent and were undertaken only during the period under review; and some were organised or expanded *after* the nationalist control came in :—

(a) *The Central Advisory Board of Education* : The most important activity of the Government of India is to co-ordinate the educational activities of the Provincial and State Governments of India. This is chiefly achieved through the Central Advisory Board of Education which was revived in 1935 and whose scope, powers and functions were enlarged during the period under review. The Education Minister is the Chairman of the Board and the Educational Adviser to the Government of India is its Secretary. All the Provinces and State Governments are represented on the Board because the Education Ministers and the Directors of Public Instruction are members of the Board. At its annual meetings, the Board reviews recent developments in education, compares notes and makes suggestions for the general guidance of the Provincial and the State Governments. From time to time, it appoints Committees to investigate into special problems and the findings are made available to all concerned. Although it has no statutory authority, the Board has established sound traditions and has developed into a very useful institution in the course of the last 14 years.

(b) *The Central Secretariat in Education* : The Education Department of the Secretariat of the Government of India (created in 1945 and raised to the dignity of a Ministry in 1947) is under the control of the Educational Adviser to the Government of India who also works as Secretary to Government in the Education Department. The Department has four branches designated as (i) Administration and External Division, (ii) Development Division, (iii) Scholarships Division, and (iv) Technical Division—each of which is in charge of a Deputy Educational Adviser. This Education Secretariat is generally in charge of all educational activities conducted by the Central Government.

(c) *Central Bureau of Education* : The Central Government maintains a Bureau of Education (revived in 1937 on a recommendation made by the Central Advisory Board of Education) whose main functions at present are the collection of educational data, preparation of educational statistics, dissemination of educational information with regard to inquiries from Provincial and State Governments and educational institutions and the publication of educational pamphlets, booklets, a monthly bulletin and a quarterly journal. It maintains an up-to-date Educational information Library and also functions as a clearing house for all educational enquiries, particularly about education overseas.

(d) *University Grants Committee* : This was set up for the first time in 1945 on a recommendation made by the Central Advisory Board of Education. Its necessity was thus argued by the *Report on Post-War Educational Development in India* :—

11. For reasons explicitly or implicitly given in this Report Universities must play a part of supreme importance in any national system of education. This makes it essential that in the interest of economy and efficiency their activities should be carefully co-ordinated in order to eliminate overlapping or dispersion of effort. It is not less important to ensure that their highly valuable products are distributed to the best advantage of themselves and of the community as a whole, and to make certain that funds are available for new developments and research which the national interests may urgently require.

The formation of the Inter-University Board in 1925, was a desirable step in the direction of co-operation. The need for such a body was first stressed by the Sadler Commission in 1921, and was endorsed by the Lytton Committee. Though this Board has been doing work of considerable value, it is a purely advisory body and does not possess the authority which would enable it to co-ordinate university development in the ways or to the extent which a national system will require. It is not within its competence to insist on the raising of standards where this is obviously required or on the establishment of the conditions of services including remuneration, which are necessary to secure teachers of the requisite calibre. Nor is it able to restrain unhealthy and uneconomic rivalry between universities in regard to new developments, to prevent the creation of new universities, the need for which has not been established or to counteract the provincial outlook which puts obstacles in the way of students seeking facilities for study which are not available in their own areas. Above all, it is not invested with any power of the purse. It would appear, therefore, that some authority is needed, which would co-ordinate university education in the interests of the country as a whole. It is not suggested that such a body should be directly or indirectly under the control of the Central Government, even though the financial implications of educational reorganisation may ultimately make it desirable that the Central Government should relieve Provincial Governments to a large extent of financial responsibility for university education. It should also refrain from any interference in the ordinary administration of individual universities. What is contemplated is something on the lines of the University Grants Committee in Great Britain, a body which has operated with admitted success and without friction in a country where Universities are at least as jealous of their autonomy as Indian Universities. This Indian University Grants Committee, which should be constituted by Statute, should consist of a few eminent persons not directly connected with Government, whether Central or Provincial, or with any particular University, though for obvious reasons it is desirable that they should have considerable experience of University administration. Its main function will be to exercise a general supervision over the allocation of grants to Universities from public funds with the object of ensuring that Universities are in a position to meet the demands which may be made upon them. To enable them to plan ahead, financial assistance from public funds should take the form of block grants for a period of years. It is not proposed that Provincial Governments should cease to make grants direct to their local universities unless they would prefer to do so through the University Grants Committee. It is, however, suggested that when a Provincial Government desires to make a grant to a University for any substantial new developments, it should first consult the University Grants Committee. All grants to Universities for new development by the Central Government should be made through the Grants Committee.

In addition to its main function, the Grants Committee should also be empowered :—

- (i) to encourage private benefactions ;
- (ii) to co-ordinate University activities with a view to avoiding overlapping and to adjusting so far as possible the output of the Universities to the economic needs of the country ;
- (iii) to prevent undesirable competition between Universities and to remove all inter-provincial barriers ;
- (iv) to visit Universities periodically with a view to ascertaining their needs

(v) to establish cultural contacts and to arrange for the exchange of teachers and students with foreign Universities.¹

This recommendation was accepted and a University Grants Committee was created in 1945. At first, its jurisdiction was limited to the three centrally-administered universities of Benares, Aligarh and Delhi only. But in 1947, the Committee was reconstituted and its scope was widened to include all universities and academic and scientific institutions in the country. It now functions on the model of the University Grants Committee of the United Kingdom and is required to bring about co-ordinated development of university education in India and to make recommendations regarding (i) the manner in which universities and institutions of higher learning should be developed in India, (ii) the grants-in-aid to universities to be paid by the Central Government, and (iii) the steps to be taken to avoid unnecessary overlapping and consequent wastage of funds. In the first instance, the University Grants Committee has been given jurisdiction over Technical Education in the Provincial Universities.

(e) *Administration of Education in Centrally Administered Areas*: The Education Department of the Government of India is in exclusive charge of education in the centrally administered areas of Delhi, Coorg, Ajmer-Merwara including Panth Piploda and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. In these areas, the Central Government performs, in addition to what it does for India as a whole, all the duties of a Provincial Government as well.

(f) *The Department of Archæology*: The Department of Archæology was started by Lord Curzon. The main functions of the Department are (i) to conduct excavations and to publish reports thereof, (ii) to preserve ancient monuments, (iii) to conduct archæological surveys, (iv) to train workers for archæological studies and (v) to publish memoirs and journals on archæological topics.

(g) *The Department of Anthropology*: This Department was separated from the Zoological Survey of India in 1945 and placed under the Ministry of Education. Its immediate activities are limited to the training of anthropologists for the Department as advanced training in anthropology was not available in India so far. In future, the main function of the Department would be to carry out an anthropological survey of India and to find out the reactions of the primitive peoples to the impact of modern conditions. This survey is obviously of great importance to educationists and social workers who want to improve the lot of these primitive people.

(h) *The Department of Archives*: The Imperial Records Department of the Government of India is now known as the Department of Archives. Its main functions are (a) to preserve old records, (b) to conduct research in archival matters and (c) to train archivists. It is also trying to co-ordinate the work of the Departments of Archives in the Provinces and States and to compile a comprehensive National Register of Archives and Historical Manuscripts.

(i) *Libraries and Museums*: The Central Government conducts a National Library at Calcutta (formerly known as the Imperial Library) and gives grants to important museums. The Indian Museum at Calcutta is the biggest in India and is maintained almost exclusively by the Central Government.

(j) *Grants-in-aid to all India Organisations*: The Central Government also gives grants-in-aid to institutions of an all-India character which have been doing useful work in the field of education.

(k) *Scholarships for Scheduled Castes, Aboriginal and Hill-tribes and other Educationally Backward Classes* : Although the subject of education of the backward communities is mainly Provincial, the Central Government has assumed a special responsibility for the backward peoples and the scheme is intended to supplement the work of the Provincial Governments. Under this scheme, scholarships are awarded to students who belong to the scheduled castes, aboriginal and hill-tribes and other educationally backward classes in pursuing courses of study beyond the matriculation stage. (See section 16 *infra* for further details.)

(l) *The Overseas Scholarships Scheme* was started in 1945 with the object of training, as quickly as possible, a sufficient number of persons for the development schemes proposed to be undertaken by Government. It was agreed that ultimately India will have to develop suitable facilities for advanced training in technical and other subjects within the country itself. Priority was, therefore, given to the development of higher technical institutions in India ; but as it would inevitably take some time to make these institutions function properly, it was decided, as a transitory short-term measure, to adopt the Overseas Scholarships Scheme and to get a sufficient number of Indians trained in the courses required. It was originally proposed to send out five hundred students every year. Expenditure on some of the students was to be paid exclusively by the Central Government while that on others was to be shared equally between the Central and the Provincial Governments.

(m) *Welfare of Indian Students Abroad* : In addition to the Overseas Scholarships Scheme, the Central Government assists Indian students studying abroad in a number of other ways. Students Welfare Officers are attached to Indian Embassies in U.S.A., U.K. and other countries. These officers arrange for admission of Indian students to foreign educational institutions and help them to secure accommodation. Financial assistance is also given to Indian students who have gone abroad for studies at their own expense but who are unable, due to unforeseen circumstances to complete their course without pecuniary assistance.

(n) *Preservation of National Culture* : The Central Government has accepted the principle that it must take active measures for preservation of national culture. With this object in view, it has been decided to establish a National Cultural Trust to foster the arts and cultures of the country, *viz.*, literature, sculpture, painting, music, dramatic art and dancing. It is also proposed to establish a National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology in New Delhi and to establish a Central College for Karnatak Music at Madras and a National Academy of Hindustani Music at Lucknow.

(o) *Cultural Relations with other Countries* : The Government of India has also accepted a special responsibility for fostering cultural and academic interests between India and other countries. With this object in view various schemes have been undertaken. For instance, eminent scientists from India are deputed to Europe and America to study the latest developments in science and methods of research. Indian students are deputed to other countries ; and scholarships are offered to students from other countries to come to India.

(p) *Activities connected with the UNESCO* : India is one of the founder members of the UNESCO and has always taken an active part in its affairs. Naturally all the work regarding Indian relations to U.N.E.S.C.O. has to be managed by the Government of India. These activities include the organisation of the Indian National Commission under Article VII of the Constitution of UNESCO, appointment of Indian delegations to the UNESCO and organising

(q) *Miscellaneous Activities* : In addition to the activities mentioned above, the Central Government is engaged upon a number of minor educational activities amongst which may be mentioned the maintenance of a Central Library of Educational Films which acts as a loaning agency to educational institutions in the Provinces and the States.

(r) *Technical Education* : The Government of India has established and maintains an All-India Council of Technical Education. Its activities are given in detail in section 12 *infra*.

(s) *Activities conducted in Departments other than Education* : The Government of India conducts several educational and research institutions, in Departments other than education. For instance, it conducts (i) the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research at New Delhi; (ii) an Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying at Bangalore; (iii) an Imperial Veterinary Research Institute is conducted at Izzatnagar; and (iv) a Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun. It is also exclusively responsible for all education in Army, Navy and Air Force and organises, in co-operation with other educational institutions, the military training of university students.

(t) *All India Radio* : Besides the activities of formal education mentioned above, the Government of India is in sole charge of an important activity of informal education, *viz.*, the All India Radio.

It will be seen from the foregoing review that the apathy to education which the Central Government had developed between 1921 and 1937 was now a thing of the past and that it had again begun to take an active interest in education, especially after it came under national control. This was one of the happiest developments of the period under review. In one respect, however, the Central Government failed in its duty as a Federal Government, *i.e.*, it did not give any financial assistance to the Provinces for educational development. It is some consolation, however, that the Government of India at least accepted the *principle* that the Centre should give such financial assistance to the Provinces although no such grants were actually given in the period under review.

4. Expansion of University Education (1937-47). This period witnessed a large expansion in University education and the number of students reading in the universities rose from 126,228 (*including* the figures for universities which are now in Pakistan) in 1936-37 to 241,794 in 1946-47 (*excluding* the figures for universities which are now in Pakistan). The table given on the next page shows the position of the Indian Universities in 1946-47 and has been prepared on the basis of the data given by the Indian Universities Commission.¹

¹ The Indian Universities Commission was appointed by the Central Government in 1948 in order to report on several important aspects of university education in India. It was presided over by Sir S. Radhakrishnan and its report, submitted in August 1949, is a very valuable document which deals

Serial No.	Name of the University.	Date of Foundation.	Type.	Number of Students.	Total Expenditure (in thousands).	Government Grant (in thousands).	Percentage of Government Grant to total Income.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Calcutta	1857	Affiliating and Teaching	45,008	3,922	938	22.9
2	Bombay	1857	Do.	43,090	2,695	209	8.6
3	Madras	1857	Do. Federative	28,888	1,650	460	23.4
4	Allahabad	1887	Teaching	3,502	1,672	793	52.88
5	Benares	1916	Teaching	5,083	12,580	1,270	9.2
6	Mysore	1916	Teaching and Affiliating	9,350	2,548	1,700	69.2
7	Patna	1917	Do.	5,471	864	61	7.2
8	Osmania	1918	Teaching	4,862	3,492	3,498	91.3
9	Aligarh	1920	Do.	4,009	1,570	560	35.7
10	Lucknow	1920	Do.	3,893	2,223	1,070	53.3
11	Delhi	1922	Do. Federative	4,311	977	593	52.4
12	Nagpur	1923	Teaching and Affiliating	5,734	678	113	15.4
13	Andhra	1926	Do.	9,445	1,136	307	20.4
14	Agra	1927	Affiliating	9,936	360	40	9.96
15	Annamalai	1929	Teaching	1,981	1,283	612	47.62
16	Travancore	1937	Teaching and Affiliating	5,715	2,572	2,226	78.6
17	Utkal	1943	Affiliating	3,662	235	40	9.61
18	Saugor	1946	Teaching and Affiliating	1,828	274	100	33.39
						815	48.23

This large expansion of university education was due to several causes such as general awakening among the people due to the War and the Quit-India Movement, the expansion of secondary education, the desire for higher education that was quickly spreading among women and backward classes, the rapid urbanisation brought about by the War, and the liberal donations to education given by the mercantile community or other sections of society which had made large profits in the war-period. The War also increased the need for trained personnel and consequently, Government came forward with larger grants for the expansion of university education, particularly in those branches which were connected, directly or indirectly, with war efforts. For these and other reasons, this period witnessed an unprecedented expansion in university education, the founding of several new colleges, opening of many new faculties, establishment of four new universities and a substantial increase in the enrolment and activities of the old universities and colleges.

Good as this expansion was, it hardly justifies the view, which is commonly put forward in certain quarters, that the educational system of India has become *top-heavy*; that a stage has already been reached when facilities for higher education should be curtailed rather than expanded; and that the money thus saved should be devoted to mass education. In fact, the Indian Universities Commission, 1949, has pointed out that the enrolment in our universities was hardly comparable to that in most countries of the West¹ and the Sargent Report made the following interesting observations :—

If on the other hand the total number of University students is calculated in relation to the total population, it will be found that India is perhaps the most backward of all the principal nations of the world in University education. In pre-war Germany, the proportion of students in the Universities to the entire population was 1 to 690, in Great Britain 1 to 837, in the United States 1 to 225, in Russia 1 to 300, while in India it is 1 to 2,206.

There are 12 Universities in England for a population of 41 millions. In Canada there are 13 Universities for a population of 8½ millions, in Australia 6 for a population of 5½ millions. In the U.S.A. there are 1,720 institutions for education of a University type for a population of 130 millions while in India there are 18 Universities for a population of 400 millions. All this goes to prove that when India has a proper educational system, she will need more University education and not less than she has at present.²

A more correct judgment would, therefore, be to say, *not* that the Indian Educational system was *top-heavy*, but that it

was *light in its foundations*. The necessity and urgency of mass education is undoubtedly paramount ; but even in the field of university education, further expansion is still the need of the day.

It was also being increasingly realised in this period that the country does not get the full benefit even of the limited accommodation provided in the universities. This sad result was due to two reasons: Firstly, there was hardly any attempt to *select* students for admission to the Universities and any student who could afford to pay the fees was generally able to secure entrance to an Arts College at least. Secondly, a large number of gifted children were prevented from joining the university because they were economically handicapped and there was no adequate system of scholarships. Our system of higher education, therefore, suffered on both the grounds—by admitting a large number of unfit students who ought to have been diverted to other pursuits ; and by failing to admit several superior but poor students, who ought to have been admitted. The inherent social injustice and waste involved in such a system was realised more than ever in this period because the Second World War gave a great currency to ideas of social justice and equality of educational opportunity for all.

Another and a still more serious defect of university education was that, in spite of the increase in *total* enrolment, the turn-over of trained personnel in scientific, technical, agricultural or professional branches was far from adequate to meet the needs of the country. As the Indian Universities Commission observes :—

Shortage of Scientific Man-Power: That we are very short of scientific personnel in our country has been brought home to us by the Scientific Man-Power Committee, who have estimated that our requirements of scientific man-power of the senior grade (for which M.Sc.s. and Ph.D.s. alone can be employed) for Government and Government-sponsored activities alone (including Science teachers, but not including the personnel required for Industry) for the next 5 years are as follows :—

						Senior Grade.
1. Chemists and Chemical Technologists	..	..	..	..	..	3,884
2. Physicists	..	..	..	..	..	2,791
3. Geologists and Geophysicists	..	..	..	..	..	1,120
4. Mathematicians and Statisticians	..	..	..	..	..	1,560
5. Botanists	..	..	..	..	..	897
6. Zoologists	..	..	..	..	..	1,425
7. Biologists	..	..	..	..	..	663

We have purposely not included the personnel required for industrial development, as this will depend on the prevailing economic and political conditions. If conditions are favourable, we shall probably need another 3,500 M.Sc.s. and Ph.Ds. for industry.

As against these requirements, the present out-turn from our universities is exceedingly small. The Committee have estimated that the possible out-turn of M.Sc.s. and Ph.Ds. during the next 5 years, if all the existing facilities are fully utilized, will be as follows :—

						Possible out-turn during the next 5 years if existing facil- ities are fully utilized.
1.	Chemists and Chemical Technologists	..	..	..	..	2,291
2.	Physicists and Applied Physicists	..	..	..	..	1,017
3.	Geologists	..	..	..	..	186
4.	Mathematicians and Statisticians	..	..	..	..	605
5.	Botanists	..	..	..	..	292
6.	Zoologists	..	..	..	..	358
7.	Biologists	..	..	..	..	50
						4,799

The Committee rightly conclude that if all the available training facilities at the universities are fully utilized, the annual out-turn will only be 30-35 per cent of the total requirements of the country. There is thus a wide gap between the probable requirements and the anticipated output, and the committee rightly remark that the gap is both qualitative and quantitative. A great deficiency has therefore to be made up, and it can only be done if the existing facilities for post-graduate training and research at the universities are greatly extended and new departments of research are added to those universities where they do not exist at present.¹

What is said above about the scientists is also applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to other branches of non-literary education such as agriculture, engineering, technology, medicine, etc. It is true that this defect in the system of university education was being continuously stressed since 1902. But it was realised more forcibly in this period than in the past, because the War and the Post-War Development Plans of the Central and Provincial Governments created a situation in which the shortage of trained personnel was most acutely felt.

5. Creation of New Universities (1937-47). Another important event of this period was the *establishment of four new Universities, viz., Travancore, Utkal, Saugor and Rajputana.*

(a) *Travancore*: The proposal to establish a University for Travancore State was mooted early in this century and was

investigated by special committees in 1919 and 1924 ; but owing to some difficulties, the establishment of the University was delayed and it began to function only as late as in 1937. The aims of the University, as stated in the Act of incorporation, are:—

1. to effect a reorganisation of the system of education in the State with a view to the gradual development of technical and technological education ;
2. to make greater and more systematic provision for the furtherance of original research in the various branches of Applied Science ; and
3. to provide for the conservation and promotion of Kerala Art and Culture.¹

Travancore is a teaching and affiliating university and began by taking over the six colleges conducted by Government and affiliating the four private colleges that existed in the State at the time. In order to carry out the specific objectives stated in the Act, the University conducts an Oriental Manuscript Library and a Publications Department intended to enrich Malayalam and Tamil Literatures. The following new institutions have also been started :—

1. An Institute of Textile Technology offering Diploma courses in Textile Manufacture and Textile Chemistry.
2. A College of Engineering providing instruction for Degree and Diploma courses in Civil, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering.
3. A Central Research Institute devoting itself to research in the Applied Sciences, particularly in the subjects which have a special bearing on the agricultural and industrial conditions of the State.
4. The School of Arts.²

(b) *Utkal* : The Province of Orissa was separated in 1937 and it was, therefore, naturally proposed that a separate university should be established for the new Province. The preliminary spadework took some time and in 1943, the Utkal University Act was passed and the University was brought into existence. It is a teaching and affiliating University and its territorial jurisdiction extends to the Province of Orissa and the Oriya-speaking States.³

In 1947 it had 10 Arts Colleges (some of which had Science courses as well), one Medical College, one Teachers' Training College and one Science College teaching up to the Intermediate standard. One of these colleges, the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, has a long record of distinguished work and all Post-graduate teaching and a good part of the Honours teaching are concentrated in this institution. The University has no teaching departments and has been exercising only affiliating powers up till now. The establishment of the University has

¹ *Report of the Indian Universities Commission*, p. 524.

² *Ibid.*

not therefore affected the intellectual life of the province in any significant way and one does not know if the colleges are better supervised today than they were under the Patna and the Andhra Universities. Nominally there is provision for Post-graduate teaching up to the highest standards of the D. Litt. and D.Sc. degrees but in practice instruction has been imparted for the Master's degree in a limited number of Arts subjects and in only one of the experimental sciences (Chemistry). As has been pointed out, the University is dependent upon its constituent colleges or college for the provision of instruction in all classes. Its main function has been to conduct university examinations and to recognize institutions which are eligible to send up candidates for these examinations.¹

(c) *Saugor* : This University was established in 1946. The Indian Universities Commission makes the following observations regarding this University :—

The establishment of the University was made possible through a generous donation of Rs. 20 lakhs by Dr. Hari Singh Gaur which was supplemented by Rs. 10 lakhs from the Provincial Government to form the endowment fund of the proposed University. The University has been functioning for only two years but some of its affiliated colleges are very much older. The Mahakoshal Mahavidyalaya was originally an Intermediate college at Saugor and was removed to Jubbulpore in 1883. In 1883 it became affiliated to the B.A. standards of the Calcutta University. The Prantiya Shikshan Mahavidyalaya goes back to a small training institution founded in 1890 at Nagpur, which was transferred to Jubbulpore in 1922 and became a full-fledged Training College in 1911. Some of the private colleges also are much older than the University, the Raipur one having been founded in 1937 and the Hitakarini Mahavidyalaya in 1933 at Jubbulpore. The University has students for the Intermediate classes in Arts, Science and Commerce in addition to those for higher degrees but the number of students in the affiliated institutions taken together is much larger than at the University centre. In some subjects the latter figures are remarkably low, *e.g.* in History there are altogether 15 students at the University centre, 9 of them in the Intermediate classes and 6 in the B.A. Pass classes. Last year 339 candidates appeared for the B.A. Pass examination and it is expected that the numbers for the 1949 examination will not be less ; but the University has only about 30 students in the second year B.A. class. In the Sciences too the position is not very different as there are only 25 students studying Chemistry in the second year B.Sc. class and 17 students Physics, while those for Zoology and Botany are 7 and 8 respectively. The numbers in the M.Sc. classes in Physics and Chemistry are comparatively high and that is explained by the limited opportunities available for these studies at other centres in the Province. The University does not seem to have made much headway and the reasons are obvious :—

1. Saugor does not have the traditions of higher education, that Nagpur and Jubbulpore have ;
2. the financial position of the University has not enabled it to appoint eminent teachers and thereby attract students from other centres ;
3. the University has no proper buildings either for teaching or for residence. What it has are mostly improvised barracks. The library and laboratory facilities are not what they should be in a teaching university, the former possessing only about 12,000 books and the latter lacking some of the essential equipment.²

(d) *Rajputana* : This university was established in 1947. The States in Rajputana co-operated to establish a University of their own and agreed to give a contribution of Rs. 2,65,000 a year for the purpose. The State of Jaipur provided an extensive site for the construction of University library, hostels, and administrative and faculty blocks. The university began by affiliating the 28 colleges (including 2 for teacher-training, 1 for medicine, 1 for law, and 1 for engineering) which then existed in the area of its jurisdiction and also made plans to start teaching work at an early date.

6. **Universities and Research (1937-47).** It was stated in Chap. XI, para. 13, that the Indian Universities began to make a fair provision for research in the period between 1921 and 1937. This movement was continued and intensified during the period under review and, on the whole, it may be stated that the cause of research was very well-fostered by the Indian Universities between 1920 and 1945. Some of this research, such as that conducted by Sir C. V. Raman, Sir P. C. Ray and Sir J. C. Bose earned even international recognition. Unfortunately, however, the cause of university research received a setback towards the end of this period owing to the difficult conditions created by the War—lack of personnel, rise in cost of apparatus and equipment and the difficulty of obtaining necessary supplies from abroad, etc. Probably, the best review of the problem is given in the following passage from the report of the Indian Universities Commission :—

Position of Research at the Universities up to 1945 : As long as our universities were of an affiliating type, only a few individual scholars at isolated colleges conducted research on their own lines, sometimes with admirable results, and some of them deeply inspired their pupils,—for example, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar at Poona, Sir Ganganatha Jha at Allahabad, Professor Kuppuswami Sastri at Madras, Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray at Calcutta, Colonel J. Stephenson and Professor S. R. Kashyap at Lahore. Most of the research work in Sciences and Medicine was done by the scientific services in the Government Research Institutions. But no organised attempt was made to train students in methods of research and to develop schools of research at any university. It was only in 1914 that Sir Asutosh Mookherjee founded the first post-graduate departments at the Calcutta university and placed post-graduate training and research there on a proper footing. Promising scholars from all parts of India were appointed to professorial chairs and in a few years Calcutta had produced research work of a high quality, both in the humanities and in the sciences, and several of its professors won international recognition. After the First World War several new universities came into being : of these, the teaching universities started

affiliating universities, new as well as old, started post-graduate departments in certain fields of study. These new schools attracted a number of young and promising teachers who organized research and raised the level of post-graduate teaching at several university centres. The degrees of Ph.D., D.Litt., and D.Sc. were instituted and were awarded to students on successful completion of their researches. In a few departments of some universities, the teaching staff came to consist largely of men with research degrees. A number of professors fulfilled their promise of leadership in research and their work brought them international recognition like the Nobel Prize, the Fellowship of the British Academy, the Fellowship of the Royal Society, or the higher Doctorate Degree of Oxford and Cambridge. It may rightly be said that both in quality and quantity the level of scientific research was at its best in Indian universities between the years 1920-1945. While before 1920 scientific research was mainly a monopoly of the scientific services, after 1920 the leadership in fundamental research in most of the sciences passed over largely to the universities. All this research activity was due to the hard work and enthusiasm of a few university professors, who had to work with meagre grants, insufficient equipment and inadequate library facilities. There were practically no grants from the Central Government for fundamental research, although grants were given to a few university teachers by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research for agricultural research and by the Indian Research Fund Association for medical research. Considering the handicaps under which these research workers in the universities have laboured, their record cannot but be called creditable.

Appraisal of the Present Position of University Research: Although post-graduate training and research in the universities have made substantial progress during the last twenty-five years, to any one acquainted with the universities, it is clear that the amount of research done either by teachers or by research students does not approach what it should be. A university may be having M.A., M.Sc. and research classes in a score of different subjects, but it would be lucky if even three or four of its departments had turned out a respectable amount of research of good quality. A few distinguished research workers in a large country like ours are not enough ; we should not only have a large number of them but should raise the general average quality and quantity of research at all the universities. The Scientific Man-Power Committee has gathered that the number of Ph.D. and D.Sc., degrees in six Basic Sciences, awarded by all the universities of India, during the last ten years, comes to only 260, an average of only 26 per year, which is by no means a good record. In England, at Cambridge alone in 1935, more than 400 men were engaged in scientific research, and the Ph.D. Degree, originally instituted for overseas graduates, is now sought after almost equally by the Cambridge graduates.

Unfortunately there are signs of a steady decline in the quality and quantity of research at our universities. There are several causes, but the most important is that most of the leaders of research in different fields have either left the universities or are on the verge of retirement and the universities have not been able to find suitable successors to continue the research tradition initiated and fostered by these pioneers. Ever since the higher administrative services were thrown open to Indian graduates, the universities have had to compete with the Government, which is the largest employer in India, for recruitment of their teaching staff. The universities could not attract the best men to their staff and during the last ten years a number of brilliant teachers have left the universities for government service, as they were offered better salaries and prospects there. Although the universities can never offer the same scales of salaries as the Government does, they must ensure that they attract brilliant and

promising men to their staff, and retain them by offering decent salaries so that their creative faculties are not blunted in the most productive period of their lives by privation. Further, during the last War and since, most of the universities have not received adequate scientific apparatus and equipment; and their grants for apparatus have in most cases remained stationary although the prices have multiplied three or four times.¹

7. Research in Education (1937-47). A few words regarding research in education would be appropriate here. Prior to 1937, the Indian Universities did not make any provision worth the name for research in education. The pioneer work in this line, therefore, was done by Indian students who went abroad for higher training in education and wrote theses on Indian subjects and by a few enthusiastic educationists who worked on their own. This latter was a small group in so far as numbers are concerned; but it was fully representative and included European officers of the I.E.S., missionaries, and Indians. After 1937, however, several universities instituted the M.Ed. degree in education, which was obtainable entirely by research, or entirely by papers, or partly by research and partly by papers. Arrangements were also made in a few centres to prepare students for the Ph.D. degree in education. The principal object of these higher degrees was to train members of the staff of training colleges and personnel for higher administrative posts in the Education Department as well as in private educational institutions. But in so far as the period under review is concerned, not much work was turned out.² As the Indian Universities Commission observed:—

Research in Education—(a) The Master's Degree: There is not much systematic research in Education going on in India today. At a certain number of universities the Degree of Master of Education is conferred upon candidates who either stay on at the university after completing their initial qualification as teachers, generally the B.T. Degree, or who return to it for this purpose after an interval. The requirements for the Master's Degree in Education vary, but normally include a piece of original work prepared under supervision. Besides these first steps by beginners in original work the staffs of some training departments, though by no means all, are seriously engaged in original work. There are also a few centres for advanced work in Education or Educational Psychology, e.g. at the Government Centre at Allahabad and at the University of Patna. The first attempt at educational research at the All-India level is to be made by the newly founded Central Institute of Education in Delhi.

Little can be said about the work of M.Ed. candidates except that it is a good thing for every university training department to have this task of guiding beginners in the technique of educational research even if the results are

¹ *Report*, pp. 144-8.

² For a detailed review of educational research done so far in India, see the article by I. P. Naik

necessarily small and scrappy. It is very doubtful if a graduate who passes straight from his Degree to his initial training course and thence straight to work for the M.Ed. without school experience can produce original work of value in the field of Education in the stricter sense, though no doubt he can learn techniques, statistical and other, which will be useful to him as an individual or as a subordinate member of a research team. Normally, however, it would be better for a student to learn more about the practice of education by teaching for a few years before he returned to take the Master's Degree in the subject.

(b) *Original Work by Professors and Lecturers* : The original work by Professors and Lecturers in Education is sometimes of high quality, but it seems to suffer, so far, from isolation and lack of inter-university planning. The problems confronting Indian education today are so stupendous in their sheer scale, and so complicated in their nature, that the efforts of even the most gifted and persistent individual seem dwarfish in comparison. In these circumstances immense responsibility lies upon the Central Institute, and its progress must be keenly watched, and keenly supported by every well-wisher of India. The practical problems of first magnitude confronting India are too obvious to need more than cursory statement. Here is a vast country, set out on the path of democracy with adult franchise, yet 85 per cent of its people are illiterate. Here too is a would-be democratic country where in fact up till now the selection of young people for higher education, or indeed for any education at all, has been based not upon any kind of test of the child's capacity but simply upon his parents' capacity to pay for schooling. It is going to involve a fundamental change, more profound than is yet realised by the vast majority of Indians, before we can achieve even the beginnings of an educational pyramid, *i.e.* a national structure in which all children get the rudiments of education (and are not thereby unfitted for manual labour), and the choice of who shall proceed further and further up the educational pyramid is based upon capacity and temperament alone. The mere effort needed to construct tests of capacity and temperament for use on a nation-wide scale and flexible enough to be fair as between different social strata and different physical environments will be a most difficult and lengthy task, which has not yet been begun. The Central Institute should enlist the services not only of its own staff or of its own University of Delhi, but of all would-be students and teachers of Education throughout India. No task in front of India seems to us more urgent than this.¹

8. **Secondary Education (1937-47).** In the field of secondary education, there were no outstanding developments. Rapid increase in schools and pupils characterised this period also, although it has to be admitted that the *pace* of expansion was *not* what it had been in the earlier periods. This increase in its turn, emphasized and accentuated the same defects as had already become apparent²; some attempts to remedy them and improve the situation were made but, as in the earlier periods, they fell far too short of the requirements; and, therefore, secondary education in 1946-47 did not present a picture which could be said to be better than that in 1936-37. If anything,

¹ *Report*, pp. 215-7.

it marked a deterioration due to the growing dissatisfaction among secondary teachers and the stress of socio-economic forces created by the War.

(a) *Expansion*: The statistics of secondary education for 1946-47 are given below :—

	Schools.			Pupils.		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Middle English Schools	4,169	620	4,789	5,40,441	85,484	6,25,925
Middle Vernacular Schools	2,914	567	3,481	4,04,377	92,300	4,96,677
High Schools ..	3,061	576	3,637	13,81,038	1,78,341	15,59,379
Total for 1946-47 ..	10,144	1,763	11,907	23,25,856	3,56,125	26,81,981
Total for 1936-37 ..	..	..	13,056	..	..	22,87,872
Total for 1921-22 ..	..	..	7,530	..	..	11,06,803
Total for 1901-02 ..	..	..	5,124	..	..	5,90,129
Total for 1881-82 ..	..	..	3,916	..	..	2,14,077

In comparing the statistics of 1936-37 with those of 1946-47, allowance will have to be made for the establishment of Pakistan whose population was 75 millions as against that of 318 millions in India (1941 census). On a population basis, therefore, we shall have to assume that, in the Indian Union, there were, in 1936-37, only about 10,400 secondary schools and about 18.30 lakhs of pupils (*i.e.*, about four-fifths of the actual number given for 1936-37). If these figures are now compared with those of 1946-47, we find a rise in the number of pupils no doubt; but their total number has not been *doubled* as it was in every preceding period. It must be noted that the number of university students was almost doubled between 1936-37 and 1946-47 in spite of the establishment of Pakistan. The same phenomenon ought to have been seen in secondary education as well. But the above statistics give enough room to conclude that the expansion of secondary education between 1936-37 and 1946-47 was only moderately fast and that its pace fell short of that seen in earlier

What might be the causes of this slackening of pace? Several reasons may be suggested. It may be due to the fact that a saturation point is being reached in secondary education and that, as most of the children that ought to be in secondary schools are already there, the further expansion of secondary education is bound to be slow. This argument, however, does not appear probable because the existing enrolment of secondary schools in India is far below that in other progressive countries of the World. Another argument which may be suggested is that this restriction of numbers might have been due to a process of selection under which only those who were fit to receive secondary education were admitted to secondary schools. But during the period under review, the admission of pupils to secondary schools continued to be entirely unselective and every child that sought admission eventually got it. The possibility of a selective screening as a cause of this slackening of pace must, therefore, be ruled out.

As we analyse it, only two causes seem to be responsible: the first and foremost is the slackening of pace in the expansion of primary education—a topic that will be discussed in the next section; and the second is the economic situation created by the War. The bulk of the children that attend secondary schools come from the urban middle class. Unfortunately, it was this very stratum of society which was hit extremely hard by the rising cost of living on the one hand, and the rising cost of education (due to an increase in fees, rise in the prices of educational equipment, etc.) on the other. Consequently, the secondary education of children from this section of society became more contracted than before. Moreover, the children of the poor working class also found it more and more difficult to attend the secondary schools, partly because of the increasing poverty of their families and partly because of the rising cost of secondary education. This contraction of opportunities for secondary education in any but the upper strata of society resulted in a comparative slowing down of the pace of expansion noticeable in this period.

In other words, our system of secondary education is now functioning as a highly selective process, not on an *intellectual* but on an *economic* basis. It admits almost all the children from the middle strata of society, so that a good deal of the

available accommodation is wasted on pupils not necessarily fitted to receive such education. On the other hand, some children of the middle class are prevented from joining it by economic considerations and only a few children of the poor class succeed in obtaining admission to it, in spite of their being intellectually fitted to do so. As in University education, therefore, the problem of secondary education is three-fold : firstly, there must be a large overall expansion of secondary schools comparable to that in England or any other progressive country ; secondly, the provision of free-places and scholarships must be made on a very liberal scale to ensure that no superior child able to profit by secondary education is prevented from receiving it on grounds of poverty ; and thirdly, scientific and administratively convenient methods of selecting children for secondary schools have to be evolved. Unless this screening process is adopted first at the secondary stage, it will not be possible to adopt it later on at the matriculation level and to improve the position and standard of university education as well.

(b) *Medium of Instruction* : The problem of the medium of instruction received considerable attention during the period under review. The difficulties, real or imaginary, which had beset the adoption of modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the secondary stage in the earlier period (1921-37) now disappeared almost completely. Text-books of good quality were published in sufficient numbers ; terminologies began to be evolved and made current, and although lacking in uniformity and universal acceptance in all parts of India, they paved the way for the preparation of common terminologies for use in Indian languages ; the teachers got gradually used to teaching in the mother-tongue and even subjects like algebra, geometry, physics, chemistry, or botany began to be taught through the Indian languages. By 1947, therefore, it may be said that the mother-tongue became *the* medium of instruction at the secondary stage and the only problem that was left unsolved was that of the medium of instruction at the university stage.

(c) *Provision of Vocational or Alternative Courses* : Some progress was also noticeable in the provision of alternative or vocational courses at the secondary stage. The Provincial Governments started technical, commercial or agricultural High

providing non-literary courses. The War assisted this trend considerably. It required a large number of technically trained recruits and thus created an increased demand for technical education—a demand that led to some diversion of pupils from the narrow road leading to the Matriculation. The development of Indian industries that took place during the War also helped the process. Even after the War the movement was kept going and, in the Five-Year Plans of educational reconstruction which were introduced at the Centre and in all Provinces with effect from 1st April 1947, an important place was always assigned to the provision of non-literary courses at the secondary stage.¹ On the whole, it may be said that some effective measures to provide alternative vocational or prevocational courses at the secondary stage were taken, for the first time, in the decade between 1937 and 1947. The progress, however, was slow, partly due to lack of funds and partly to lack of trained teachers and even in 1946-47, the type of High School which prepared the students for the Arts and Science Courses of the University still dominated the scene.

(d) *Training of Teachers* : Some progress was also achieved in the training of secondary teachers. The number of training colleges for secondary teachers was considerably increased during the period under review, and the number of women teachers undergoing training showed an even greater increase. In 1946-47, the total output of trained teachers was 2,110 men and 1,307 women.

(e) *Untoward Developments* : This is all that can be said about *progress* in secondary education. On the other hand, several problems of secondary education remained unsolved as before. For instance, no successful attempts were made to evolve differentiated curricula for rural or girls' schools, and the large percentage of failures at the Matriculation or S.S.C. Examinations continued to be a chronic ailment that resisted all treatment. Not only this, but the conditions created by the War accentuated certain other problems and created quite a number of new ones. Reference has already been made to the contraction of opportunities for secondary education for the middle and poor classes due to a rise in the cost of living. Similar harmful effects were noticed in the case of the secondary teachers

as well. Several of them left their profession and joined the better paid services in Departments connected with the War, which required large numbers of capable employees. This led to a shortage of teachers and the result was all the more to be deplored because not a few of the teachers who left the profession were already *trained*. Moreover, the rise in the salaries of secondary teachers was not proportionate to the rise in the cost of living or to the rise in the emoluments of other professions. Consequently, the profession of a secondary teacher which had already ceased to be attractive since the First World War, now became all the more unattractive and an average graduate refused to enter it, if he could help doing so. This attitude thinned, not only the ranks of teachers in secondary schools, but even the number of applicants seeking admission to training colleges.

Bad as this shortage of teachers was, the psychological changes brought about among the secondary teachers by the stress of war conditions were even worse. Those persons who either chose or were compelled to stick to the profession had to supplement their salaries by doing private tuitions, undertaking subsidiary occupations, or employing their wives or other members of the family in whole-time or part-time jobs. This economic pressure led to considerable discontent and, failing to obtain adequate or immediate relief, the teachers adopted trade-union methods and outlook, and began to agitate for their demands through such means as conferences, demonstrations, and even strikes. The harmful effect of these developments on the quality of education, the *morale* of the profession, and the discipline of the schools can easily be imagined.

Another problem that came to the forefront at this period was that of *discipline*. The stresses of adolescence always make it a difficult problem in all secondary schools. But at this time, there were several other factors that made the situation peculiarly difficult and delicate. The discontent and loss of *morale* among teachers, the unsettled and extremely disturbed political conditions in the country which inevitably found a reflection in the sensitive imagination of the adolescents, the attempts of political and communal parties to recruit *volunteers* from the ranks of school children,—all these were unhappy developments that

school progress, and led to a general deterioration in standards which were already low.

(f) *Position of Private Enterprise*: Equally disturbing were the effects of the war conditions on the managements of private secondary schools. During the last 100 years, they had entrenched themselves as *the* agency to provide secondary education to the people and, by dint of long and extensive service, reached a position wherein they had enjoyed the confidence of Government, complete internal autonomy, and the confidence of the teachers and the general public as well. But the decade from 1937 to 1947 changed a good deal of this record. In the first place, the public financial support to these bodies diminished considerably. This was partly due to the hard economic plight of the middle-class and the tendency on the part of the rich to think that, while they were bound to support education as a national activity when a *foreign* Government was in power, all such obligations ceased to operate under a *national* Government, and that educational institutions must now look to Government grants rather than to private charities for their support. The position was made still worse by the fact that this depleted charity had to be shared by a very large number of institutions and causes, so that each school got far less than before and private charities came to have a very minor place in the support of secondary education. Secondly, the War led to a sharp rise in the cost of living and made the teachers demand higher emoluments. But as the income from fees or Government grants did not rise in proportion and as the income from charities actually decreased, the managements were unable to meet the demands of the teachers. This inability, or the existence of rival groups within the life-members (in cases where the institutions were managed by *Societies* the authority of which mostly vested in persons who had become its life-members by agreeing to serve it on a given scale for a specified number of years) led to frequent clashes with the teachers and sometimes, even to strikes. Thirdly, Government tried to control the private schools more and more, either in the interests of teachers or on grounds of discipline. The Education Departments now began to entertain appeals or make enquiries into a number of matters dealing with students or teachers and it can be said without

was such minute control over secondary schools exercised by Government as in this. The management of secondary schools, therefore, had to face a chill or indifferent public, a discontented staff which was often in revolt, a disturbed student population, and an extremely exacting Department. A feeling, therefore, began to gain ground that private enterprise should withdraw from the field and hand over all secondary schools to Government rather than struggle against this host of adverse circumstances. On the other hand, Government felt that it was forced to part with larger and larger grants to secondary schools while the powers left to it were inadequate to remedy the situation effectively or to maintain the required standards or discipline. It was, of course, too early to expect any definite decisions on so vital and controversial a matter. But the trend of the day was clear : It was universally agreed that the policy of the Indian Education Commission to leave secondary education exclusively to private enterprise, or even the Curzonian policy of maintaining a few *model* institutions and improving the quality of private secondary schools by inspection and control had outlived their day ; it was also felt that a complete and immediate nationalisation of secondary schools would be financially impracticable and even otherwise undesirable ; but what golden mean between these two extremes was to be adopted and through what stages—that was the burning problem of the day and it remained unsolved when this period came to a close.

(g) *Challenge of New Conditions* : But probably the most disturbing and far-reaching development of this period was to create conditions which necessitated an *immediate* and *comprehensive* redefinition of the aims of secondary education and a *re-coordination* of it with primary and university education. In the first place, the scheme of Basic Education premised a complete course of *seven* years uniformly given to all children—a proposal which threatened to take away the three lower standards of the secondary course and leave it only with a duration of three or four years. Secondly, with the political changes of the period, it became evident that English could no longer hold the dominating place it had held so far in the secondary course and the problem of reducing its place to proper dimensions and of allotting the time thereby freed to other subjects became extremely urgent and important. Thirdly, the old suggestion of the Calcutta University

Commission to transfer the first two years of the University course to the secondary stage became all too relevant now (when secondary education was about to lose its three lower standards) and promised a hopeful method of restoring an adequate duration to the secondary course. Fourthly, as stated above, the position of secondary education as an activity almost solely entrusted to private enterprise also began to be challenged. All these issues, which were as significant as controversial, threw the whole problem of secondary education in a melting pot and rendered a replanning of the whole course both **urgent** and important.

1.9. Primary Education (1937-47). In the field of primary education the epoch-making event of this period was the scheme of Basic Education enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi. This will be described in a later section. Of the other experiments, the *Vidya Mandir Scheme* undertaken by the Central Provinces deserves some attention.

The Scheme was planned by Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, the then Minister of Education in the Central Provinces, with the object of providing primary education in small villages at a nominal cost to the Provincial revenues. Its principal features are the following:—

(a) *Location* : Every village (or group of villages within a radius of a mile) having no schools and where about 40 boys and girls of school-going age are available would have a Vidya Mandir.

(b) *Aims and Objects* : Like any other primary school, a Vidya Mandir would impart instruction in the three R's and teach the usual primary course. In addition, it would try to develop a national outlook, bring about a close co-ordination between the school and its rural community, work for the welfare of the village, and be a "radiating source of light and learning."

(c) *Establishment and Administration* : A Vidya Mandir would be first established on a voluntary basis and later on transferred to the local community as a statutory obligation. Each Vidya Mandir would be provided with a plot of land which would yield about Rs. 200 per annum as net profit, a suitable building and the necessary tools and equipment. It would be under the control of the Agricultural Department, but a local committee of supervision might be appointed if a Village Panchayat existed in the locality.

(d) *Finance* : The principal source of income to the Vidya Mandir would be the plot of land ; other sources proposed to be allotted would be village charities on festive or other occasions, a portion of *Dharmadaya* collected by merchants in the village, a portion of the profits from village grain-banks, profits from the craft taught in the school, etc. Some assistance from Government could also be expected, particularly in times of famine or scarcity.

(e) *Staff* : A Vidya Mandir is expected to be a one-teacher institution. The teachers would be persons who have passed at least the middle school certificate examination, and specially trained. Every teacher would be required to sign a pledge in which the following conditions of service would be incorporated:—

(ii) There would ordinarily be no transfer from one Vidya Mandir to another. If a teacher does anything which disqualifies him to continue as a teacher in the Vidya Mandir, his services would be dispensed with after due notice.

(iii) The remuneration of a teacher of a Vidya Mandir would be paid out of the endowment funds and would ordinarily not be less than Rs. 15 *per mensem* in value. If the endowment prospers, he might be given more. After confirmation his life shall be insured for Rs. 500 or thereabouts.

(f) *Duties and Obligations* : The duties and obligations of a teacher would be—

- (i) to reside in the Vidya Mandir and educate the children of the village according to the syllabus and curriculum prescribed ;
- (ii) to be *ex-officio* secretary of a Vidya Mandir trust and to maintain its accounts ;
- (iii) to be in charge of such property of a Vidya Mandir as the committee or trust may decide ;
- (iv) to do such social service, village uplift work, or educational activities as may be entrusted to him ;
- (v) to look after the physical education and welfare of children of the village ;
- (vi) to be a keeper of village library and museum ;
- (vii) to give a national outlook to all the activities of a village ; and
- (viii) to perform such other duties as may be prescribed from time to time.

(g) *Subjects of Study* : Subjects of study would be related to the environment of children and would have an industrial and agricultural bias. A suitable syllabus for four or seven years, adapted to the provincial needs and circumstances, would be prescribed.

(h) *The Vidya Mandir and Government Departments* : Vidya Mandirs are expected to be centres of all activities in villages to which the attention of all the Departments of Government would be directed. It would be the duty of the Agriculture Department to see that the best use is made of the land endowed to the Vidya Mandir and its productive capacity is so enhanced that a Vidya Mandir farm would serve as a real demonstration farm to villagers and improve their cultivation ; Medical and Public Health Departments would also work for Vidya Mandirs and look to the improvement of the sanitation and health of the villages. Teachers of Vidya Mandirs would be acquainted with first-aid and elementary medicines to enable them to render immediate help to villagers. The Co-operative Department should start multi-purpose societies of the Kodinar type in every village where a Vidya Mandir is established. Thus, if all Departments of Government connected with village life and its improvement co-ordinate their activities and work in co-operation, the Vidya Mandirs would be a source which, in the near future, would make village life interesting and happy and relieve the people from the poverty and misery in which they are living today.¹

In 1938-39, a vigorous propaganda was organised and ultimately about 80 Vidya Mandirs came into existence. Un-

fortunately, the Caretaker Government did not take adequate interest in the scheme, and its further progress was greatly checked.

Another experiment to secure the expansion of primary education at a low cost to Government was adopted in the Province of Bombay and is popularly known as the *Scheme of Voluntary Schools*. Its principal objects were two: to rope in private effort and thereby reduce the cost of education; and secondly to provide schools to small school-less villages where Government or local authority schools would be financially prohibitive.

The scheme was introduced by the first Congress Ministry in 1938. According to the provisions of the scheme, any person or association conducting a private school in a locality where there is a real need for it was given a fairly liberal grant-in-aid at Rs. 4 per boy per year in average attendance. (This amount was increased to Rs. 6 per head per year in the case of all girls and all pupils of backward communities and a small equipment grant was also sanctioned.) The scheme was very successful and helped Government to extend primary education to several school-less villages at a comparatively low cost. The war, however, had an adverse effect on the progress of the scheme; and although the rates of grant were revised from time to time, the number of these voluntary schools went on declining. On the return of the Congress Ministry to office in 1946, however, the interest in the scheme was again revived and the number of schools as well as of pupils began to show an upward trend. As the Director of Public Instruction observed:

In 1938-39 Government launched a scheme to abolish mass illiteracy at an extra initial cost of about Rs. 4½ lakhs. Public response to the scheme was spontaneous and 2,400 voluntary schools were opened during the year. Private enterprise further added over 3,200 Primary schools, so that within a period of less than four years there was a net-work of small village schools all over the Province. On 31st March, 1942, there were 8,049 aided Primary schools attended by 358,417 children, as against 1,808 schools with 119,178 children five years ago. Voluntary schools opened under the scheme of mass literacy are aided directly by Government whose liability on this account increased from 4½ lakhs in 1938-39 to over Rs. 8 lakhs at the end of this period under review. This additional liability is due not only to the increase in the number of voluntary schools but also to the more liberal scale of the grants now paid to these schools.¹

Seven years later, the further progress of the scheme was thus stated:—

There was a decrease in the total number of primary schools during the 5 years period from 1942 to 1947, and the decrease was almost wholly accounted for by a fall in the number of voluntary or mass literacy schools aided directly by the Department. The period was one of uncertainty, economic stress and clash of ideologies, and these factors had their repercussions on the schools run by voluntary organisations. The number of mass literacy schools had touched the peak figure of 8,000 at the end of the year 1941-42, and thereafter there was a setback, and the number began to dwindle. As a result of the concessions and

¹ *Report of the D. P. I., Bombay, 1941-42, p. 25.*

special facilities provided by Government the number of mass literacy schools began to record a rising curve again from the year 1945-46, so that, at the end of the year 1948-49, the record figure of 8,707 was reached. Additional concessions were sanctioned by the Congress Government during the period under review (*i.e.* 1946-49) for the encouragement of mass literacy schools. The rate of equipment grants payable to such schools, with a minimum attendance of 20 pupils, was raised from Rs. 35 to Rs. 50, and provision was also made for the payment of a quinquennial grant of Rs. 25 and of an additional equipment grant of Rs. 25 in the case of schools teaching beyond standard IV. The rate of the additional grant on account of trained teachers was also raised from Rs. 25 to Rs. 60 per annum, per teacher. These special measures for improvement in the conditions of mass literacy schools account for the increase in the number of aided primary schools from 6,684 in 1946-47 to 8,707 in 1948-49 and in the number of pupils in them from 3,48,770 in 1946-47 to 4,53,159 in 1948-49.¹

The Congress Ministries also paid attention to the problem of extending *compulsory primary education*. The following table shows the areas brought under compulsion by 1947-48 :—

Compulsory Primary Education, 1947-48

Province.	Age-group under compulsion.	Area with boys only under compulsion.		Areas with boys and girls under compulsion.	
		No. of towns and cities.	No. of villages.	No. of towns and cities.	No. of villages.
Bihar	6-10	17	..	..	..
Bombay	7-8, 6-11	9	134	110	5,100
C.P. and Berar ..	6-11, 7-12	34	1,031	..	..
East Punjab ..	6-11	37	1,420	..	..
Madras	6-14, 6-12	16	31	12	1,607
Orissa	6-12, 6-13, 5-10	1	1	..	..
U.P.*	6-11	36	1,371	3	3
West Bengal ..	6-10	1	..	..	..
Delhi	6-12	1	7	..	..

* Figures relate to 1946-47.

If these statistics are compared with those of 1936-37 given on p. 68 *supra*, it will be noticed that the best progress is made in Bombay where compulsion was introduced in several municipal areas and in all villages with a population of 1,000 or more. But

in other parts of India, the progress can only be called poor. When it is remembered that the nation is irrevocably committed to the introduction of compulsory education for boys and girls¹ in the age-group of 6 to 14 before 1960-61, it becomes at once evident that the progress of compulsory education in the past, if it can be called progress at all, is extremely disappointing. An unprecedented quickening of the pace at which compulsion would be introduced has now become inevitable.

The other measures adopted by the Congress Ministries for the *expansion of primary education* included (i) opening of schools in school-less villages ; (ii) sanctioning additional grants to local bodies ; (iii) opening additional girls' schools, where necessary ; and (iv) sanctioning additional posts of teachers in existing schools. But in the absence of a large-scale adoption of compulsion, the progress of primary education was rather slow as the following statistics will show :—

Expansion of Primary Education (1937-47)

Year.	No. of primary schools.	No. of pupils.
1881-82	82,916	20,61,541
1901-02	93,604	30,76,671
1921-22	1,55,017	61,09,752
1936-37	1,92,244	1,02,24,288
1945-46	1,67,700	1,30,27,313
1946-47	1,34,866	1,05,25,943

It is difficult to compare the statistics of 1946-47 with those of 1936-37 on account of the establishment of Pakistan. But the figures for 1945-46, which are for undivided India, show that there was an actual fall in the number of schools (owing to the stress of war-conditions) and only a relatively small rise in the number of pupils. The expansion of primary education in this decade was, therefore, far from satisfactory.

This is due to the fact that the expansion of primary education on a voluntary basis has now reached a saturation

¹ *Vide* Section 45 of the Constitution of India.

point in most areas. Any further expansion on a large-scale is, therefore, only possible under compulsion.¹ Another remedy is the organisation of a mass literacy campaign on a very large scale. Short of either of these definite programmes, any marked progress in primary education does not appear to be possible in the near future.

From the foregoing account which reveals only a slow progress in primary education, it can be easily imagined that the *progress of literacy* would also be correspondingly slow. The census of 1941 gave an over-all literacy percentage of 12.2 for British India. This compares favourably with the literacy percentage of 1931 (7 p.c.) and shows that the literacy rose by 5 p.c. in the decade 1931-41 whereas the corresponding rise in the decades between 1881 to 1931 had been about 1 p.c. only. Thus the situation may be said to have improved somewhat between 1931 and 1941 ; but, on the whole, it has to be admitted that the progress of literacy was very slow even during this period.

There are two comments to be made on this aspect of the problem. The first is that the rise in literacy is so slow that it cannot be called *progress*. The goal in mass education, at least in the early stages, is universal literacy. Unfortunately, this goal is not a fixed point. It is continually receding further on account of the increase in population. What really matters, therefore, is the *number of illiterates* in society. That shows the distance which yet remains between us and the goal, and especially in a backward country like ours, this aspect of the problem is of far greater importance than any other. Judged from this point of view, the table given on the next page will show what progress has been achieved in India during the last decade.

It will be seen from this table that (a) the number of illiterates in 1941 is actually greater than that in 1931 ; (b) unless the rate of increase of literacy is greater than the rate of increase of population, we cannot be said to be progressing at all ; and

¹ A remarkable confirmation of this view can be had from Bombay. The following are the statistics of primary schools and pupils for the Province :—

year	No. of schools	No. of scholars
1936-37	12,901	11,40,299
1946-47	18,992	16,65,042
1948-49	22,765	24,69,904

The increase in *two* years between 1946-47 and 1948-49 is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ times that in the *ten* preceding years. The reason is that compulsory education was introduced in several parts of the State in 1947-48. This is convincing proof, if proof were needed at all to show that all talk of " expansion on a voluntary basis " should now stop and that universal, free, and compulsory education should be introduced with as

Progress of Illiteracy in India (1931-41)

(The figures are in thousands)

Province or State.	In 1931.				From 1932 to 1941.				In 1941.
	Total Population.	No. of Literates.	Per-centage of Literacy.	No. of Illiterates on hand.	No. of Illiterates added (Increase in Population).	No. of Illiterates reduced (Increase in Literates).	Per-centage of Literacy.	Net increase in Illiteracy.	No. of Illiterates on hand.
Bombay	17,992	1,774	9.5	16,218	2,866	2,294	19.5	572	16,790
Madras	46,740	4,320	9.3	42,420	2,602	2,101	13.0	501	42,921
Bengal	50,114	4,694	9.4	45,420	10,200	5,026	16.1	5,174	50,594
Bihar	32,371	1,344	4.2	31,027	3,969	1,996	9.2	1,973	33,000
Orissa	5,306	539	10.2	4,767	3,423	409	10.9	3,014	7,781
U. P.	48,409	2,260	4.8	46,149	6,312	2,393	8.5	3,919	50,068
C. P.	14,667	868	5.9	13,799	2,155	1,042	11.3	1,113	14,912
N.-W. F. ..	2,425	100	4.1	2,325	613	134	7.7	479	2,804
Punjab	23,581	1,248	5.3	22,333	4,838	2,418	12.9	2,420	24,753
Sind	3,887	230	5.9	3,657	650	244	10.5	406	4,063
Assam	8,622	666	7.7	7,956	1,583	508	11.5	1,075	9,031
Travancore ..	5,096	1,218	23.9	3,878	974	1,176	47.7	202	3,676
Cochin	1,205	339	28.1	866	218	165	35.4	53	919
Baroda	2,443	435	17.7	2,008	412	222	23.0	190	2,198
Gwalior	3,523	141	4.4	3,382	469	156	7.4	313	3,695
Hyderabad ..	14,436	596	4.1	13,840	1,748	515	6.9	1,233	15,073
Kashmir	3,646	124	3.4	3,422	375	140	6.5	235	3,757
Mysore	6,557	594	9.1	5,963	772	302	12.2	470	6,433
All India ..	338,170	23,493	7.0	314,677	50,630	23,830	12.2	26,800	341,477

(c) that unless the rate of increase of literacy exceeds greatly that of the increase of population, there is no hope of realising the goal of universal literacy in a short time. It is only the introduction of universal compulsion that can achieve and maintain this ideal.

The second comment on the literacy statistics of 1941 is that, slow as the progress of literacy is in India as a whole, it must also be remembered that the conditions vary greatly from one part of India to another. Some areas are very advanced while others are still backward. The preceding table shows that the highest (Travancore, Cochin and Baroda) as well as the lowest percentages (Gwalior, Hyderabad and Kashmir) of literacy are found in Indian States. This proves that if the ruler of a State is an enlightened person taking interest in the welfare of his subjects, he can show a much better progress than in British India. But unfortunately, the vast majority of State rulers were not inspired by such ideals with the result that the lowest places in the literacy ladder were again occupied by the Indian States alone. It will also be seen from the above table that the highest percentage of literacy in India is found in Travancore. It is very significant that universal compulsory primary education was not introduced in this State till 1947; and yet it led the whole of India in the percentage of literacy! This phenomenon is due to several reasons among which may be mentioned (a) the existence of awakened public opinion; (b) the dignified position held by women in Travancore society which reduces the usual prejudices against the education of women to a minimum; and (c) the conversion of large numbers of Harijans to Christianity. Usually the percentage of literacy gets lowered because of the large extent of illiteracy among women and the Harijans. In Travancore, there is less opposition to the education of women than in any other part of India, and, thanks to the splendid work of the missions, the percentage of literacy is extremely high among Indian Christians. These factors give a substantial advantage to Travancore which easily stands first in the literacy ladder of India, although it has not yet been able to introduce universal compulsory primary education.

An equally curious thing seen from the foregoing table is that the percentage of literacy in Baroda is still low in spite of the fact that universal and compulsory primary education was

introduced in the State as early as 1906. One would have expected that thirty years after the introduction of universal and compulsory primary education, illiteracy in Baroda State ought to have disappeared completely. But it still continues to be very high. This is due to several reasons among which may be mentioned (a) the failure to enforce compulsory primary education rigorously; (b) the unwillingness of the State to open a primary school in a village unless seventy-five children are available and two teachers can be appointed (the small villages in the State, therefore, are still without schools and their population is as high as 20 per cent of the total population of the State); and (c) the lack of social and educational work on an adequate scale among the Harijans and the backward communities like Rani Paraj. In spite of these defects, however, the introduction of compulsory primary education in Baroda State has still had remarkable results because the percentage of literacy in Baroda is much higher than that in the Gujrat districts of Bombay Province where the socio-economic conditions are similar but universal compulsory primary education did not exist till the end of the period under review.

Another trend of this period was *the tendency to accept the recommendation of the Hartog Committee to the effect that the powers given to local bodies over primary education should be withdrawn*. The Province of Bombay was the first to act on this recommendation. In 1938, and then again in 1947, Primary Education Acts were passed and the powers given to local bodies were very substantially curtailed.

The following were the main changes made by the Primary Education (Amendment) Act of 1938 :—

(a) *The Act transferred inspection from the local authorities to Government.*

In every district, an officer called the Deputy Educational Inspector was appointed. The supervisors (who were the inspecting officers under the local authorities) were transferred to the service of Government and were placed under the Deputy Educational Inspector as Assistant Deputy Educational Inspectors. The Deputy Educational Inspector and his assistants inspected all primary schools, while the duty of administering them was left to the local authorities.

(b) *The Administrative Officer of the school board was now made a servant of Government.* This position gave him strength and he now ceased to be merely a glorified head-clerk of the school board and could exercise his statutory powers. The Rules under the Act made the Administrative officer fully responsible for the appointments, transfers, etc., of primary teachers. In these matters he was to be subordinate to the Education Department and not to the school board.

The Primary Education (Amendment) Act of 1938 did not work very satisfactorily. In the first place, it did not please any one. Those who believed that the local authorities should be abolished were not satisfied with the Act because it still continued several important powers with them. On the other hand, those who believed that the local authorities must be strong were dissatisfied because several important powers were taken away from them. The Act was essentially a compromise measure, and like most compromises, it pleased none. The school boards in particular did not like the idea that the Administrative officer should be a servant of Government. This made him exercise *in reality* his powers of appointing, transferring, and controlling teachers. The local authorities were greatly interested in these matters and it was felt that the changes made by the Act had deprived them completely of their substantial powers over the primary teachers. On the other hand, the position of the Administrative Officer was generally very unhappy. He had to serve two masters—the Department in matters of control over teachers and the school board in other cases. As the relations between Government and the school boards were not always happy, his position was hardly enviable. An agitation was, therefore, started very soon after 1938, to the effect that a further change in the administration of primary education was necessary. All agreed on one point only, *i.e.* the Act of 1938 must go; but there were differences of opinion regarding the reforms required. Some suggested that the Province must go back to the Act of 1923, while others were of the opinion that it should go one step further and abolish the local authorities altogether. This controversy did not come to a crisis so long as "Section 93" Government was in power, mainly because it refused to undertake any drastic legislation on the subject. But in 1946, when the Congress came to power again, the matter soon came to a crisis. Moreover, the problem became all the more urgent because the local bodies had no money, unless Government grants were very substantially increased, to pay the higher salaries and dearness allowances to teachers necessitated by war-conditions. In 1947, therefore, a new and comprehensive Primary Education Act was passed under which the following changes were introduced:—

- (a) The Municipalities of the Province were now divided into two groups—*Authorized and Non-Authorized*.
- (b) Under the Act of 1923, it was the District Local Boards which were made the local authorities and the school boards exercised powers over primary education on behalf of the Local Boards. The Act of 1947 changed this position and made the District School Boards independent of the District Local Boards. But the position of the Municipal School Boards continued unchanged as before.
- (c) The District School Boards were deprived of most of their powers. The position of the Municipal School Boards, however, continued unchanged.
- (d) The Administrative Officer continued to be a Government servant; but he was given assistants who would be called Assistant Administrative Officers, Supervisors and Attendance Officers.
- (e) The powers of inspection are continued with Government as before.
- (f) Under the Act of 1938, the control over primary teachers was vested entirely in the Administrative Officer and there was an appeal in some cases to the Department. Under the Act of 1947, this position was considerably changed. The Act created a *Staff Selection Committee* consisting of the Educational Inspector or an officer

Chairman of the School Board. The Committee has to select candidates for the posts of Assistant Administrative Officers, Supervisors, Attendance Officers and teachers. Moreover, any employee who is aggrieved by an order of the Administrative Officer has now a right of appeal, not to the Department, but to a *Tribunal* consisting of the Chairman of the school board concerned and the Educational Inspector of the division. If there is a difference of opinion in the tribunal an appeal can be made to the Director whose decision is final.

- (g) The Act made far-reaching changes in the financial relations between Government and the local authorities. In the case of the District Local Boards, Government has decided that every Local Board must raise its Local Fund Cess to 3 as. in a rupee and pay 15 pies out of that for primary education. The budget of the School Board is to be sanctioned by Government which will bear all the deficit.
- (h) In the case of non-authorized municipalities, the Act prescribed that every non-authorized municipality should pay over annually "to the district school board or the authorized municipality, as the case may be, for the purposes of primary education such proportion of the rateable value of properties in the area of the municipality as may from time to time be fixed in this behalf by the Provincial Government." All the deficit will be paid by Government.
- (i) In the case of Authorized Municipalities, it is laid down that they would continue to get the same grants for primary education as they used to get before. But in future, if any schemes of compulsion submitted by them are sanctioned, the Provincial Government would bear half of the additional recurring and non-recurring annual cost of the scheme.

These developments in Bombay, therefore, show a vacillation between the two extreme positions of *all powers to local authorities* and *no powers at all* with a pronounced trend towards the latter.¹

Another development of this period was the greater attention that came to be paid to the important problem of giving a living wage to the primary teachers. Unfortunately, the comparative statistics of the *average pay* of primary teachers for all Provinces are not given in the *Quinquennial Reviews of the Progress of Education in India*, so that it is not possible to compare periodically the relative economic status of primary teachers in the different Provinces. But the following comparative figures were given by the Hartog Committee² for the first time:—

	Rs.	a.		Rs.	a.
Madras	15	4	Punjab	25	8
Bombay	47	0	Bihar and Orissa ..	11	5
Bengal	8	6	Central Provinces ..	24	8
United Provinces ..	18	8	Assam	14	4

¹ In Mysore, however, a more drastic legislation was put through and all powers given to local bodies were withdrawn in 1941. (For details see Appendix A.)

² Report, p. 64

These figures refer presumably to the year 1927. It is difficult to ascertain how the Hartog Committee put the average pay of a primary teacher in Bombay at Rs. 47 ! The investigations of the Moos-Paranjape Committee showed that the average salary of a primary teacher in Bombay was only Rs. 33 in 1922—the highest ever reached¹ ! Probably, the Committee confused the position in Bombay City (where the pay scales have always been relatively higher) with that in the Province as a whole. Be that as it may, the position of the emoluments of the primary teachers in 1936-37 was not materially different from that given above. An economic depression began in 1929 and the next two or three years saw a cut in salaries. In Bombay, the salaries actually deteriorated and in other Provinces, they did not improve. The miserably low salaries that the primary teachers received in most Provinces in 1936-37 can, therefore, be easily imagined.

The problem, ever urgent as it was, came to a head with the War. The rise in the cost of living was so sharp that the economic plight of teachers became very bad and they started an agitation for higher remuneration. The demand got a great fillip in the Sargent Report which emphasized the early adoption of a national and decent scale of pay to primary teachers. In the atmosphere of the times, trade-union methods came to be readily adopted and failing to get a satisfactory rise in their pay, the primary teachers took recourse to strikes as a means of achieving their demands. The first great strike took place in 1946 in the Province of Bombay when 45,000 primary teachers struck work for 54 days. Ultimately, the public conscience was aroused and in every Province the scales of primary teachers were revised and they were given more liberal dearness allowances than in the past. Towards the end of this period, the remuneration of primary teachers, therefore, was far better than that in 1936-37 in so far as Rs. as. ps. are concerned. But unfortunately, the rise in the cost of living was so high in the same interval that, in spite of all the recent increases in remuneration, the lot of the primary teachers was far from happy even in 1946-47.

10. Abbott and Wood Report. In 1936-37, at the request of the Government of India, two experts from England—Messrs. A. Abbott and S. H. Wood—visited India and submitted a report

on vocational education. As they could not spare time to visit all parts of India, they studied education in the Punjab, United Provinces, and Delhi only. While this was a limitation on the scope of their Report in one direction, they enlarged its field in another by reporting briefly on primary, middle, and High schools as well as on training of teachers and administration and inspection of schools on the ground that it is extremely important to base vocational education on good general education. Some of their important findings and recommendations on vocational education are given below :—

1. The expansion of vocational education should not greatly outstrip the needs of industry ;
2. Every Province should make a survey of the educational needs of its industries and commerce and thus determine the types of vocational education to be provided, the stage to which each type should be carried, and especially the number of recruits that can be absorbed annually ;
3. Vocational education should not be regarded as being on a lower plane than literary education ;
4. General and vocational education should be considered, *not* as essentially different branches, but as the earlier and later phases of a continuous process. They should not, however, be provided in the same school, since the pupils in the two types have diverse aims ;
5. If the progress of organised industry is not to displace the small-scale worker, he must have the opportunity of adapting himself to changing conditions ; and immediate steps to this end are necessary. Greater attention should, therefore, be paid to his training, and especially to his training in art where this is appropriate ;
6. Effective machinery should be established for securing close and regular co-operation between industry and commerce, on the one hand, and education, on the other. This can be secured by the establishment in each Province of a Government *Advisory Council for Vocational Education*, which should include the Director of Public Instruction, the Director of Industries, and two or three Principals of important vocational schools ; on the side of business, it should include four or five businessmen selected by the Government on account of their knowledge and experience of particular branches of business. The Council should appoint Sub-Committees dealing respectively with education for : (a) Engineering ; (b) The Textile industries ; (c) Agriculture ; (d) Small-scale and cottage industries ; (e) Other industries of major importance, and (f) Commerce. The functions of Sub-Committees should be to draft curricula and syllabuses of instruction, to advise on equipment, to suggest where schools should be established, to visit the schools regularly, and generally to do all in their power to make their branch of vocational education successful ;
7. Employers should help in the development of vocational education

8. Vocational Schools should be of two main types : The *Junior Vocational School*, receiving its pupils at the end of Class VIII and providing a three years course, would be parallel to the Higher Secondary School, and should be held in the same repute. The *Senior Vocational School*, receiving its pupils at the end of Class XI and providing a two years course, would be parallel to the "Intermediate College". Although the Junior Vocational Schools would lead either directly to employment or to further training in an Industrial School, a few of their pupils might wish to proceed to Senior Vocational Schools. In these instances, the "leaving Certificate" of the Junior Vocational School should be regarded as equivalent, for this purpose, to the certificate of matriculation ;
9. Part-time schools should be provided for the further education of young men already in employment and, if possible, the classes should be held in the day time, the students being released by their employers for two half days a week in order that they might attend ;
10. Pupils satisfactorily completing the course in vocational schools should be awarded *leaving certificates* ; and these should testify, not only to the success obtained in the final examination, but also to the quality of the work done throughout the course. This involves keeping a record for each pupil shewing (a) his percentage of attendance, and (b) his marks for work done in the class room, the workshop, the laboratory, and at home throughout the whole of his course.
11. The type of *Junior Vocational School* which appears to be most necessary in India is the " Junior Technical School," which gives a training (preliminary to employment in industries), suitable for boys who aim at becoming highly skilled artisans and foremen. The type of *Senior Vocational School* which appears to be most suitable is the " Senior Technical School", which prepares its pupils for responsible posts in industries. Junior and Senior Technical Schools are appropriate in industrial centres only and should not be established, as a rule, in areas with a population smaller than 50,000.
12. The spheres of influence of the existing schools of arts and crafts should be enlarged considerably ; and other schools of arts and crafts working in close association with them should be set up as opportunity serves.
13. The Government of India should establish, on one site, (a) a Vocational Training College ; (b) a Junior Technical School ; (c) a Technical School attended by part-time as well as full-time industrial and commercial students ; and (d) a School of Arts and Crafts. Teachers in training at the Vocational Training College would use the technical and art schools as practising schools.
14. Provision should be made for giving vocational guidance to pupils.
15. Government should publish a series of pamphlets describing careers for boys and the preliminary education needed for each career.'

The report is rather a hurried document and is based on an incomplete survey of the conditions in India. Its recommendations also do not go beyond a few obvious platitudes in certain

respects. But, for some time after its publication, the report attracted a good deal of attention, partly because of its having been sponsored by the Government of India and partly because of the great reputation of the members of the Committee who were deputed by the Board of Education in England. But before any action could be taken thereon, the War broke out, and the whole problem was shelved for the time-being. In 1944, the Sargent Report was published and as it had incorporated the best part of the Abbott and Wood report within itself and as the former was a comprehensive study of the subject, a partial study like the report of Messrs. Abbott and Wood fell into the background. Today, it has hardly any, except a historical, importance.

11. Professional and Vocational Education (1937-47). During the period under review, there was nothing very special to report in legal, medical, commercial or art education. These branches showed some expansion (although, owing to the establishment of Pakistan, the statistics of 1946-47 are not comparable with those of 1936-37 given earlier in Chapter XI) and a few of their aspects attracted attention from the point of view of educational reconstruction.

(a) *Legal Education*: In 1946-47 there were 13 colleges of law with 5,332 students. An important innovation of the period was that the Andhra and Bombay universities allowed the students to take the law course after the Intermediate Examination. The following quotation from the Report of the *Legal Education Committee* appointed by the Government of Bombay will show the position of legal education as it was towards the close of the period under review :—

In all the Universities except Andhra and Bombay, graduation is the stage of admission to law courses. A student has to be a graduate either in Arts, Science or Commerce before he can take to the study of law. In Andhra and Bombay, Intermediate Examination has been made the stage of admission. From this follows the result that a student has to spend six years in other Universities before he gets his Degree in Law. The actual course in law covers a period of only two years, except in Calcutta and Dacca, where the course extends over a period of three years. There is a University examination at the end of every year. Some Universities allow exemptions at these examinations in single subjects, others in groups. Generally, it may be found that the so-called cultural subjects in law such as Jurisprudence and Roman Law are taught in the first year, while the greater portion of the actual laws which a practitioner has to deal with in Court is relegated to the second year. Most of the Universities have part-time teaching in law, although the tendency now has been to make the study of law a full-time business. The attendance in classes is compulsory

and the method of teaching that is mainly followed is by lectures. Almost all the Universities have instituted post-graduate degrees, either LL.M., Ph.D. or LL.D., and a student has to be an LL.B. before he takes to the study of law for the LL.M. or other post-graduate degrees. It may, however, be mentioned that no special arrangements for teaching of the post-graduate courses are to be found in most of the law colleges in the country.

31. A few general observations may be made on the courses in law that have been adopted by the Universities. These courses seem to have been framed with an eye to the profession. The main object of Universities appears to be to train students for the profession of law, as advocates, judges, solicitors, etc. This explains the large number of enacted laws that are to be found included in the curricula. Local Acts, Procedure Codes, other procedural laws, all find a place in the study of a law student in the University. This was probably necessary in the beginning when the country needed both lawyers and judges, and the whole judicial system had to be newly established. But during all these 90 years, there does not appear to be any substantial change effected in the University courses. Universities have never looked upon Law as an educational or cultural subject.

32. This historical review will lead one to the conclusion that legal education as it was imparted in the past perhaps satisfied the needs of the country ; but modern conditions require, a complete reorientation of the outlook on legal education.....¹

(b) *Medical Education* : In 1946-47, the number of Medical and Veterinary Colleges and Medical Schools in India was as shown in the table on page 790.

It will be seen from this table that the provision of medical education differed from Province to Province. Moreover, all the medical colleges and schools put together were not producing, even in 1946-47, the number of medical graduates required by the country. The scarcity was particularly noticeable in the field of rural medical relief. The health and well-being of the villager ought to be the prime concern of the country and yet, the medical and public health problems of rural India were hardly studied in medical colleges and very few medical practitioners chose rural areas for settling down.

The principal developments of this period, however, were two : a greater provision for post-graduate teaching in medicine made by the universities, and the encouragement given by the Congress Ministries to systems of Ayurvedic and Unani Medicine. Regarding this latter problem, the Indian Universities Commission observed :—

16. *Ayurvedic and Unani Medicine : Their Strength* : These systems of healing have behind them many centuries of accumulated experience. As we

Medical and Veterinary Colleges and Schools (1946-47)

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Province.	Medical and Veterinary Colleges.				Medical Schools.			
	Number.		Enrolment.		Number.		Enrolment.	
	For Men	For Women	Men	Women	For Men	For Women	Men	Women
Bihar	3	..	489	35	1	..	283	17
Bombay	7	..	1,458	360	11	..	781	171
C. P. & Berar	..	..	..	..	1	..	176	17
East Punjab	1	1	357	344	1	..	125	..
Madras	6	1	1,631	508	1	..	324	41
Orissa	1	..	83	11	1	..	14	..
U. P.	1	..	973	84	1	..	65	..
West Bengal	4	..	1,751	85	6	..	1,907	88
Ajmer-Merwara	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Delhi	..	1	..	187	..	..	..	15
Minor Administered Areas	..	..	..	..	1	..	335	36

physicians of India, we have found among able and widely experienced doctors of the scientific school very great divergence of opinion concerning the merits of the indigenous systems. These differences of opinion, it seems to us, depend largely on whether attention is directed to the desirable or to the undesirable elements of that practice. In favour of the indigenous systems it is said that the tradition of the native healer is to treat, not just the specific disease, but the whole personality in its entire make-up and in its total environment. The modern medical specialist has tended to treat the particular ailment of the patient. He is too busy, and it has not been in his tradition, to become so well acquainted with the patients' total circumstances that he can have an opinion as to whether the ailment he treats is the chief difficulty or is only the point of weakness, which appears as the obvious effect of a more deep-seated difficulty. The present great development of psychosomatic medicine in the West, these men say, is but a belated recognition of principles which the indigenous practitioner has been recognising all along. Also, the indigenous practitioner works within the people's means. He uses remedies they can afford, whereas western remedies are, in fact, much beyond the reach of the masses. Lastly in the course of time valuable remedies have been discovered which should not be lost to science. While ephedrin reached the western world from China, it was also known in India. The remedy isapghul, now adopted in the British pharmacopoeia as a purely mechanical laxative, is among the best remedies in its field. A number of able doctors of the western scientific school have given us illustrations, some of them under conditions which could be critically observed, of the effectiveness of some Indian remedies.

17. *Their Weakness*: Those who deprecate indigenous medicine point to the fact that most native healers lack any concept of sanitation or of aseptic conditions. They have little or no scientific knowledge of anatomy or physiology. They are blindly traditional. Remedies continue to be used when their specific values, if any, have long since been forgotten. The true value of ephedrin had little or no relation to the use to which it was being put in China when it was discovered by western doctors. Much of the practice of native healers is little above magic or incantation.

18. *Interaction of the Indian and Western Systems*: The Ayurvedic and Unani schools are adopting western methods in the study of anatomy, physiology, bacteriology, etc. They are adopting western remedies and are incorporating western methods. On the other hand scientific medicine is adopting some of the indigenous remedies and methods.

It would seem to be desirable :

1. To provide for the continuance of indigenous schools, so that any contributions they may make to modern medicine may not be lost, and so that inexpensive medical care may not be taken away from the mass of the people when no other is available to them.

2. To develop one or more research centres for the study both of indigenous remedies and of indigenous methods. Among the thousands of native remedies now used it would be strange if there were not some of high value. The discovery of even a very few of the order of quinine, santonite, ephedrin, isapghul or belladonna would justify a large amount of research. It would be desirable in research on native drugs to develop modern large scale screening methods whereby preliminary tests could be made to economically determine possible values of large numbers of supposed remedies, with intensive study of those which disclose

tend to have much more concentrated qualities. The probability of finding medicinal values, therefore, would seem to be good, and there is possibility of developing new industries from what is discovered.¹

(c) *Commercial Education*: The statistics of Commercial colleges and schools in 1946-47 are given below :—

Province.	Commercial Colleges.		Commercial Schools.	
	No.	Enrolment.	No.	Enrolment.
Assam	..	..	4	203
Bihar	..	..	14	812
Bombay	5	3,372	35	3,160
C. P. & Berar	2	624	..	..
East Punjab	..	..	5	73
Madras	..	..	227	9,795
Orissa	..	..	2	36
U.P.	..	..	1	30
West Bengal	7	3,787	8	675
Total	14	7,783	296	14,784

Regarding commercial education, the Indian Universities Commission observed :—

In Bombay commercial studies originated with the establishment of the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics in 1914. Commerce classes were started in other universities within the last 30 years and now almost every Indian university has either a Faculty or a Department of Commerce. 'In most of the provinces the student who wishes later to take up a Degree in Commerce starts specialising in it from the intermediate class. He takes up courses in Elementary Banking and Accountancy, in general commercial knowledge, in Shorthand and Typewriting and thus equips himself for his studies for the Degree. The Degree course has in addition to papers in English some modicum of theoretical Economics including Money and Exchange. But the main part of the course is devoted to subjects like Business Organisation, Secretarial Practice, Commercial Geography, Commercial Statistics and Mercantile Law. For his final year he has a special subject which is generally Accountancy or Banking or Transport. In some universities the course includes Actuarial Science and the organisation of special Industries. The Andhra and Delhi Universities offer an honours course in commerce extending over 3 years and require a more comprehensive study of some of the subjects mentioned above. Other universities

like Bombay, Allahabad, Lucknow and Agra have a Master's Degree in Commerce. The courses for this include specialised study of industries and agriculture, and of markets and corporations in addition to a thesis which is allowed in some universities.¹

(d) *Art Education* : The statistics of Art Schools for 1946-47 are given below :—

Province.	Art Schools.	
	No.	Enrolment.
Bihar	1	27
Bombay	3	784
C. P. & Berar	1	66
East Punjab	..	..
Madras	4	261
U.P... .. .	2	163
West Bengal	3	397
Total	14	1,698

In Agricultural, Engineering and Technical Education, however, there was much greater progress than in the branches described so far, although the total provision of such education was, even in 1946-47, far too inadequate to meet the needs of the country.

(e) *Agricultural Education* : The position of agricultural education at the collegiate stage improved very considerably during this period and as many as 12 new institutions came into existence. These are given below :—

1. *Agra* : Balwant Rajput College (Agricultural section opened, 1941).
2. *Amritsar* : Government Agricultural College (Located at Khalsa College, Amritsar, estd. 1947).
3. *Anand* (Bombay) : Bansilal Amritlal College of Agriculture (estd. 1947).
4. *Benares* : College of Agriculture, Banaras Hindu University (estd. 1945 ; Besides first degree, also M.Sc. in Agricultural Botany).
5. *Bangalore* : Agricultural College and Research Institute, Hebbal (estd. 1946).
6. *Bangalore* : Indian Dairy Research Institute (Post-graduate work ; estd. 1944).
7. *Baptala* (Madras Presidency) : Agricultural College (estd. 1945).

8. *Delhi* : Central College of Agriculture (estd. 1947).
9. *Dharwar* (Bombay) : College of Agriculture (estd. 1947).
10. *Hyderabad* (Deccan) : Osmania College of Agriculture (estd. 1946).
11. *Lakhaoti* : Amar Singh K. E. M. U. Jat College (Agricultural section opened 1941).
12. *Sabour* (Bhagalpur) : Bihar Agricultural College (estd. 1945).

In 1947, there were 17 institutions in India which imparted agricultural education at the degree or post-graduate level, with an enrolment of 1,551 students as against 6 institutions¹ with an enrolment of 1,008 only in 1936-37. Good as this progress is, it can hardly be called adequate to meet the needs of an agricultural nation like India. The U.S.A., for instance, is less agricultural than India and its population is only about half of that of the Indian Union ; and yet its

Land-Grant institutions now enrol in their register approximately as many students as the other 1,200 colleges and universities combined—about a million students. The University of California alone in its two branches enrolls 40,000 students. In addition to the students taking their courses of study in the classes, a large section of the adult population is reached in the open farm country, in the villages and the cities of the entire nation through extension services, bulletins, package libraries, radio broadcasts, itinerant teachers, demonstrators and through short courses for all professions and vocations.²

Compared with this, the picture of higher agricultural education in India appears very disheartening. As the Indian Universities Commission observe :—

With only about 1,500 students being admitted to all agricultural colleges each year, in case half of them should graduate, this would represent only three agricultural graduates per year per million of the farming population. We are informed by heads of agricultural schools that of those who do graduate, not more than two or three per cent return to agricultural communities. In 1936 and 1937, Sir John Russell, Director of the great Rothamsted Experimental Station of England visited India at the request of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, to review the condition of Indian agriculture. After an extended tour of agricultural stations and villages he reported that, in general, the men who actually till the soil are scarcely touched by the national programme of agricultural education. . . . The number of M.Sc.s and doctorates turned out from the agricultural colleges in India during 1946-47 was 74. Also, 156 candidates received post-graduate diplomas in agriculture, veterinary, forests, dairying and allied sciences in the same year. According to the Report of the Scientific Manpower Committee in 1948, it is estimated that facilities for training in post-graduate research work in agricultural sciences are available in India for only 166 students. There are at present no facilities worth the name for training in soil survey or soil conservation. . . .³

In view of the vast extent and the great importance of Indian agriculture it is obvious that as yet only a bare beginning has been made in meeting the needs of agricultural education at the university level.

¹ One of these institutions (that at Lyallpur) has now been included in Pakistan.

² Report of the Indian Universities Commission, p. 181.

(f) *Engineering Education*: Engineering was another branch in which a good deal of progress was made in this period. In 1936-37 there were 8 Engineering Colleges in India. Two of these, Lahore and Karachi, went to Pakistan. In spite of this reduction, the number of Engineering Colleges in India rose, in 1946-47 to 17 with an intake of about 2,500 students per year.¹ This implies a very considerable improvement over the position in 1936-37; but India was still very backward compared with advanced nations or even in view of her own immediate requirements. As the Indian Universities Commission observed :—

We shall be producing nearly 1,130 engineering graduates each year, and within the next 5 years nearly 6,000 graduates with B.E. degrees. . . . Let us compare this output of engineering graduates with that of other countries. In Great Britain the wartime graduates or diploma holders equivalent to graduates in the three main branches of engineering is stated by the British Committee to have been about 3,000, of which 1,250 came from universities, though the normal output is stated to be not larger than 2,300. The British Committee recommended measures for maintaining this output for the next ten years (subsequent to 1946), which we understand was accepted by the ministry, and given full effect to. The enrolment in 1948 is stated to be 4,562. The American enrolment for 1948 is stated to have reached the enormous figure of 240,000 in 1947. This is surely an inflated figure due to rush of veterans. The figure for 1942 is stated to have been 113,000. This may be taken to be the normal figure. Taking that 45 per cent passes through, the American output for the next few years may be taken to be about 50,000 which is nearly 17 times as large as that of Great Britain and 40 times that of India. . . . The need of the country is estimated to be nearly 27,000 (this includes Engineers, Architects, Metallurgists and Chemical Technologists) in 5-10 years, depending upon the speed of the constructive works undertaken. So the yearly demand varies from 5,400 to 2,700 per year. The outturn of Indian Colleges is expected to be 1,130 per year. So the prospective supply falls far below the demand.²

¹ The following is the complete list of these institutions :—

S. No.	Name.	Year of Establishment.
1.	Thomason Engineering College (Roorkee)	1846
2.	Bengal Engineering College (Sibpur)	1856
3.	College of Engineering (Poona)	1858
4.	College of Engineering (Guindy)	1858
5.	College of Engineering and Technology (Jadavpur)	1912
6.	Engineering College (Banaras)	1917
7.	College of Engineering (Travancore)	1937
8.	College of Engineering (Aligarh)	1939
9.	V. J. T. Institute (Bombay)	1887
		(Degree classes started in 1946).
10.	College of Engineering (Annamalai)	1945
11.	College of Engineering (Calcutta)	1946
12.	Birla College of Engineering (Pilani)	1946
13.	Government Engineering College (Jubbulpore)	1947
14.	New College of Engineering (Sangli)	1947
15.	East Punjab Engineering College (Roorkee)	1947
16.	College of Engineering (Anantapur)	1947
17.	College of Engineering (Coimbatore)	1947

(g) *Technical Education*: The hitherto neglected subject of technical education received a great impetus during this period. The War itself needed a large number of technicians; it also led to a considerable expansion of industries in India—an event which created a still greater need of technicians; and finally, the several post-war development schemes undertaken by the Central and Provincial or State Governments also tended in the same direction because they increased the need of technical personnel and thereby gave still greater emphasis to the expansion of technical education. The Government of India, therefore, paid much greater attention to the problem between 1937 and 1947 than at any time in the past.

On a recommendation made by the Central Advisory Board of Education, the Government of India created, in 1945, the *All-India Council of Technical Education*. The principal duty of the Council was to advise the Central Government on the effective organisation and planning of higher technical education in India and to bring about proper co-ordination between the different institutions working in the field. Among others, the important functions of the Council are (a) to survey the field of technical education, (b) to consider all immediate projects for the development of technical education, and (c) to prepare a scheme for co-ordinating all available resources in developing technical education on an all-India basis.

The Council has appointed six *All-India Boards of Technical Studies*—one each for the subjects of Applied Art, Architecture and Regional Planning, Engineering and Metallurgy, Chemical Engineering and Chemical Technology, Commerce and Business Administration, and Textile Technology. The Boards have prepared Diploma courses of a very high standard which differ from the university degree courses in that they lay great emphasis on the practical side.

On the recommendation of the Council, the Central Government has accepted in principle a scheme for expanding and improving the existing institutions for higher technical training in India. The scheme involves a capital expenditure of 154 lakhs and a recurring expenditure of 30 lakhs and will include 14 existing institutions within its scope. The most important condition governing these grants is that facilities at these institutions should be made available to students from all over

India and particularly from Provinces which have meagre facilities of their own.

As early as 1945, an *ad hoc* Committee, called the *Higher Technological Education Committee* was set up under the Chairmanship of Shri N. R. Sarkar to advise Government regarding the best manner in which higher technological institutions should be organised in India. In 1946, this Committee submitted its report in which the following recommendations were made :—

- (a) Not less than four Higher Technical Institutions, one in the North, one in the East, one in the South and one in the West, will be necessary to satisfy the post-war requirements.
- (b) The one in the East should be set up in or near Calcutta at an early date.
- (c) Establishment of the Western Institution, which should be in or near Bombay, should be taken in hand concurrently with the Eastern Institution, or failing that, as soon after as possible.
- (d) To satisfy the immediate needs for engineers generally and for those with specialised training in Hydraulics in particular, the engineering nucleus of the Northern Institution should be set up without delay.
- (e) To ensure the proper planning of buildings, equipment and courses of study, the Principal and Heads of the Main Departments of these institutions should be appointed, and the services of an architect with experience in the planning of technical institutions secured, at a sufficiently early stage.¹

These proposals were accepted by the Central Government in principle and provision was made, in the first Five-Year-Plan, to start two of the four institutions recommended—one at Hijli in Bengal and the other near Bombay.²

Reference has already been made in Section 3 to the Overseas Scholarships Scheme which was primarily intended for technical education and to the work of the University Grants Committee which has been given jurisdiction over technical education in all the Indian universities.

¹ *Report of the Indian Universities Commission*, p. 241.

² Regarding the other two institutions, the *Indian Universities Commission* observe :

“No steps have yet been taken on the location of the Southern Higher Technological Institute, but there is a suggestion by the Reviewing Committee of the Indian Institute of Science that this institute, which has been in existence for over thirty-eight years, is in the best position to be converted to the Southern Higher Technological Institute, for it has already a large number of technical departments which are needed for such an Institution, and strong departments of pure sciences—physics, chemistry and bio-chemistry. The U.P. Government has passed an Act converting the Thomason College of Engineering at Roorkee to a technological university. This is purely a provincial measure. This institution may be made the basis of the Northern H. T. Institute or a new one established at

In 1946-47, the statistics of Engineering, Technical and Industrial Schools were as follows :—

Province.	Engineering, Technical and Industrial Schools.	
	No.	Enrolment.
Assam	24	1,161
Bihar	54	3,044
Bombay	108	7,441
C. P. and Berar	16	959
East Punjab	22	1,049
Madras	75	5,065
Orissa	8	323
U. P.	91	3,716
West Bengal	88	4,819
Ajmer-Merwara	1	43
Coorg	..	10
Delhi	3	310
Total ..	490	27,940

12. **Education of Women (1937-47).** The education of women, particularly higher education, saw a rapid expansion during the period under review. During the War, the volume of total employment in the country increased considerably and, therefore, a larger number of women were employed in Government offices, business concerns, schools, etc., than at any time in the past. The tendency among educated women to seek a career and economic independence became, therefore, more noticeable at this time and was strengthened by the economic pressure put on the middle classes by the rise in the cost of living. In its turn, the Indian society also could be said to have learnt to tolerate, if not exactly to respect, a career-woman and the concept that the home is the only field for a woman's endeavours

The statistics of the education of women for 1946-47 are given below :—

Type of Institution.	No. of Institutions.	Scholars.
<i>General Education—</i>		
Universities	..	..
Arts and Science Colleges	59	17,648
High Schools	576	1,78,341
Middle Schools	1,187	1,77,784
Primary Schools	14,330	28,33,096
<i>Special Education—</i>		
Professional and Technical Colleges ..	3	1,768
Training Colleges	11	660
Training Schools	188	10,483
Other Special Schools	594	27,864
Unrecognised Institutions	537	46,604
	17,485	32,94,248

N.B.—(1) Students in universities are *not* included.

(2) These figures refer to Indian Union only and are not, therefore, comparable to those of 1936-37.

13. Education of Muslims (1937-47). As stated in the preceding chapter, the Muslims ceased to be a backward community in education by 1936-37 ; their education, therefore, was no longer a problem in the sense that it had been between 1870 and 1937. It is true that they still had some leeway to make in higher education, particularly in professional and vocational education. But the methods to be adopted to this end had already been evolved and established and the ultimate success was only a question of time.

An important development of this period, however, was the publication of a report on Muslim education in India by a special committee appointed by the All-India Muslim Educational Conference. Its main findings and recommendations have been given below :—

1. Compulsory education be enforced though basic education should

2. Denominational schools should continue and they should be recognised.
3. Religion should form the basis of education.
4. Urdu should be made the medium of instruction.
5. There should be a separate curriculum for Muslim Elementary Schools.
6. There should be separate schools for Muslim boys and girls on principle.
7. The selective system for High Schools should not be applied to the Muslim community.
8. Seats should be reserved for Muslims both in High Schools and Universities, on the basis of their percentage in population ; and in the Universities, the number of seats for Muslims should be doubled. Places and Scholarships in Technical Institutions also should be reserved for the Muslim students.
9. The number of Muslim men and women teachers to be appointed must be fixed.
10. Education should be administered by individual autonomous units.
11. There should not be any strong Central Education Department.

14. **Basic Education (1937-47).** We have so far dealt with the principal events of the period under review classified suitably under certain heads, and shall now turn to a detailed discussion of the three distinctive contributions of the Congress Ministries to the evolution of a national system of education in India, *viz.*, Basic Education, Adult Education with special emphasis on the liquidation of adult illiteracy, and the education of Harijans with special emphasis on the abolition of untouchability. We shall first take up the scheme of Basic Education which is undoubtedly the most epoch-making event in the history of primary education in modern India.

(a) *Announcement of the Scheme by Mahatma Gandhi* : When the Congress Ministries assumed office in seven provinces, they had to face a dilemma. On the one hand, there was a strong popular demand for the introduction, in the shortest time possible, of universal, free, and compulsory primary education. This was a legitimate demand and the Congress itself was irrevocably committed to it. But it could not be met unless huge sums of money were provided in the budget and it was not easy, if not actually impossible, to raise them by fresh taxation. Moreover, the position was complicated still further by the decision, under a lead given by Mahatma Gandhi, to introduce total prohibition as well—a step which meant, not only the disappearance of a large and well-established source of revenue, but also the mortgaging of several easily available new sources of taxation to make up for its loss. It, therefore, appeared, *prima facie*, that the country could have *either* prohibition *or* compulsion. But the Congress

was committed to both ; and a way out of this dilemma became obvious when Mahatma Gandhi came forward with the proposal that the plans of mass education need not be held up for want of funds and that universal, compulsory and free primary education of seven years could be given to every child if the process of schooling could be made self-supporting by imparting education through a useful and productive craft. He described this new educational process in the following words :—

1. The present system of education does not meet the requirements of the country in any shape or form. English, having been made the medium of instruction in all the higher branches of learning, has created a permanent bar between the highly educated few and the uneducated many. It has prevented knowledge from percolating to the masses. The excessive importance given to English has cast upon the educated class a burden which has maimed them mentally for life and made them strangers in their own land. Absence of vocational training has made the educated class almost unfit for productive work and harmed them physically. Money spent on primary education is a waste of expenditure inasmuch as what little is taught is soon forgotten and has little or no value in terms of the villages or cities. Such advantage as is gained by the existing system of education is not gained by the chief taxpayer, his children getting the least.

2. The course of primary education should be extended at least to seven years and should include the general knowledge gained up to the matriculation standard less English and plus a substantial vocation.

3. For the all-round development of boys and girls all training should, so far as possible, be given through a profit-yielding vocation. In other words, vocations should serve a double purpose—to enable the pupil to pay for his tuition through the products of his labour and at the same time to develop the whole man or woman in him or her, through the vocation learnt at school. Land, buildings and equipment are not intended to be covered by the proceeds of the pupil's labour. All the processes of cotton, wool, and silk, commencing from gathering, cleaning, ginning (in the case of cotton), carding, spinning, dyeing, sizing, warp-making, double twisting, designing, and weaving, embroidery, tailoring, paper-making, cutting, book-binding, cabinet-making, toy-making, gurmaking are undoubted occupations that can easily be learnt and handled without much capital outlay.

This primary education should equip boys and girls to earn their bread by the State guaranteeing employment in the vocations learnt or by buying their manufactures at prices fixed by the State.¹

It was these revolutionary proposals which were placed before the public through a series of articles in the *Harijan* written in 1937 that later on developed into the *Wardha Scheme of Basic Education*.

The peculiar background in which the Scheme was first enunciated created an impression that Gandhiji put forward the scheme in order solely or even primarily to answer the financial

charges against prohibition. Nothing can be farther from the truth. As early as 1902, Gandhiji had tried his idea of self-supporting education on the Tolstoy form with shoemaking as the craft. We have also shown that he had written about the same idea in the most unambiguous terms as early as in 1921. The question of prohibition was not there on any of these occasions and it would, therefore, be a historical untruth to say that he devised the scheme of Basic Education in 1937 to meet the financial difficulties created by his emphasis on prohibition. Gandhiji himself tried to clarify the position. He asserted that the problem of education was "unfortunately mixed up with the disappearance of drink revenues"¹; He also pointed out that what he discovered in 1937 was *not* the scheme, but its *special application* to the situation then prevailing in India. He wrote :—

I am not surprised at the caution with which he (*i.e.* Dr. Arundale) approaches the idea of self-supporting education. For me it is the crux. My one regret is that *what I have seen through the glass darkly for the past 40 years, I have begun to see now quite clearly under the stress of circumstances.* Having spoken strongly in 1920 against the present system of education, and having now got the opportunity of influencing, however little it may be, ministers in seven provinces, who have been fellow workers and fellow sufferers in the glorious struggle for freedom of the country, I have felt an irresistible call to make good the charge that the present mode of education is radically wrong from bottom to top. And what I have been struggling to express in these columns very inadequately has come upon me like a flash, and the truth of it is daily growing upon me.²

But these words were often ignored and in the early controversies on the scheme, its merits or demerits were often dealt with along with those of prohibition. But today, the position has considerably improved and the two issues are generally kept apart. This is a healthy development as it makes a more dispassionate evaluation of the scheme possible.

(b) *Report of the Zakir Hussain Committee*: Gandhiji's articles on Basic Education published in the Harijan naturally created a storm and violent controversies arose over several aspects of the proposals. In particular, the self-supporting aspect of Basic Education became the centre of a heated controversy. It was, therefore, thought desirable to get the scheme examined by expert educationists. The First Conference of National Education was accordingly called at Wardha on 22nd and 23rd October 1937 to consider the new system of education

¹ *Educational Reconstruction*, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 7 (Italics ours).

proposed by Gandhiji. As the Hindustani Talimi Sangh reports :—

The number of delegates was strictly limited to national workers, particularly workers in national education from the different provinces. It was also attended by the Education Ministers of the seven provinces with Congress majority. The proceedings of the conference were brief and businesslike. The president himself placed the scheme of national education through rural handicrafts, before the conference. The discussions were serious and the following four resolutions were passed as the result of these discussions :—

- (1) That in the opinion of this conference free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale.
- (2) That the medium of instruction be the mother tongue.
- (3) That the conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period should centre round some form of manual productive work, and that all the other abilities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.
- (4) That the conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers.

The conference then appointed a committee under the presidentship of Dr. Zakir Hussain to prepare a detailed syllabus on the lines of the above resolutions and submit it to the chairman of the conference.¹

Within a short time of two months, the Zakir Hussain Committee submitted a detailed report which has since become a fundamental document on the scheme. Gandhiji's writings on the subject so far, as he himself observed, were like the writings of "a *layman* for the *lay reader*".² But the Committee's report is an address of educationists to other educationists. In the course of this report, the Committee explained the principles and objectives of the scheme in terms of recognised doctrines of education and psychology, worked out detailed syllabuses for a number of crafts, and made valuable suggestions regarding such important aspects of the scheme as the training of teachers, supervision and examination, and administration. It even worked out a few possible correlations with the basic craft of spinning and weaving. Its report is, therefore, of great importance to a student of Basic Education. A few important passages from it are given below :—

Craft-work in Schools: Modern educational thought is practically unanimous in commending the idea of educating children through some suitable form of productive work. This method is considered to be the most effective approach to the problem of providing an integral all-sided education.

¹ *Seven Years of Work*, p. 3.

² *Educational Reconstruction*, p. 5.

Psychologically, it is desirable, because it relieves the child from the tyranny of a purely academic and theoretical instruction against which its active nature is always making a healthy protest. It balances the intellectual and practical elements of experience, and may be made an instrument of educating the body and the mind in co-ordination. The child acquires not the superficial literacy which implies, often without warrant, a capacity to read the printed page, but the far more important capacity of using hand and intelligence for some constructive purpose. This, if we may be permitted to use the expression, is "the literacy of the whole personality".

Socially considered, the introduction of such practical productive work in education, to be participated in by all the children of the nation, will tend to break down the existing barriers of prejudice between manual and intellectual workers, harmful alike for both. It will also cultivate in the only possible way a true sense of the dignity of labour and of human solidarity—an ethical and moral gain of incalculable significance.

Economically considered, carried out intelligently and efficiently, the scheme will increase the productive capacity of our workers and will also enable them to utilize their leisure advantageously.

From the strictly educational point of view, greater concreteness and reality can be given to the knowledge acquired by children by making some significant craft the basis of education. Knowledge will thus become related to life, and its various aspects will be correlated with one another.

Educative Aspect of the Craft: First, the craft or productive work chosen should be rich in educative possibilities. It should find natural points of correlation with important human activities and interests, and should extend into the whole content of the school curriculum. Later in the report, in making our recommendations on the choice of basic crafts, we have given special attention to this point, and we would urge all who are in any way concerned with this scheme to bear this important consideration in mind. The object of this new educational scheme is not primarily the production of craftsmen able to practise some craft mechanically, but rather the exploitation for educative purposes of the resources implicit in craft work. This demands that productive work should not only form a part of the school curriculum—its craft side—but should also inspire the method of teaching all other subjects. Stress should be laid on the principles of co-operative activity, planning, accuracy, initiative and individual responsibility in learning. . . . By merely adding to the curriculum one other subject— weaving, spinning, or carpentry—while all other subjects are still taught in the traditional way we shall, we are convinced, encourage passive assimilation and the division of knowledge into unintelligible water-tight compartments, and thus defeat the real purpose and spirit of this scheme.

Ideal of Citizenship Implicit in the Scheme: This scheme is designed to produce workers, who will look upon all kinds of useful work—including, manual labour, even scavenging—as honourable, and who will be both able and willing to stand on their own feet.

Such a close relationship of the work done at school to the work of the community will also enable the children to carry the outlook and attitudes acquired in the school environment into the wider world outside. Thus the new scheme which we are advocating will aim at giving the citizens of the future a keen sense of personal worth, dignity and efficiency, and will strengthen in them the desire for self-improvement and social service in a co-operative community.

In fine, the scheme envisages the idea of a co-operative community, in which the motive of social service will dominate all the activities of children during the plastic years of childhood and youth. Even during the period of school education, they will feel that they are directly and personally co-operating in the great experiment of national education.

Self-supporting Aspect of the Scheme : It seems necessary to make a few remarks about the " self-supporting " aspect of the scheme, as this has occasioned considerable misunderstanding. We wish to make it quite clear that we consider the scheme of basic education outlined by the Wardha Conference and here elaborated to be sound in itself. Even if it is not " self-supporting " in any sense, it should be accepted as a matter of sound educational policy and as an urgent measure of national reconstruction. It is fortunate, however, that this good education will also incidentally cover the major portion of its running expenses . . .

Apart from its financial implications, we are of opinion that a measurable check will be useful in ensuring thoroughness and efficiency in teaching and in the work of the students. Without some such check, there is great danger of work becoming slack and losing all educative value. This is only too obvious from the experience of educationists who from time to time have introduced " manual training " or other " practical activities " in their schools.

But here we must sound a necessary note of warning. There is an obvious danger that in the working of this scheme the economic aspect may be stressed at the sacrifice of the cultural and educational objectives. Teachers may devote most of their attention and energy to extracting the maximum amount of labour from children, while neglecting the intellectual, social and moral implications and possibilities of craft training. This point must be constantly kept in mind in the training of teachers as well as in the direction of the work of the supervisory staff and must colour all educational activity.¹

It is worth noting that this Report emphasises, *not* so much the self-supporting aspect of the scheme, as its educational aspects. This was a radical and significant departure from the view of Gandhiji himself who always regarded self-sufficiency as the *acid test* of his proposals.

(c) Development of Basic Education between 1937 and 1940 : The Report of the Zakir Hussain Committee was submitted in December 1937. For the next two years or so, things moved very swiftly and very favourably. The Haripura Congress blessed the scheme (1938) and it was forthwith adopted in several provinces where Congress was in power and in the state of Kashmir where Shri K. G. Saiyidain, who has always been an enthusiastic supporter of the scheme, was the Director of Education. As the Hindustani Talimi Sangh reports :—

The first year of basic education was a year of enthusiasm. The first institution of basic education, the Vidya Mandir Training School, was opened in April, 1938, at Wardha to train teachers. Gradually steps towards the introduction of basic education as an experimental measure were taken by the Governments of C.P., U.P., Bihar and Bombay Presidency and the State of

Kashmir. Special Officers and Boards of Basic Education were appointed, training schools were opened and necessary arrangements were made for the opening of new basic schools or conversion of the existing primary schools into basic schools. Some of the institutions of National Education also took up the work. The Jamia Millia Islamia of Delhi and Andhra Jatiya Kalashala of Masulipatam opened training courses in August, 1938. The Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith at Poona and the Gujarat Vidyapith of Ahmedabad co-operated with the Bombay Government in the training of teachers and introduction of basic education.

Meanwhile a wave of educational reconstruction seemed to pass over the country. The Governments of U.P., C.P., and Bihar and the State of Kashmir appointed Educational Reorganisation Committees with wide references to study and report upon the entire scope of education from the primary up to the University stage. The Central Advisory Board of Education likewise appointed a committee with Sjt. B. G. Kher, the Premier and Minister of Education, Bombay, as President to examine the scheme of educational reconstruction, incorporated in the Wardha Scheme of Education, in the light of the Wood and Abbot Report on General and Vocational Education and other relevant documents and to make recommendations.

By the end of the first year of basic education, ten Training Centres besides the seven Refresher Training Centres, opened by the Government of U.P., were engaged in the training or re-training of the teachers of basic education. A few basic schools were opened and a few primary schools partially converted into basic schools. The new educational ideology was gradually being translated into practice.

The second year, the year 1939-40, was a year of slow but steady progress. The first group of training schools strengthened by a year's experience, started the training of the second batch of teachers. Three new training centres were opened by the Governments of C.P., Bombay and Madras Presidencies. The Vidya Mandir Institute, a first grade training college, was opened at Wardha by the C.P. Government to train normal school teachers and supervisors of the province. A Basic Training School was opened at Jalgaon by the Bombay Government to train teachers for Urdu Basic schools and a Basic Training School was opened at Coimbatore by the Madras Government to train teachers for Tamilnad. New basic schools were opened and selected primary schools were gradually converted into basic schools as trained teachers became available. Thirty new basic schools were opened in a compact area in the Betia Thana of Champaran District by the Bihar Government and in the Jaipur sub-division of the Cuttack District by the Orissa Government. Fifty-eight selected primary schools in four compact areas in the three linguistic areas of the Bombay Presidency were partially converted into basic schools and basic education was introduced in about 40 schools in Wardha District by the C.P. Government. The teachers of basic schools were gradually gaining confidence in the new method, and also the administrators over their task of organising and supervising the new experiment in the basic schools

In the meanwhile the reports of the different Education Reorganisations Committee were completed and published. They accepted the main principles underlying the scheme of basic education and in many cases adopted the syllabus of basic national education with minor changes to suit local conditions. The reports submitted by the Reorganisations Committees of the U.P., C.P., were accepted by their respective Governments.¹

An important event of this period was the first conference of Basic National Education held at Poona in October 1939. Here the workers in the cause of Basic Education in different parts of India came together to exchange views and compare notes. The following were some of the important findings of the Conference.

(1) This conference realises that education in India has greatly suffered on account of the very introduction of English in the course of studies. It also realises that Indian languages have suffered a great deal as vehicles of instruction not to speak of the injustice and harm done to the students by forcing them to learn things through the foreign language. This conference, therefore, recommends that it should be made a rule that, not only in basic schools but in all the schools throughout India, no English should be taught till the students have acquired a regular education for seven years through their mother-tongue.

(2) Basic National Education has made steady and encouraging progress during the last two years, and the accounts of experiments and experiences given by official and private workers hold out the hope that it will, in due course, bring about a revolution in the existing system of education in the country.

(3) The work of Basic National Education is of such vital importance for the future of the country that it should be continued without interruption, whatever the political changes that may occur in the near future. In order to meet the enormous capital and other forms of expenditure which will be incurred in making seven year's basic education free, universal and compulsory, it is the duty of the Central Government to bear its due share of the total expenditure of this most important activity of national reconstruction.

(10) Experience of the last two years' work has demonstrated the fact that it is possible and educationally useful to teach through the correlated technique.

(11) This correlation should not, however, be necessarily forced and teaching should be correlated not only to the basic craft but also to the child's physical and social environment, which offer rich possibilities for the purpose and enrich the children's basic knowledge.

In order to exploit the full educational possibilities of the scheme it is necessary to train general teachers as craftsmen also ; the purpose in view will never be achieved if craftsmen are associated with teachers in the work of basic schools.

(12) In the choice of the basic craft for any school the predominant occupation of the people in the locality should be taken into account, and in deciding the number of schools centring round each craft in any case reference should be made to the distribution of various occupations in that locality. . . .

(14) In order to form an accurate idea of how far the various products of childrens' craft work will be marketable the requirements of the school, the locality, local bodies and the Government should be ascertained and assessed and this assessment should be used as a guide to the distribution of crafts in the basic schools.¹

Special attention must be paid to finding No. 11. Hitherto the craft was considered as *the* centre of correlation. But now two other centres—the social and physical environment of the

child were also accepted. There was now to be no "forced" correlation. This was a significant and a valuable development of the concept of Basic Education.

(d) *History of Basic Education between 1940 and 1945*: The War and the consequent resignation of the Congress Ministries adversely affected the development of the scheme between 1940 and 1945. As the Hindustani Talimi Sangh reports :—

The programme of basic education planned for the year 1939-40 was not immediately affected by the resignation of the Congress Ministers and was carried out without any perceptible changes or curtailments. . . . But with the third year of basic education (1940-41) the experiment seemed to receive a definite setback. In April, 1940, the Vidya Mandir Training Institute was closed after a year of work. The Government did not complete the programme of the conversion of all the Normal Schools in the province into basic Training Schools as previously planned. It decided to introduce the syllabus as an experimental measure into two selected compact areas : one in the Wardha tehsil in the Marathi area and the other in the Seoni tehsil, in the Hindi area of the province by taking over control of selected schools in those areas. . . .

But the most significant event during this year was the evolution of basic education from a government experiment to a national experiment in Orissa. In January, 1941, the Government issued instructions which showed that the question of continuing the experiment of basic education was again under consideration. In February, 1941, a communique was issued to the effect that in the light of the report of the Director of Public Instruction, the Government have decided that it is not in the interest of the province to continue it any further. The Board of Basic Education was dissolved and the closing of the training school and the basic schools was ordered with effect from the 1st March 1941.

But the Government order did not succeed in closing the work of basic education in Orissa. The national workers and the villagers of the area decided to continue the work independently on the basis of their own strength. A private body called the Utkal Moulik Siksha Parishad was formed to continue the work and the villagers throughout the compact area lent their fullest co-operation to the society. The Government officer Shri Sarat Chandra Maharana, who was appointed special officer for the basic education, tendered his resignation to the Government when the experiment was stopped, and was working with Sjt. Gopabandhu Chowdhary as Joint Secretary. Twelve teachers also resigned their government posts and carried on their work in the reconstituted national basic schools. Seven out of the fifteen basic schools thus continued their work. . . .

Then came the national movement of 1942-45. This had a profound influence on the development of basic education as on all other aspects of national life. Judged by external standards, the work suffered. Fifteen out of twenty-one members of the Sangh were in jail. Many of the national institutions had to be closed. The most notable was the case of basic schools in Orissa. The two secretaries and all the teachers were arrested, the seven basic schools were closed and the work of basic education in Orissa was totally suspended from August, 1942 to March 1944.

The work, however, was not discontinued. The experiments conducted by the Governments of Bihar, Orissa and the State of Kashmir were carried under the direction of their Education Departments.¹ A few Non-Government

institutions also continued their work though handicapped by the strain of their limited resources. These were the Basic school and the Basic training school conducted by the Jamia Millia Islamia, the Basic school near Poona conducted by the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith and the Basic school and the Basic training school at Sevagram conducted by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. There were, however, no points of contact between the Government and non-Government experiments of basic education. There were no meetings, no conferences, where the workers could exchange and assess the results of their experience. No literature on basic education was published during these years.¹

Two important events of these years were the holding of the Second Basic Education Conference at Jamianagar, Delhi, in 1941 and the Conference of National Education Workers at Sevagram in January 1945. The first of these passed eleven resolutions, the two most important of which were the following :—

(1) This Conference records with satisfaction that the reports on the working of basic schools run by the Governments, local bodies and by private enterprise are almost unanimous that general standards of health and behaviour as well as intellectual attainment, are very encouraging. The children in basic schools are more active, cheerful, self-reliant, their power of self-expression is well developed, they are acquiring habits of co-operative work, and social prejudices are breaking down. Considering the difficulties inherent in the initial stages of a new scheme of education, involving a new ideology and a new technique, the progress reported holds out the promise that even better results can be expected in future.

(6) Reports received from various centres amply demonstrate the possibility and desirability of correlated teaching. This Conference, however, wishes to reiterate its former findings that correlation should not be forced and pedantic, and that all the three centres of correlation, *viz.*, the craft, the social environments and the physical environments should be fully exploited.²

The Conference at Sevagram was more revolutionary in its effects. Its most important achievement was the widening of the concept of Basic Education which had hitherto been regarded as a new type of primary education. But now the view was put forward that Basic Education must literally become *education for life*. As Gandhiji said :—

It had become clear to me that the scope of basic education has to be extended. It should include the education of everybody at every stage of life. A basic school teacher must consider himself a universal teacher. As soon as he comes in contact with anybody, man or woman, young or old, he should say to himself, now what can I give to this person? Supposing I come across an old man who is dirty and ignorant. His village is his universe. It would be my job to teach him cleanliness, to remove his ignorance and widen his mental horizon. I need not tell him that I am to be his teacher. I will try to establish a living contact with his mind and win his confidence. He may reject my advances. I won't accept defeat but continue my effort till I succeed in making

friends with him. Once that is done, the rest must follow. Again I must have my eye on the children right from their birth. I will go a step forward and say that the work of the educationists begins even before that.... So far we were in a protected bay; our scope of work was well-defined; today we are being thrown from this sheltered bay into the open ocean. In this open ocean our only guidance is the pole-star of rural handicrafts. Now our scope is no longer limited to the child between seven and fourteen. Nai Talim or New Education has extended its scope today to the whole span of life from the moment of conception to the hour of death.¹

Similarly, it was also suggested that Basic Education should not only be looked at as a *revolution in education*, but as a means of bringing about a more radical and important revolution in the social, economic and psychological structure of the Indian Society itself or as creating a *new way of life*. With this object in view, the Conference adopted the following resolution moved by Shri K. G. Mashruwalla :—

New Education or Nai Talim should be so organised that a normal adult pupil in villages earns enough wages during his period of training to defray his cost of education. This is possible only if educational institutions of the villages become producers of articles of use and at the same time the articles are of true educational value. To this end the economic order of the country has to be simultaneously revolutionised. This double revolution in economy and education should result in considerable and all-round enhancement of wages for both ordinary and the so-called intelligent labour and skilled artisanship. The production of food, clothings, dwelling and other important necessities of life should be considerably increased; technical research in Talim should aim at making decentralised and small scale production economically successful. The Nai Talim should raise the village economic level without adding to the labour of the villages. The primary object of production should be self-sufficiency of the nation and providing means of happiness "unto the last" instead of earning profit and interest in trade and commerce.

The conference also considered the new orientation given to Nai Talim by Gandhiji as "education in all stages of life from cradle to grave through manual work and rural handicrafts". Three sessions of the conference were devoted to the discussions of pre-basic, post-basic and adult education and the following resolutions were passed :—

1. This conference recommends that the Hindustani Talimi Sangh should give full consideration to the question of post-basic education as a system complete in itself.

2. This conference believes that as the scheme of basic national education has now been worked for five years, it is appropriate that the task of educating the children of the country under seven years of age should be taken up and recommends that the Hindustani Talimi Sangh appoint a committee to draw up a scheme of pre-basic education which will serve as foundation for basic education.

3. This conference accepts the main recommendation of the report of Adult Education Sub-Committee and recommends to the Hindustani Talimi Sangh that an Adult Education Committee be appointed to draw up a scheme of national adult education on the lines suggested in the report.¹

(e) *Progress of Basic Education (1946-47)*: With the return of Congress Ministries in 1946, the cause of Basic Education received a new impetus.

One of the first tasks facing the education ministers was the introduction of basic education in the provinces, both as an integral part of the programme of rural reconstruction and also as a part of the official programme of post-war reconstruction.

A conference of education ministers and educational workers was called by Sjt. B. G. Kher, the prime minister and the education minister of the Bombay Presidency to consider the question of the introduction of basic education in the Provinces. It was attended by the education ministers of the C.P., Madras, Bihar, Orissa, N.-W.F.P. and Bombay presidency and a number of representative educationists. The following resolutions were passed :—

1. This conference is of opinion that Basic Education has passed the experimental stage and requests the various provincial governments to take the necessary steps to introduce it on a province-wide scale.

2. This conference is of opinion that English should not find a place in the curriculum of education of the child until it has gone through the full course of at least seven years, whether basic or non-basic, unless English is the mother-tongue.

3. This conference is of opinion that the physical well-being of the children including adequate diet, medical care—both curative and preventive—and formation of health habits, forms an integral part of national education and necessary steps should be taken to introduce this educational programme in all primary and secondary schools both basic and non-basic.

With this conference, action began to be taken in all Provinces and, even in some Indian States, to introduce Basic Education, if it had not been introduced already, and to extend its scope and area of application where it already had been introduced. Basic Education, therefore, figures prominently, as we shall see later, in all the Five-Year Plans of Central, Provincial, and State Governments. By 1947, it could be said that Basic Education had come to stay and that it had passed the experimental stage in the sense that its fundamental principles were accepted as educationally sound, although several details regarding different aspects of the scheme such as correlation, curricula, co-ordination of different stages, etc., were not worked out as completely and as satisfactorily as they ought to have been.

(f) *Basic Education as it has Finally Emerged*: By 1946-47, therefore, Basic Education had been under trial for about 10 years out of which only in about 4 was the Congress in power. It is not, therefore, possible to expect any *results* beyond a preliminary clearing up of the ground and a clarification of ideas. Considered from this point of view, it will be evident from the foregoing review that Basic Education is not a *static* but a *dynamic* concept which, while remaining firmly rooted in certain fundamentals, has still shown its potentiality for adjustment and growth according to the needs of the situation. It would, therefore, be convenient to gather the threads together and try to visualise the form in which Basic Education has emerged after a decade of experimentation and discussion. This is best done by Shri K. G. Saiyidain who writes :—

Stated in bald outline, the scheme of Basic National Education formulates the following proposals :

- (1) Free, universal, and compulsory education should be provided for all boys and girls between the ages of 7 and 14 . . .
- (2) This education should be imparted in the mother-tongue of the child and English should not be taught at this stage . . .
- (3) All education should centre round some basic craft chosen with due regard to the capacity of the children and the needs of the locality. The committee suggested spinning and weaving, card-board and wood work, kitchen gardening and agriculture as obviously suitable crafts . . .
- (4) The selected craft should be so taught and practised that it will make children into good craftsmen and enable them to produce articles which can be used and which may be sold to meet part of the expenditure on the school . . .
- (5) This craft was not to be taught mechanically, but its " why and wherefore ", its social and scientific implications, were to be studied side by side . . .
- (6) In this craft-centred education all the subjects to be taught were to be integrally related to the selected craft or the child's physical and social environment. Any subject-matter which could not be related intelligently to one or the other of these three centres was likely to be either unrelated to the child's genuine needs or not important enough and could, therefore, be deleted without any harm . . .

This fresh approach to the educational problem opens a new chapter in Indian educational history. A careful study of the scheme and its ideology and objectives, as discussed in the Zakir Husain Committee Report brings out certain points of general interest which will repay perusal, because they show the relationship of educational reorganisation to the wider problem of social reconstruction. Thus, for instance, it is obvious that the success of such a scheme is bound up with, in fact it imperatively demands, a far-reaching social, political, and economic reconstruction of the country. That is so, not only because an educational venture of this magnitude cannot possibly be put through without increasing enormously the wealth of the country through industrialisation and a more effective utilisation of its natural resources, but also because once education of this kind has been provided for the masses, it will inevitably lead to a more

in poverty and ill health or exploited by vested interests. They will demand, and get, their legitimate economic, social, and cultural rights, and thus "education will prove a long-range investment, paying its dividends in the shape of happier, healthier, and more enlightened men and women".

Again, the scheme makes a conscious attempt to link up education with the socio-political realities of life. It envisages the school not as a training-ground for certain services and professions meant for a small section of the urban population, but as an agency for the practical and social education of hundreds of millions of the rural population in whose life the central and significant factor is work, which is made the centre and medium of education, thus breaking down the artificial walls dividing the school from life.

It is inspired in its ideology as well as its methods and contents by a certain vision of society based on co-operation, truth, non-violence, and social equality. Mahatma Gandhi was emphatic in the view that this Basic Education was not to be regarded as just a new technique of teaching, but as a way of life which tried to realise certain values held as supreme. It is too early to assess how far Basic Schools have, in practice, succeeded in achieving these objectives, but there is no doubt that, during its early stages when the attitude has often been experimental and the number of schools limited, these objectives have determined to a noticeable extent the pattern of work and activities in Basic Schools.¹

15. Adult Education (1937-47). The second distinctive contribution of the Congress Ministries was the organisation of large-scale campaigns to liquidate adult illiteracy. Their view of this problem can be best illustrated by a quotation from the speech of Dr. Syed Mahmud, the Education Minister in Bihar, delivered in his capacity as the Chairman of the Adult Education Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education (1939) :—

Gentlemen, we are assembled here to discuss the momentous question of educating the millions of our illiterate brethren. I need hardly emphasize the importance of Adult Education as a foundation on which must be based the development of the social, economic and political life of this ancient land of ours. As long as the masses remain steeped in illiteracy and ignorance, economic and social upbuilding of the nation will remain a pious dream. 'The liquidation of illiteracy' in the words of Lenin, 'is not a political problem; it is a condition without which it is impossible to speak of politics. An illiterate man is outside of politics, and before he can be brought in he must first be taught the alphabet. Without this there can be no politics—only rumours, gossip, tales, superstitions.' Realising this, almost every province and several States during the past year have launched experiments in Adult Education, and the time has now come to take stock of the progress made and compare notes with a view to formulate plans for the promotion of this great movement on a nation-wide basis.

It is essential that we should keep before us the aims and objectives of the Adult Education Movement. In Western countries, Adult Education aims at extending and expanding the minimum school education received by the labourers and farmers; but in a country like India with her extremely low percentage of literacy and her backward socio-economic organization the objectives of this

movement should be (1) to teach the illiterate adult the three R's, and (2) to impart knowledge closely correlated to his working life and give him a grounding in citizenship. These two aspects are closely inter-connected as mere literacy without the broader aspects of education would not equip him to lead a better and fuller life and no sound adult education is feasible without a minimum of literacy. It is essential that these two processes should be carried on simultaneously as to a large extent they are complementary to one another.

No Government can make any appreciable headway with its schemes for the promotion of the socio-economic welfare of its people unless the people are prepared to meet the Government halfway and offer it responsive co-operation. The efforts of the Nation-building Departments will succeed and their results be maximized only when the people are able to appreciate intelligently and execute in practice the suggestions made by them. This responsive co-operation is only feasible when the people possess some amount of education. No Government can afford today to be blind to the imperative need of the expansion of primary education ; but for the speeding up of the tempo of the progress of the education of boys and girls a sympathetic atmosphere and the helpful co-operation of the parents is an urgent necessity, and this cannot be achieved unless and until the parents themselves realize the importance of education. Thus adult education is no less important for the expansion and completion of our programme of primary education.¹

Every Province and several States, as Dr. Syed Mahmud has observed, took up this problem with zest in 1937-8. But the tempo of the movement unfortunately died out after the resignation of the Congress Ministries in 1940. It was only when the popular Ministries reassumed office in 1946 that the work was restarted and some progress was achieved by 1946-7.

It is hardly necessary to describe in detail the adult literacy work done in each Province and State between 1937 and 1947. It would be enough to deal with a few instances where typical or extensive work was done and, from this point of view, we propose to describe here the history of adult literacy work in Bihar, Bombay and Mysore.

(a) *Literacy Campaigns in Bihar (1937-47)* : The first literacy campaign in Bihar was started by Dr. Syed Mahmud, Minister for Education in the Province, as a purely voluntary movement in March 1938. In the beginning no funds were sanctioned by Government, but a small amount was raised by contributions and collections from local bodies and private individuals. The object of the campaign was also limited because it made an appeal to the teachers and students of the Province to devote their summer vacation only to the liquidation of illiteracy.

The first phase of the campaign lasted from May 1938 to September 1938. This is known as the *voluntary phase* because no grants were received from Government. In spite of this handicap, however, a very large number of literacy classes were actually organized by various agencies. These fell into five types :

(a) All lower primary, upper primary and middle schools were required to conduct adult literacy classes and were paid a grant-in-aid of annas 5 per adult made literate.

(b) Some private associations also conducted literacy classes and were given a grant-in-aid of Rs. 15 per annum.

(c) Colleges and high schools were required to organize literacy classes as a part of their extra curricular work without expecting grant-in-aid.

(d) Government organized literacy classes in all jails and tried to make all prisoners literate. The police were warned to become literate within six months and every *chowkidar* had either to become literate or lose his job. In short, Government undertook to make every illiterate employee under it literate within a specified time.

(e) Large-scale employers of labour, such as, mills and factories and influential persons like zamindars also organised classes for their employees or ryots. No grant-in-aid was paid on account of such classes.

The progress of this voluntary phase of the campaign can be seen from the following statistics :

Month					No. of centres	No. of adults under instruction
May, 1938	..	..	..	..	6,477	100,328
June	..	..	..	..	10,216	157,296
July	..	..	..	..	7,057	111,741
August	..	..	..	..	5,900	98,036
September, 1938	..	..	..	..	6,821	121,695

The *second phase* of the campaign began in October 1938. At the beginning of this phase, Government sanctioned a grant of Rs. 80,000 for literacy work for the remaining six months of the financial year 1938-39. As the period required for making the adult literate was estimated to be three months, two sessions were held between September 1938 to March 1939. In the first session which concluded on 31st December 1938 there were 9,538 centres and 208,922 adults under instruction and in the second session ending 31st March 1939, there were 14,259 centres and 318,737 adults under instruction. Towards the end of the year Government announced that 4½ lakhs of adults had been made literate.

The campaign was conducted by a Provincial Mass Literacy Committee appointed by Government. Below this came the District Committees of which the Collector was the President and the important officials and non-officials in the district were the members. Under it came sub-divisional committees and finally the centre or local committees for adult literary work.

The test of literacy adopted for the campaign was simple. It consisted of reading a simple passage, writing a few words, and counting a few numbers ; and an adult required about three months to attain this literacy standard. At the end of the literacy course, the adult student was given this literacy test by an officer of the Education Department and, on passing, he was admitted to the post-literacy course where he read a few simple books and heard stories, poems and some lectures on hygiene, agriculture, household and bazar accounts, geography, history, local self-government, duties to family, cattle diseases, weights

The Mass Literacy Committee published a set of primers for the literacy course, a set of readers for the post-literacy course and a fortnightly magazine for those who had newly become literate. Besides, the Committee also published several dozen of simple books specially written for the new literates.

One special feature of the Bihar campaign was very interesting. In each district one *thana* (i.e. Taluka) was selected for intensive literacy work and the object was to make all male adults between the ages of 15-40 literate within a period of six months. A special officer of the Education Department was placed in charge of the intensive area.

In the second year of the campaign 1939-40 the work was continued further in the light of the experience gained in the first year. One *thana* in each district was again selected for intensive work and literacy activities in the *thana* selected in the earlier year was continued for three months more with a view to preventing lapse into illiteracy. Moreover, 4,000 village libraries were organized with the same object in view.

Two new movements were started during this year—the *Make Your Home Literate* campaign and the *Literacy Day*. The first of these was based on the idea of home-classes conducted mainly by students to make the members of their own family, especially the women, literate; and the object of the second was to generate enthusiasm and organise propaganda by celebrating a *Literacy Day* all over the Province. The first Bihar Day was held on 14th July 1939 when meetings were held in every part of the Province and medals and certificates were awarded to good adult education workers.

The progress of the campaign can be seen from a few relevant statistics. There were 18,878 literacy centres at which 1,168,325 persons received instruction, including 455,553 who were in the post-literacy class. As many as 413,482 became literate during the year as against 4½ lakhs during the previous year. The number of literacy workers was 20,567 of whom 5,267 were primary school teachers and the rest were non-teachers. Educational institutions were responsible for making 18,155 persons literate and the number of student volunteers was 6,783. The total cost of the campaign during the year was a little over Rs. 2 lakhs of which Rs. 1,80,510 was met from Government funds and the rest from public contributions. Literacy work in the jails continued to make steady progress. During the year 594 prisoners in Central jails succeeded in passing Upper Primary and Lower Primary examinations after 2 years study. In Gaya Jail over 4,211 prisoners attended literacy class and out of these 2,363 could read, write and work out simple arithmetic. The Government announced in November, 1939, that no illiterate person should be appointed as a village *chaukidar* after March 31, 1940, and this produced the desired effect and during the year, 9,000 *chaukidars* attained literacy.¹

This literacy campaign was really organised on a grand scale and Dr. Frank Laubach rightly describes it as “the most impressive Government campaign conducted in India in modern times”.² Unfortunately the tempo of the campaign slackened very considerably under the “Section-93” Government (1940-45). It is, however, some consolation that the movement was not allowed to die and, during this period, about 2 lakhs of adults were made

¹ This account of the Bihar campaigns (1938-40) given here is based on articles published in the *Indian Journal of Adult Education* (1940-47).

literate every year and about Rs. 2 lakhs were spent on the campaign annually. This amount was raised to Rs. 3 lakhs due to the rise in the cost of living in the later years.

An interesting activity of this interim period was the *Refresher Campaign* started in September 1944. The object of this campaign was to examine whether the adults who were made literate in the earlier campaigns of 1938-41 had retained the literacy and to give a further literacy course to those who may be found to have lapsed into illiteracy. It is a pity that the detailed results of this campaign are not published. They would have enabled us to find out how durable is the literacy attained in such campaigns.

When the Congress assumed office again in 1946, Acharya Badrinath Varma, the Education Minister, reviewed the whole position and drew up a fresh five-year-plan of adult education which was introduced with effect from 1947-48. It aims at making 2 lakhs of adults literate every year.

(b) *Literacy Campaign in the Province of Bombay (1937-47)* : Immediately on assumption of office, the Congress Ministry in Bombay appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Clifford Manshardt to enquire into the problem of adult education (1937). On receipt of its report, a *Provincial Board for Adult Education* was appointed and its powers and duties were defined as follows :—

(a) To submit for the approval of Government a programme for the spread of Adult Education in the Province.

(b) To conduct propaganda for the removal of illiteracy and other forms of ignorance.

(c) To encourage and supervise the publication of suitable literature for adults.

(d) To consider the schemes referred to it by Government or submitted by private bodies for the spread of adult education.

(e) To advise Government as to the best manner of aiding the existing Adult Education classes and organizing the work of such classes on a voluntary basis.

(f) To advise Government as to the best methods of harnessing the enthusiasm and spirit for national service among the educated youths of the Province for the drive against mass illiteracy.

(g) To suggest means for co-ordinating adult education among villages with other forms of rural reconstruction.

(h) To advise Government on the question of implementing various recommendations made by the Adult Education Committee and,

(i) To collect funds.

The first large-scale literacy campaign in the Province was started in the *City of Bombay* under the auspices of a Committee

appointed by the Provincial Board for Adult Education and the Social Service League, Bombay. This campaign was planned on an experimental basis. It was to last for a month only and the object in organising the campaign in April was to harness the volunteer services of students in schools and colleges during the summer vacation.

The campaign was started with a great deal of propaganda in order to create the atmosphere necessary for its success. This was so phenomenal that Government decided to take over the campaign and place it on a permanent footing. With this object in view, Government formed the Bombay City Adult Education Committee and gave it a grant of Rs. 50,000 a year. A special literacy officer to see to the day-to-day working of the campaign was also appointed. This was a laudable action because it gave continuity and greater scope to a campaign which was started on an experimental basis only.

The work was progressing very satisfactorily when the Congress Ministry resigned and this great project, which was started only a short time before with so much zeal and enthusiasm, had to be put in the background for the time being. The work, however, was continued by the "Section-93" regime. The scheme did not expand, but it did not die out either. With the end of the war, however, the work was again taken up with vigour and to make up for the lost time, as it were, the Committee evolved, in 1946, a Ten-Year-Plan whose object was to make most of the adults in the age-group of 15-40 literate.¹

The following extract from the progress report of the Committee for the year 1946-47 shows its progress between 1939 and 1947 :—

From Table 'G' showing the progressive development of the literacy campaign in the City,² it will be seen that as a result of the Committee's organised drive during the past eight years, nearly 121,000 adults were made literate at an aggregate cost of nearly Rs. 706,000 in round figures. This works out to a per capita cost of Rs. 5-13-0. Out of the total literates, 98,000 were men and 23,000 were women. The number trained in the Committee's classes was nearly 115,000 and in private classes nearly 6,000. It will be also interesting to note that the Committee enrolled nearly 195,000 adults during all these eight years.

¹ This plan was launched in 1948 and at present the literacy work in the city is more or less carried on according to it.

² This is a synopsis of the 'Table G' referred to here :—

Year.	No. of adults enrolled.			No. of adults made literate.		
	M	W	T	M	W	T
1939-40 ..	17,199	2,339	19,538	13,465	1,623	15,088
1940-41 ..	16,630	5,707	22,337	12,058	3,478	15,536
1941-42 ..	15,378	5,589	20,967	7,198	2,115	10,008
1942-43 ..	21,946	6,182	28,128	9,882	2,455	12,337
1943-44 ..	15,836	5,878	21,214	11,156	3,074	14,230
1944-45 ..	13,747	4,184	17,931	9,633	2,636	12,269
1945-46 ..	22,353	5,791	25,575	15,437	3,741	19,178
1946-47 ..	27,538	5,723	32,261	19,148	3,055	22,203

Out of them 121,000 as mentioned above, *i.e.*, about 60 per cent could satisfy the literacy test. The remaining 74,000 adults who might have either left their classes before the test was held or might have failed to satisfy the technique of the test, must be also considered to have culturally gained a great deal. The smattering of reading and writing which they acquired may, for the sake of argument, be regarded as lost. But the impressions made on their minds by the general information given, films and slides shown and the community life enjoyed are not lost. There is no doubt that these impressions must have created in these men and women an attitude which is sure to change their outlook towards the education of their children and to ensure, in a larger measure, their co-operation in the enforcement of the compulsory education scheme launched by the Bombay Municipality.

The Bombay City Adult Education Committee has been trying a unique and large-scale experiment for the solution of such a huge problem as the liquidation of illiteracy from the adult population of the City. This experiment is based on the co-operation of the Government, the Local Bodies, and the Public. The figures quoted in the foregoing pages testify to the measure of success it has achieved. The following figures of financing the experiment also support the above statement..... The Committee spent approximately Rs. 706,000 on the campaign during the last eight years as against its total receipt of Rs. 7,43,000. It will be interesting to note how the amount of the total receipts was made up.

Government of Bombay	.. ..	4,24,000	57 per cent.
Bombay Municipality	.. ..	81,000	11 „ „
Bombay Port Trust	.. ..	28,000	4 „ „
Public Contributions	.. ..	2,10,000	28 „ „
Total		7,43,000	100 „ „

The Committee conducts a large number of post-literacy classes and a fortnightly paper for the new literates. It has also brought out some text-books for adult classes and other useful reading material.

The literacy work in the *mofussil areas* did not thrive as well. The first Provincial Board for Adult Education was an executive body and was authorised to register, through its Divisional and District Committees, the persons (or associations) who were desirous of doing literacy work. Rules for the registration of such workers (or associations) and grant-in-aid to literacy classes were soon sanctioned by Government.

According to these rules, "literacy" was defined as ability to read a paragraph in the primary second book with understanding, and to write answers to four or five simple questions. Any registered worker or association conducting an adult education class was eligible for the following Grant-in-aid under the rules proposed by the Board and sanctioned by Government.

(a) A basic maintenance grant of Rs. 5 per month and Rs. 2 per illiterate adult made literate or a capitation grant of Rs. 4 per adult made literate, to be awarded at the option of the workers, and

(b) In addition, a non-recurring grant for equipment equal to the cost of articles purchased but not exceeding Rs. 60.

A large number of adult literacy classes were started under this scheme.

In addition, the Board was also experimenting with the scheme of *home classes*.

i.e., the system under which pupils in primary and secondary schools are made to teach the illiterate members of their families. Some encouraging results were obtained, particularly in making women literate.

Unfortunately, there were some cases of fraud and these instances led the Board to recommend to Government that the amount of grant-in-aid should be reduced to As. 10 per adult made literate. This was a drastic suggestion no doubt; but it was based on several assumptions. Firstly, the Board felt that the spirit of public service in the country could be relied upon to urge the registered workers to take up this work as a labour of love. Secondly, it was felt that the amount of As. 10 was quite adequate if the system of home-classes was adopted. Thirdly, it was felt that a reduction in the grant will not tempt people to defraud Government by maintaining a bogus attendance at adult classes and in similar ways. But as events turned out, the Board's expectations were sadly belied and this reduction in grant had the contrary result of proving an effective damper on the adult literacy movement and a number of classes came to be closed down. This downward trend was further assisted by the War and by the resignations of the Congress Ministry. The number of Adult Education classes, therefore, came down to the lowest point in 1940-41. Government thereupon restored the old grant of Rs. 4 per adult made literate, converted the Provincial Board for Adult Education into a purely advisory body and transferred the executive work connected with literacy campaigns to the Education Department. This improved the situation to some extent but until the Congress Ministry came to power again, the work made very slow progress. The following statistics tell their own tale:—

Year.	No. of classes on 31st March.	No. of adults on roll.	No. of illiterates made literate.	Grant paid.	Remarks.
1937-38 ..	240	8,078	Nil	75,801	
1938-39 ..	432	13,766	112	19,798	
1939-40 ..	1,085	58,378	13,208	86,558	
1940-41 ..	177	9,783	2,829	3,800	The fall is due to the reduction in grant from Rs. 4 per adult made literate to annas 10.
1941-42 ..	658	23,567	6,766	38,736	The rise is due to the restoration of grant to Rs. 4 per adult made literate.
1942-43 ..	511	22,153	8,315	40,566	
1943-44 ..	492	14,530	6,810	31,018	
1944-45 ..	373	9,460	4,667	20,866	
1945-46 ..	733	18,660	9,895	46,910	
1946-47 ..	1,818	48,577	22,300	1,32,800	

Of the other developments in the adult education programme in mofussil areas, the following deserve some notice :—

(i) *Continuation Classes* : A scheme for continuation classes was sanctioned by Government in 1944. Under this scheme, the education for literacy is divided into two stages : the first stage lasts for about 4 months and is followed by a simple literacy test. The second stage—which is the stage of the continuation class—begins after an adult has passed the literacy test and lasts for about six months. A more difficult test is prescribed at the end of the second stage. The continuation course is so organized that an adult who goes through it is able to read and understand common books and newspapers and is not likely to lapse into illiteracy again.

(ii) *Scheme of Home Classes* : The First Provincial Board of Adult Education had recommended that the Scheme of Home classes should be adopted in the Province of Bombay. The original idea was evolved in China and two articles written on it by Dr. Hengchih Tao and published in the *Harijan* in 1939 started the movement in India. The Provincial Board for Adult Education saw the immense possibilities of this movement, particularly for making adult women literate, and recommended to Government that the scheme should be adopted on as large a scale as possible. The weak points of the movement were two : the interest of the pupil teachers waned very quickly ; and the interest of the adults themselves waned very often because the pupil teachers could not adopt advanced methods of teaching. It was, therefore, decided to overcome these defects by providing prizes to the women who became literate, and to pupil teachers who taught them and paying some remuneration to the school teachers who had to supervise the work of the pupil teachers under them.

(iii) *The Scheme of Compact Areas for Adult Illiteracy* : The work of adult literacy classes did not develop quickly in rural areas. In 1945, therefore, Government took up the recommendation of the Manshardt Committee that literacy work should be organised in compact areas of 40-50 villages. It is more convenient to work in such a compact area than in isolated villages, because organization of propaganda, adult classes and their supervision becomes both easy and economical. In the first year five compact areas were selected and in each area a special officer was appointed to organise the work. His duties included framing of a programme of adult literacy, organisation of propaganda and classes, supervision of the work done and testing of the standard of attainment of new literates, making arrangements for the holding of continuation classes and starting village libraries and reading rooms. This arrangement made it possible to develop adult literacy work on a larger scale and at less cost. It worked very satisfactorily and, in 1946, the number of compact areas was increased to 19. Twenty-five new centres were added in 1947.¹

(iv) *Libraries and Reading Rooms* : In order to supplement the work of adult literacy, Government also sanctioned a scheme for organising reading rooms and libraries. It provides for a *Central Library* at Bombay, three *Regional Libraries* at Dharwar, Poona and Ahmedabad, *District and Taluka Libraries* at the headquarters of districts and talukas and for *village libraries and reading rooms* in the rural areas. All these libraries receive grants-in-aid from Government.

¹ Under the Five-Year Plan of Post-war Reconstruction, it is proposed to establish 30 more compact

(c) *Literacy Campaigns and Adult Education work in Mysore (1937-47)* : Mysore came into the field a little later but has been doing very creditable work ever since. The history of the adult education movement in the State is best told in the following words of Shri A. C. Deve Gowda, the Chief Executive Officer of the Mysore State Adult Education Council :—

1. *History* : The Mysore University Union launched a literacy campaign in 1940 in the City of Mysore and the Mysore State Literacy Council was formed in 1941. At first the work of the Council was mainly restricted to the removal of illiteracy but the rapidly changing conditions in the country called for a similar change in the aims and objectives of the Council. Accordingly the scope of the Council's work was enlarged from the mere removal of illiteracy to that of providing Adult Education in all its aspects and the name of the Council was changed to the Mysore State Adult Education Council.

2. *Administration and Organisation* : The Mysore State Adult Education Council consists of about 60-70 members and it meets two or three times a year to review the work, to pass the accounts and the budget, to lay down the general policy and to appoint an Executive Committee. The Executive Committee consists of 12 members and it ordinarily meets once a month and it is the chief executive body of the whole organisation. The administration is carried on by a Chief Executive Officer and three Divisional Officers the whole State being divided into three divisions for the purpose of administration. . . . There are 11 district officers in the State, one for each district, and one for each of the Cities of Mysore and Bangalore. In each district, there is an Organising Secretary and an Organiser, and in each taluk there is a Supervisor. The Deputy Commissioner is usually the President of the District Adult Education Committee and there is an Honorary Secretary.

3. *Literacy Classes* : One important activity of the Council is the organisation of literacy classes. The details of the work done so far are given in the following table :—

PROGRESS OF LITERACY CLASSES.

	1941-42.	1942-43.	1943-44.	1944-45.	1945-46.	1946-47.
1. Literacy classes ..	178	488	1,227	2,204	4,530	3,941
2. No. of Adults admitted	2,253	6,201	23,239	35,311	89,896	78,611
3. Number of Copies of 'Belaku' printed .	..	1,200	3,500	3,756	5,220	5,000
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
4. Government Grants	5,500	27,000	1,00,000	1,52,000	3,44,000	4,00,000
5. Income from the other sources ..	800	13,000	23,250	23,485	55,500	15,691
6. Total income ..	6,300	40,000	123,250	175,485	399,500	4,15,691

4. *Follow-Up Book Clubs* : At the end of the literacy course when the

to maintain the reading habit among the students. . . Each book-set contains books specially written in simple Kannada on various subjects of adult interest and printed in bold and attractive types. . .

6. *Rural Libraries* : If any Village Panchayet pays a sum of Rs. 30, the Council makes a grant of Rs. 70 and a small library is started. At the end of June 1948 there were 1,812 such libraries spread all over the State. . . .

8. *Publications* : The Mysore State Adult Education Council is one of the largest publishers of Kannada books in the whole of Karnataka. It publishes (a) *Literacy* text-books. . . (b) *Adult Education Series* : The Council has published so far 86 booklets in this series, each book containing about 24 to 32 pages on various subjects of adult interests . . . (c) "*Belaku*" *Weekly* : Nearly 6,000 copies of "*Belaku*" are printed every week and supplied free of cost to all our literacy classes and rural libraries. A Special New Year Number was also published in the form of a booklet with plenty of pictures. This paper contains a summary of the week's news written in easy style and printed in bold types. (d) *Pustaka Prapancha (Monthly)* : A monthly magazine called "*Pustaka Prapancha*" is published by the Council and a thousand copies are printed each month. This is modelled on the American Readers' Digest and contains summaries of interesting books and articles in Kannada and other languages and reviews of all new books in Kannada. It also contains some original articles on adult education, library science and topics of rural interest. This magazine is sent to all Rural Libraries which subscribe for it and it serves as a guide to the librarian in the selection of books for the library.

12. *Vidyapeeth* : The Council has started a Vidyapeeth (People's College) at Nanjangud on the model of the Danish Folk Schools. It is a residential institution where the adults are given a liberal education and brought into living touch with the changing times. The period of instruction is for 5 months, and the students receive training in practical and theoretical agriculture and also in cottage industries. At present 32 students are receiving instruction at the Vidyapeeth. *This is the only institution of its kind in the whole of India.* The Vidyapeeth is not only a People's College but it is also serving the purpose of a training institution for education workers. Last year 10 selected supervisors of the Adult Education Council were deputed for training at Vidyapeeth for a period of 3 months.¹

It would be evident from the foregoing review that the adult literacy work done in India between 1937-47 was superior in every way to that done at any earlier period in the history of Indian education. But it has to be admitted, even so, that it touched only the fringe of the problem. The largest number of adults were made literate in Bihar. But even here, Dr. Lanbach pointed out that

A study of Bihar's statistics reveals the enormous difficulty of making India literate. If Bihar continues as she is doing to teach 5 lakhs a year, it will take fifty years for her to make those literate who are living today. But meanwhile in fifty years the population will have increased fifteen millions. Besides this, two-third of the adults now living will be dead and a new batch of illiterates will need to be taught. So we must face a sobering fact. Bihar has far and away the finest record in India, but it is not enough even to hold her own !

Bombay which had more than 150 lakhs of illiterate adults and an annual increase of population estimated at about 3 lakhs was making less than a lakh of people literate every year! The figures hardly need any comment. It was, therefore, realised more and more, especially towards the end of the period under review, that mass literacy campaigns on an unprecedented scale would have to be organised if the problem of adult illiteracy was to be solved at an early date.¹ "Mass education", said Shri R. V. Parulekar, "must *pour* and not *trickle*."²

Secondly, it was also realised that these campaigns lose, rather than gain by being confined to mere literacy. Such a narrow concept makes the classes dull and drab and the problem of making the adults join them or continue to attend them becomes almost impossible. Moreover, the utility of the work also is considerably lessened. It was, therefore, generally agreed that, not only the *scale* but the *scope* of the movement also needs to be expanded and that adult education should aim at a *literacy of the whole personality* or training in good citizenship rather than at mere instruction in the three R's.

In spite of these limitations of scale and scope, the literacy campaigns of this period have played a very useful role in the history of mass education. It is through them that we were able to obtain an insight into the difficulties inherent in the problem and the methods by which they could be overcome. We now know much more than in 1937 about such problems as the methods of inducing the illiterate adults to attend literacy classes, adult psychology, special techniques required for teaching adults, adult interests and vocabularies, character of literature suitable for adults, methods of roping in voluntary agencies to further the cause, suitable curricula for adult classes, etc., etc. This experience is invaluable and, if fully utilised, can certainly form the successful foundation of the large-scale campaigns for the liquidation of illiteracy which shall have to be organised in the near future.

16. Education of the Harijans with special emphasis on the abolition of untouchability. The third distinctive contribution of the Congress Ministries was to take drastic measures for the

very early abolition of untouchability and to make special efforts for the spread of education in the midst of Harijans.

Reference has already been made to the great contribution that Gandhiji made to the cause of abolishing untouchability. It was mainly because of *his* insistence that the Congress pledged itself to abolish untouchability. But until 1937, it was never in power so that it could do little beyond carrying on propaganda in favour of the reform. The assumption of office in 1937, however, gave it the long-desired opportunity to take legal steps to remove all the social disabilities of Harijans which arose out of the concept of untouchability. For instance, the Bombay Harijan (Removal of Disabilities) Act, 1946¹, penalises a person if he observes untouchability.

It is a brief but forcible law. Section 3 of this Act gives the rights of the Harijans in the following words :—

Notwithstanding anything contained in any instrument or any law, custom or usage to the contrary, no Harijan shall merely on the ground that he is a Harijan—

- (a) be ineligible for office under any authority constituted under any law ; or
- (b) be prevented from—

- (i) having access to or using any river, stream, spring, well, tank, cistern, water-tap or other watering place, or any bathing place, burial or cremation ground, any sanitary convenience, any road or pathway which the members of all other castes and classes of Hindus have a right to use or have access to ;
- (ii) having access to or using any public conveyance licensed by the Provincial Government or any local authority to ply for hire ;
- (iii) having access to or using any building or place used for charitable or public purposes maintained wholly or partially out of the revenues of the Province or the funds of a local authority ;
- (iv) having access to a place of public amusement or a place of public entertainment ;
- (v) having access to a shop to which the members of all other castes and classes of Hindus are ordinarily admitted ;
- (vi) having access to or using any place set apart or maintained for the use of Hindus generally but not for the use of any particular section or class thereof ;
- (vii) enjoying any benefit under a charitable trust created for the benefit of Hindus generally but not for the benefit of any particular section or class thereof.

Under Section 4 all discrimination against Harijans on the grounds of caste is prohibited. Under sections 5 and 6 courts and local authorities are prohibited from recognizing any custom or usage which imposed any disability on the

Harijans. Under Section 7 any person who interferes with the exercise of his rights by a Harijan (as declared under Section 3) or makes a discrimination against a Harijan on grounds of caste is declared to be liable for punishment with fine which may extend to Rs. 200 or with imprisonment or with both. Under Sections 8 and 9 an offence under this act is declared cognizable and may be punished in special cases with imprisonment which may extend to six months or to a fine of Rs. 500 or both.

Mention must also be made of The Bombay Harijan Temple Entry Act, 1947. This Act defines a temple as "a place by whatever name known and to whomsoever belonging which is used as a place of religious byworship custom, usage or otherwise by the members of the Hindu community or any section thereof and include all land appurtenant thereto and subsidiary shrines attached to any such place". The Harijans are given the same right of worship in a temple thus defined as any member of the Hindu community or any section thereof may have. Prevention of a Harijan from exercising any right conferred by the Act, or molestation or obstruction or causing obstruction or attempting to cause obstruction to a Harijan in the exercise of any such rights shall, on conviction, be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to six months or with fine or with both. The Provincial Government is also authorised to direct the suspension or resumption of the whole or any part of a grant of land or money from Government which is being received by the manager or a trustee of a temple convicted of an offence punishable under this Act, notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in any instrument or any law, custom or usage.

Similar legislation was also passed in other Provinces. The effect of such legislation, backed up by all the prestige and propaganda of the Congress can easily be imagined; and it can be safely said that the movement for the abolition of untouchability made far greater progress in this period than at any time in the past.

Apart from this work for the removal of untouchability, the Congress Ministries took vigorous steps to spread education among the Harijans and to improve their social and economic position. These measures included the abolition of *special* schools and the admission of Harijans to common schools on terms of perfect equality; award of scholarships; grant of books and educational equipment; total or partial exemption from examination fees or grant of subsidies for them; exemption from tuition fees; reservation of seats in educational institutions (like Medical or Engineering Colleges) where such reservations are necessary; conduct of hostels under the control of Government and payment of grants-in-aid to those which are privately organised; special facilities to Harijan teachers; conduct of special vocational courses in occupations (like tanning) commonly practised by the Harijans, etc. Secondly, steps were also taken to improve their general economic position by reservation of

recruitment to public services by lowering the minimum qualifications prescribed to some extent; grant of special facilities in the pursuit of their vocations, etc. Thirdly, seats on all public bodies from the central legislature down to the Village Panchayat were reserved for Harijans and special care was taken to see that Harijans were adequately represented on all the educational bodies and committees. As a combined result of all these measures, there was a great social and political awakening in the midst of Harijans and the progress of their education was far more rapid than at any time in the past.

These attempts of the Congress to ameliorate the condition of Harijans were supplemented, in their own way, by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and the new leadership among Harijans who followed his guidance. Dr. Ambedkar became the Labour Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General in 1942 and it was due mainly to his efforts that the Central Government accepted the scheme of giving scholarships to backward class students. This was the first instance, since the Decentralization Order of 1870, when the Government of India directly undertook an activity for the encouragement of education among the Harijans. The object of this scheme, which was introduced in 1944-45, was to give scholarships to Harijan students who would be pursuing their education beyond the Matriculation stage in scientific and technological subjects in India and the expenditure on it was initially limited to Rs. 3 lakhs a year.¹

It may also be stated that it is not only the Harijans that have received this special encouragement at the hands of the Congress Ministries. Similar encouragement has also been given to the Aboriginal and Hill Tribes and other Backward Communities.

For a detailed review of the reforms carried out by the Congress Ministries in order to improve the condition of the Backward classes in general and the Harijans in particular, it is not necessary to narrate the events separately for each Province. The reforms were more or less similar in each Province and an

¹ Since Congress came into power at the Centre, the scheme has been extended. For the year 1949-50, the Government of India have enlarged the scope of this scheme. Students desiring to pursue courses beyond the Matriculation stage, belonging to (a) Scheduled Castes, (b) Aboriginal and Hill Tribes, and (c) Backward Classes, recognised as such by Provincial Governments, will be eligible

All-India picture of the situation can be easily obtained from the following account of the work in Madras given by Shri C. Rajagopalachari, who was the Premier of the Province in the first Congress Ministry :—

When Congress ministries took up the responsibility of provincial administration, the problems that they had to tackle were many and heavy. Yet no small attention was paid to the problems arising out of the social disabilities and the poverty of the Scheduled Castes. Here are important facts about one province—Madras—where the social disabilities are heaviest. . . . Apart from their share of the benefit that the Scheduled Classes derived from the general expenditure on education and public health, the following was special additional expenditure on the Scheduled Classes through the separate department charged with that particular work.

	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
On Education	7,17,872	7,78,764	8,49,022
On Public Health	1,60,174	1,70,680	1,29,452
Total ..	8,78,046	9,49,444	9,78,474

This is exclusive of salary-expenditure for the special provincial and district administrative staff employed for the purpose.

The following table gives the number of scholars of the Scheduled Classes in the various stages of education in 1939.

Primary Schools.		Middle Schools.		High Schools.		Colleges.	
Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
247,513	76,392	9,362	1,855	1,738	105	172	13

Special schools for Scheduled Classes numbered 1,178 with a strength of 48,947. Grants were refused to any institution which would not admit pupils on the ground of the caste or community to which they belonged or which were so situated as to bring about such exclusion.

Fee remissions on a very liberal scale, and scholarships, boarding grants and allowances for books were granted to enable poor students of these classes to prosecute their studies and pursue industrial and technical courses of training.

All students belonging to the Scheduled Castes were given full exemption from payment of any fees whatsoever in university courses.

The following scholarships were granted to pupils belonging to the Scheduled Classes :

1. 62 residential and 3,159 non-residential scholarships in secondary and elementary schools,
2. 22 scholarships in arts colleges, and
3. 180 scholarships to students undergoing professional, commercial, industrial and other courses of training.

In addition to the above scholarships given in the special department working for Scheduled Castes, the ordinary education department granted 17 scholarships in colleges and 128 scholarships in secondary schools to pupils of the Scheduled Classes.

Five hostels were run by the special department for pupils of the Scheduled Castes in Madras and three other towns. There were, besides, 7 aided hostels. Besides these the Harijan Sevak Sangh received grants towards the maintenance of 15 hostels under its control.

One out of every 12 appointments made to the provincial or subordinate service is reserved for members of the Scheduled Classes. Certain special concessions were granted to members of the Scheduled Classes in the matter of qualification for appointment. The minimum standard attained in the school-final examination to qualify for appointment to subordinate posts was lowered for candidates belonging to these classes and the age-limit was raised to 27, the age-limit for other communities being 25. Scheduled Class candidates who were graduates of a university or had secured an Intermediate certificate were exempted from all age restrictions for recruitment to the public services.

There were in 1939 nine superior 'gazetted' officers belonging to the so-called 'untouchable' castes, and 29 non-gazetted officers on various salaries above Rs. 100 per month. There are numerous persons belonging to these castes who occupy posts carrying smaller salaries.

As a result of the Poona pact, 30 seats in the legislative assembly out of 146 general seats were reserved for Scheduled Classes. In local boards and municipalities 25 per cent of seats were reserved for persons belonging to the Scheduled Classes, Muslims, Anglo-Indians, Christians and women. Members belonging to the Scheduled Classes might also contest and capture any number of non-reserved seats.

Three measures were passed by the Madras legislature for the amelioration of the social status of the Scheduled Classes when Congress was in office. The Removal of Civil Disabilities Act (Madras Act No. XXI of 1938) provides that no Harijan shall be disabled, merely by reason of caste, from enjoying any social or public amenity open to caste-Hindus. It lays down that no court of law shall recognize any such disability even if imposed by custom. The Malabar Temple-Entry Act (Madras Act No. XX of 1938) provides for the throwing open of major temples to the excluded classes if the step is favoured by majority-opinion among the voters of the area. A proposal was made by a prominent Harijan legislator to extend the Malabar Act to other districts. But the Congress government at the risk of offending his amour-propre decided to enact a more effective measure which enabled the throwing open of temples without the trouble of a plebiscite. The Temple Entry Authorization and Indemnity Act (Madras Act No. XXII of 1939) authorized the trustees or other authorities in charge of any temple in any district in the province to throw it open for worship to the so-called untouchables and to all other classes hitherto excluded if in their opinion the worshippers were not opposed to such innovation. It indemnified such trustees or other authorities from civil or criminal liability. This law was a revolutionary blow that required no mean measure of courage and determination. It could easily have resulted in the immediate breaking-up of the Government. But the strength of the Congress was enough to bear down all opposition. The great temples of Madura, Tanjore, and Palani in the most orthodox southern districts were thrown open under the new law and the Scheduled Castes now enter and share in divine service performed therein. The Congress withdrew from government in 1939 and the throwing open of other big temples was stopped.¹

17. Post-War Development Plans. We have so far dealt with the actual achievements of this period. These may be

considered to be creditable enough in view of the very short time that the popular ministries were in office, and the difficulties created by War. But the more distinctive feature of this period was *not* actual achievements, but the preparation of plans for reconstruction of education in future. In no other period in the history of Indian education was so much time and attention given to the preparation of plans for the comprehensive reconstruction of education in general and for the development of a national system of education in particular. These plans were prepared in both the circles—official and non-official—and at both the levels—Central and Provincial. Among them, the following plans deserve a special mention :—

(a) *All-India Plans*

- (i) Plan of educational reconstruction prepared by the National Planning Committee ;
- (ii) Plan of educational reconstruction prepared by the All-India Educational Conference ; and
- (iii) Plan of Post-War Educational Development in India prepared by the Central Advisory Board of Education.

(b) *Individual Government Plans*

- (i) Five-year Plan of educational reconstruction prepared by the Government of India ;
- (ii) Five-year Plan of Post-war development prepared by all Provincial Governments ; and
- (iii) Five-year Plan of Post-war development prepared by leading Indian States.

We shall now briefly notice these plans in the following four paragraphs.

18. The Plan of Educational Reconstruction prepared by the National Planning Committee. The National Planning Committee was constituted in 1938 under the Chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to prepare plans for the reconstruction of all walks of national life. It prepared and has since published a plan of educational reconstruction in India which deserves some notice.

Two sub-committees were appointed by the National Planning Committee to report on education. The first Committee was under the chairmanship of Sir S. Radhakrishnan and was to report on *General Education* and the second Committee was under the chairmanship of Dr. M. N. Saha and was to report on *Technical Educational and Developmental Research*. The reports of both these sub-committees have now been published (1948) with

OUTLINE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM PROPOSED IN THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE.

Kindergarten

Primary Schools
(Free and Compulsory)
Age—7 to 14 or 15 years

Subjects of Study to be the same as in the Wardha Scheme *minus* vocational education, *plus* algebra; abolition of foreign units of weight, length, and coinage from arithmetic; medium of instruction to be the mother tongue; instruction in different subjects in the general way and not centering round any art or craft as recommended in the Wardha Scheme

Technical or Vocational Schools to be
considered as Continuation Schools

(Free and Compulsory)

Theoretical as well as part-time (or whole-time) practical training to be given in these Schools. Students may be apprenticed in factories, workshops, or smaller establishments; may receive allowances in later stages, if apprenticed. Contents of the Curriculum to be drawing and artistic design (if necessary), sciences appertaining to the art or the industry concerned, literature, accounting and book-keeping, economics, cost-calculations, civics, physical exercises and gymnastics. Duration of the Courses to be 3 to 5 years.

Secondary Schools.
Free only for the meritorious students of the Primary Schools

3 to 4 years' courses

Curriculum:—Arts and Science subjects, a foreign language (preferably English) but mother-tongue remains the medium of instruction, general instruction in civics, history, economics, political science, physical exercises and gymnastics

Factories, Workshops, Independent Establishments

Refresher Courses in
different appropriate
Institutions

Teachers' Training
Schools
(2 to 3 yrs.' courses)

Law, Medicine and other professional schools
(3 to 5 yrs.' courses)

Engineering and Technical Institutions of Polytechnique nature
(4 yrs.' courses)

Universities for pure Arts and Sciences
(3 to 4 yrs.' courses)

Factories and Workshops

Post-Graduate Schools

Post-graduate studies

Refresher Courses

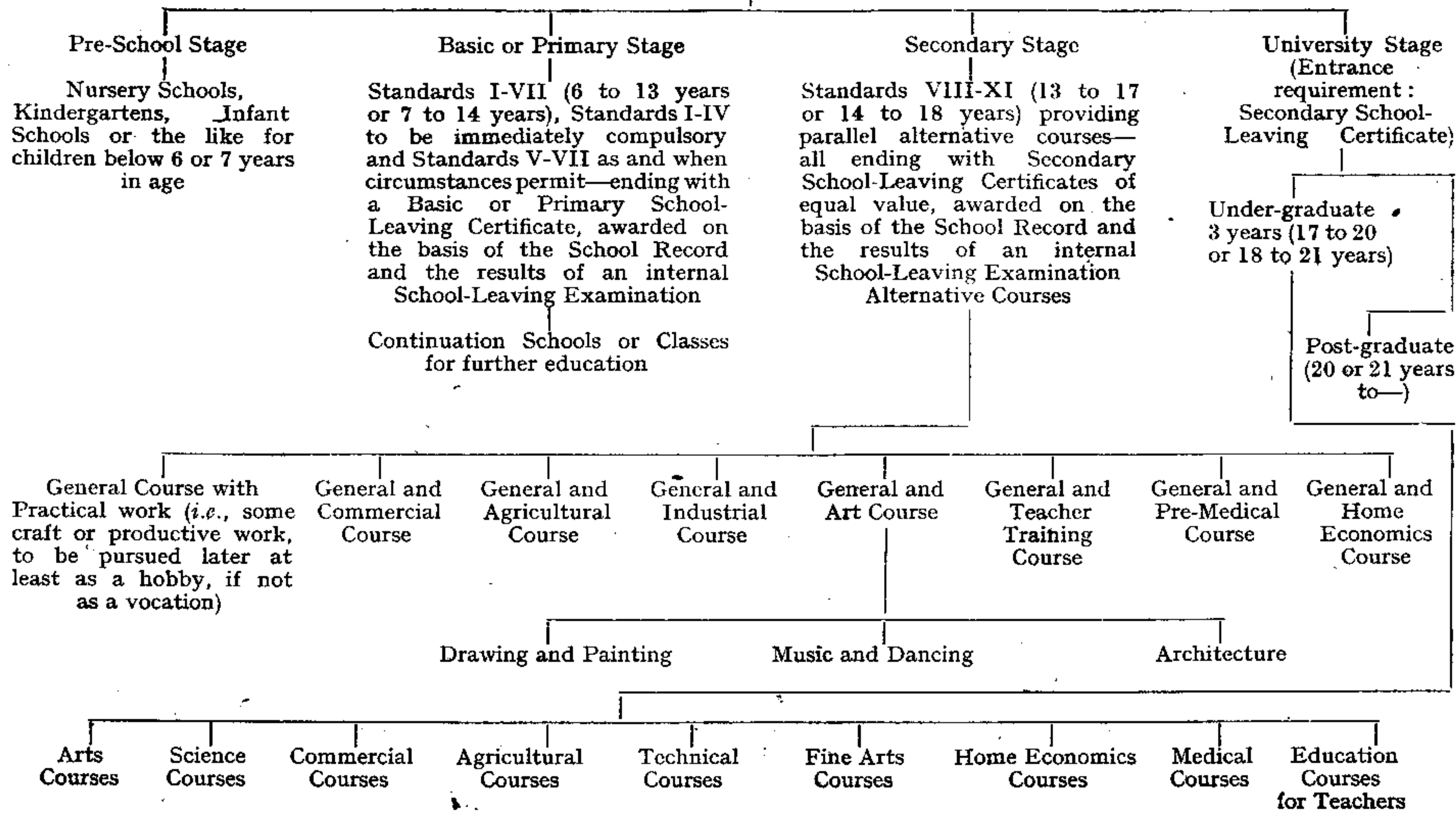
(a) the decisions of the National Planning Committee thereon, (b) a report 'of the Priorities' Sub-committee on education, (c) a summary of developments in education since the sub-committees submitted their reports, and (d) an Introduction. (The last two documents are by Shri K. T. Shah—the General Secretary of the Committee.) The final picture of a national system of education as it emerges from a study of all these documents (which unfortunately are not well-coordinated) is necessarily one of a broad outline only, as the task of filling in details was expected to be undertaken later on by appropriate agencies. We, therefore, do not propose to give any detailed summary of the plan here. The diagrammatic representation on p. 831 will give an idea of the national system of education as conceived by the Committee.

19. Plan of Educational Reconstruction prepared by the All-India Educational Conference. Some attention to the problem was also given by the All-India Educational Conference which prepared a skeleton scheme, for the organisation of national education. Shri K. S. Vakil, who was the chairman of the sub-committee appointed to draft the scheme, writes as follows :—

The Wardha Education Scheme, the Wood and Abbott Report, and several such schemes for the reconstruction of education which were then under discussion were considered by the All-India Education Conference held in Bombay in December, 1938, and a committee was appointed by it to prepare a complete scheme of national education. The scheme prepared by the committee under the chairmanship of the present writer was made the main theme for discussion at the All-India Education Conference held at Lucknow in December, 1939, and was adopted by the Conference with slight changes.¹ (The scheme adopted is given on p. 833)

20. Post-War Plan of Educational Development, 1944. The Central Advisory Board of Education had engaged itself, ever since its revival in 1935, in examining critically one aspect of Indian education after another. By 1943, therefore, it had reached a stage when it could consolidate all its findings and prepare a comprehensive plan of educational development in India. This idea was given a further impetus by the official drive for planning that started at this time. All Governments in India were now required to prepare plans of Post-War Development and, as a part of the general scheme, the Central Advisory Board of Education also was called upon to prepare a plan of post-war

SCHEME OF NATIONAL EDUCATION



educational development and submit it to the Executive Council of the Governor-General for consideration. Accordingly, the Board submitted a detailed report on *Post-War Educational Development in India*, commonly known as the *Sargent Report*, in 1944. As the first official attempt to plan a national system of education for India, it deserves a careful study.

The *object* of the plan is *to create in India, in a period of not less than forty years, the same standard of educational attainments as had already been attained in England*. With this end in view, it provides for—

- (a) Pre-Primary education for children between 3 and 6 years of age ;
- (b) Universal, compulsory, and free Primary or Basic education for all children between the ages of 6 and 14, divided into the Junior Basic (6-11) and Senior Basic (11-14) stages ;
- (c) High School education for six years for selected children between the ages of 11 and 17 ;
- (d) A university course of three years beginning after the present Intermediate Examination for selected students ;
- (e) Technical, commercial, and art education for full-time and part-time students on an adequate scale ;
- (f) The liquidation of adult illiteracy and the development of a public libraries system in about 20 years ;
- (g) Full provision for the proper training of teachers required for the implementing and continuation of the scheme ;
- (h) The organisation of compulsory physical education, medical inspection followed by after treatment, and provision of milk and mid-day meals for undernourished children ;
- (i) The creation of employment bureaus ;
- (j) The education of the physically and mentally handicapped children ; and
- (k) Social and recreational activities on a fairly liberal scale.

In summing up its recommendations on the subject of *Pre-Primary Education*, the Report observes :

. . . Nursery Schools and classes should be invariably staffed with women teachers who have received special training for this work. Pre-Primary education should in all cases be free. While it may not be feasible to make attendance compulsory, no efforts should be spared to persuade parents to send their children to school voluntarily, particularly in areas where housing conditions are unsatisfactory and/or mothers are accustomed to go out to work. The main object of education at this stage is to give young children social experience rather than formal instruction.¹

For *primary education* the Report has adopted the scheme of Basic Education with some modifications. It says :—

Basic (Primary and Middle) education, as envisaged by the Central Advisory Board, embodies many of the educational ideas contained in the original Wardha Scheme, though it differs from it in certain important particulars. The main principle of “learning through activity” has been endorsed by educationists all over the world. At the lower stages the activity will take many forms, leading gradually up to a basic craft or crafts suited to local conditions. So far as possible the whole of the curriculum will be harmonised with this general conception. The three R’s by themselves can no longer be regarded as an adequate equipment for efficient citizenship. The Board, however, are unable to endorse the view that education at any stage and particularly in the lowest stages can or should be expected to pay for itself through the sale of articles produced by the pupils. The most which can be expected in this respect is that sales should cover the cost of the additional materials and equipment required for practical work. . . . On leaving (the school), the pupil should be prepared to take his place in the community as a worker and as a future citizen. He should also be inspired with the desire to continue his education through such means as a national system of education may place at its disposal. With this end in view the Senior Basic School should afford the widest possible opportunities for those corporate activities including physical training and organised games, which are essential to supplement the instruction given in the class-room.²

“The function of the *High School*” says the Report, “is to cater for those children who are well above the average in ability”.³ It will, therefore, only admit pupils selected on the basis of “abilities, aptitudes, and general promise”. The selection will take place at the age of 11+ when the Junior Basic course would have been over. The Report estimates that about 20 per cent of the children attending Junior Basic schools will be admitted to High Schools. Every child entering a High School shall remain under compulsion until the age of 14+. Even after this period, steps are to be taken to see that children are not withdrawn from the school before the completion of the course.

The High Schools will charge adequate fees. But 50 per cent of the pupils will be provided with free studentships or similar concessions and poverty shall not be allowed to be a bar

¹ pp. 16-17.

to the education of a deserving child. A pupil who does not happen to be selected shall not ordinarily be allowed to enter a High School. But "the Board would not object to places being provided for such children on the condition that these are in addition to those required for children selected on the ground of ability and that the parents concerned are required to pay the *whole cost of the education provided*. It would appear inequitable to spend *public money* on providing higher education for those who have not shown that they are likely to take full advantage of it".¹

The aim of High School education is defined by the Report in the following words :—

High School education should on no account be considered simply as a preliminary to University education, but as a stage complete in itself. . . . While it will remain a very important function of the High Schools to pass on their most able pupils to Universities or other institutions of equivalent standard, the large majority of High School leavers should receive an education that will fit them for direct entry into occupations and professions . . . though a certain percentage of them may be expected to require further training for a period of one to three years, either full-time or part-time, in order to qualify themselves for posts that require special skill.²

The reorganised High Schools, according to the Report should be of two main types—the Academic and the Technical.

The Academic High School will impart instruction in the Arts and pure Sciences ; while the Technical High School will provide training in the applied sciences and industrial and commercial subjects. In both types the course in the Junior departments covering the present Middle stage will be very much the same and there will be a common core of the 'humanities' throughout. Art and Music should form an integral part of the curriculum in both and all girls should take a course in domestic science. . . . Transfer from one type to the other should be made as easy as possible at any rate up to the end of the Junior courses . . . In smaller centres which can only be served economically by single High Schools, the individual Schools should be required to offer as wide a choice of courses as possible. In rural areas . . . an agricultural bias should be given to the curriculum.³

The medium of instruction in *all* High Schools should be the mother-tongue of the pupils. English should be a compulsory second language.

The list of subjects to be taught in both the types of High School is given. The list is suggestive and it is not intended that every pupil should be taught all the subjects. Subjects common to both the types : (1) The mother-tongue, (2) English,

¹ p. 18.

² p. 20.

³ pp. 20-1.

(3) Modern languages, (4) History (Indian and World), (5) Geography (Indian and World), (6) Mathematics, (7) Science, (8) Economics, (9) Agriculture, (10) Art, (11) Music, (12) Physical Training. In the Academic High School Classical Languages and Civics are added to the common list. In the Technical High Schools the Science subjects are to be studied more intensively. Technological subjects, such as wood and metal work, elementary engineering, measured drawing, etc., and commercial subjects, like book-keeping, short-hand, type-writing, accountancy, commercial practice, etc., are also to be added to the common list. In the case of girls, among other subjects, domestic science should be one of the options.

The Report points out certain defects in the present state of affairs in *Indian Universities*. The gravest of these is their failure to relate their activities sufficiently closely to the practical needs of the Community as a whole. There is no systematic attempt on their part to adjust the output to the capacity of the employment market to absorb it. A great deal too much importance is attached to examinations, and the examinations themselves put a premium on book learning of a narrow kind at the expense of original thinking and real scholarship. In the absence of any proper selection beyond what is provided by an admittedly easy matriculation examination, they have opened their doors to many students whom a more searching test would have debarred from entry. The position is further complicated by the absence of any general and liberal arrangements for assisting students of real ability who are prevented by poverty from seeking admission to Universities. Probably nowhere among the Universities of the world is there so large a proportion of failures in examinations as in Indian Universities.

The Report summarises its recommendations on University education in the following words :—

Indian Universities, as they exist to-day, despite many admirable features do not fully satisfy the requirements of a national system of education. In order to raise standards all round, the conditions of admission must be revised with the object of ensuring that all students are capable of taking full advantage of a University course. The proposed reorganization of the High School System will facilitate this. Adequate financial assistance must be provided for poor students. The present Intermediate Course should be abolished. Ultimately the whole of this course should be covered in the High School, but as an immediate step the first year of the course should be transferred to High School and the second to Universities. The minimum length of a University Course should be

extended and closer personal contacts established between teachers and students. The importance of establishing a high standard in post-graduate studies and particularly in pure and applied research should be emphasised. Steps should be taken to improve the conditions of service, including remuneration of University and College Teachers where those now in operation are not attracting men and women of the requisite calibre.¹

Regarding the drafting of High School leavers to the University Courses, the Report presumes that one in fifteen of them will reach the level requisite for entrance to the University. It is also contemplated that in order to enable poor but deserving students to have University education nearly one-third of the students in the Colleges and Universities, will have to be given maintenance grants.

In respect of *Technical and Vocational Education*, the Report divides the workers needed by Indian Arts and Industries into four categories :—

(a) *Chief Executives and Research Workers of the Future* : These will normally have their preliminary training in a Technical High School and will then pass to the Technological Department of a University or to a full-time Course of the National Diploma type in a Technical Institution. The admissions to these Courses should be the outcome of a very strict process of selection. They will not be many.

(b) *Minor Executives, Foremen, Charge Hands, etc.* : It is the main aim of the Technical High School to satisfy this need : but the Technical High School pupil will be required to continue his technical education either by taking a National Diploma or Certificate Course or by attending part-time classes of a fairly advanced description.

(c) *Skilled Craftsmen* : These may be recruited from Technical High School pupils ; but as a rule after passing through the Senior Basic School where they will have mastered the rudiments of craft work, they will go to Junior Technical Trade or Industrial Schools for a further two or three years' full-time Course.

(d) *Semi-skilled and Unskilled Labour* : They will be recruited mostly directly from Senior Basic (Middle) Schools where they will have done some craft work. It is important to afford these persons facilities both for continuing their general education and for improving their skill, so that the best of them may ultimately ascend to the skilled class.

It makes adequate provision for the efficient training of all these types of workers. Over and above this, the Report points out, there is very urgent need in India of what is called the part-time system. Part-time day classes (or the sandwich system) constitute a factor of great importance in any modern scheme for technical education. The students of these classes will be working in factories and other industrial or commercial concerns as paid workers and they will be given due facilities for improving

the knowledge and skill required for their daily work. The advantages of this part-time system are many. This type of technical instruction (part-time) is likely to overlap the sphere of Adult Education which will also impart some vocational training. The responsible administrative authorities should see to it that no overlapping takes place.

The role of *Adult Education*, according to the Report, is to make every possible member of a State an effective and efficient citizen and thus to give reality to the ideal of democracy. . . . In India, so far the general attitude has been to regard adult education as connoting adult literacy. The reason is obvious, for the problem in this country is vastly different from what it is in Western countries. A child must learn to walk before he can run; an adult must be literate before he can hope to derive any benefit from facilities for education in the wider sense. . . . The main emphasis in this country must, for some time to come, be on literacy, although from the very beginning some provision must be made for adult education proper, so that those made literate may have an inducement as well as an opportunity to pursue their studies.¹

The Report makes the following observations regarding the organization of a programme of Adult Education :—

The normal age range of adult education should be 10 plus to 40.

As far as possible, separate classes should be organised, preferably during the day-time, for boys between ten and sixteen years, as it is undesirable, from many points of view, to mix boys and men in adult classes. It would also be preferable to have separate classes for young girls, but the objection to mix young girls and women is not so serious as in the case of boys and men, and may be easily out-weighed by the factor of resources available and other practical considerations.

In order to make adult instruction interesting and effective, it is necessary to make fullest possible use of visual and mechanical aids such as pictures, illustrations, artistic and other objects, the magic-lantern, the cinema, the gramophone, the radio, etc., dancing, particularly folk dancing, music, both vocal and instrumental and dramas will also be useful.

It is necessary to provide numerous and adequate libraries. Obviously a very large library system will be necessary in a country like India, but with a properly organised scheme of circulating libraries and exchange of books the cost need not be prohibitive:

Although substantial help can be had from voluntary organizations, the problem of adult education as a whole is so far too vast to be within the capacity of unaided voluntary effort. The State must accept the primary responsibility for tackling the problem.

The problem of adult education for women has its own difficulties and special efforts will have to be made to overcome them.

The enrolment per class of adults should not exceed 25.

The full working of the scheme cannot be started immediately. The first five years must be devoted to planning, to the recruitment and training of teachers and to general setting up of necessary organisation.²

¹ p. 46.

² pp. 48-52

Regarding the *recruitment and training of teachers*, the Report assumes that one teacher will be required for every 30 pupils in the Pre-basic and Junior Basic Schools, for every 25 pupils in Senior Basic Schools and for every 20 pupils in High Schools. The minimum qualification for a teacher is prescribed as the completion of the High School Course followed by a training of two years in case of teachers in Pre-Basic and Junior Basic Schools and three years in Senior Basic Schools. The non-graduate teachers in High Schools are expected to undergo a training course of two years and the graduates would receive one year's training.

For the basis of selection of candidates for teachers' posts the following method followed in some parts of England is suggested. "Suitable pupils who wish to become teachers are picked out during the last two years of their High School Course. They are kept under observation by Heads and Inspectors and are given the opportunity of visiting other schools and trying their hand at actual teaching. Doubtful cases are sifted by this means. Such pupils often receive special stipends."¹

Technical and Commercial teachers as a rule will get their practical experience in industry and their pedagogical training in the Technical Institutions. No special Training Schools or Colleges will be required in their case.

Refresher Courses should be provided at frequent intervals in order to keep trained teachers up-to-date.

The Report is emphatic on the necessity of employing such teachers only as are fully qualified and trained and the time required to work out its proposals is mainly determined by this factor.

In order to attract the proper type of persons to the teaching profession, the Report proposes to revise the scales of pay to be given to all grades of teachers—particularly to the teachers at the primary stage who are paid very low salaries at present. Tentatively, the Report has proposed new and reasonable scales of pay for the consideration of Provincial Governments.

Regarding the *health of school children*, the Report makes the following proposals :—

Routine examination should be held (a) on entering into a Basic (Primary) School, *i.e.*, at the 6th year, (b) at the 11th year and (c) before leaving in the 14th

year. For pupils in High Schools a final examination is desirable at the age of sixteen or seventeen. A medical record should be maintained for each child, which should go with the child from school to school. In between, the teacher should bring to the notice of the school doctor any defects noticed. The teacher should also keep a record of the height and weight of each pupil twice a year and bring abnormalities to the notice of the doctor.

The examination should be conducted by a qualified medical practitioner with some special training. The Inspection should take place in school premises, and if possible, in the presence of the parent. The doctor should always go through the results of his inspection with the head teacher. . . .

Medical inspection is of little value unless it is linked up with treatment of defects discovered. Special School Clinics should be established. Minor defects should be treated at the school itself. Malnutrition should deserve special attention.

Physical training should be compulsory. Every Education Department should have at headquarters an experienced and well qualified officer to organise the scheme in Schools and Colleges. He should have competent assistants. Arrangements should be made to give proper training to teachers. The cost of the School medical service including provision of meals and special schools, etc., has been estimated at 10 per cent of the total expenditure on Schools.¹

Regarding the other items in its programme of reconstruction, the Report makes the following proposals² :—

(a) *Employment Bureaux* form an essential part of an educational administration. They are especially necessary in India in view of the restricted openings at the moment for progressive employment. Employment Bureaux, if they are to fulfil successfully the function assigned to them, must be staffed by trained experts with practical experience of teaching and of industrial conditions.

The Employment Bureaux should be responsible for leavers from all types of Senior Basic, Junior Technical and High Schools. Universities should preferably have Employment Bureaux or Employment Boards of their own. It would serve a useful purpose if in all larger Schools and Colleges at any rate there were careers, masters and members of the staff with the specific duty of maintaining close contact with the Employment Bureaux.

(b) *The Education of the Handicapped*: The handicapped may be divided into two major groups, (i) the mentally handicapped, and (ii) the physically handicapped. In the former group come the feeble-minded and imbecile children as well as those who are dull and backward. In the latter, come the blind, the deaf, the deaf-mute, cripples, speech-defectives, etc.

The provision for such children should form an essential part of a national system of education and should be administered by the Education Department. What has been done hitherto in India in this respect is done almost entirely by voluntary effort.

Particular care should be taken to train the handicapped, wherever possible, for remunerative employment and to find such employment for them. After-care work is essential.

(c) *Recreative and Social Activities* are necessary because Education in the real sense should be a training in the process of social adjustment rather than the mere injection of a special dose of mental, moral or physical instruction.

Statement showing financial liability (annual) of the Scheme of National Education when applied to British India

Stages or Departments.	Estimated No. of students to be provided for annually.	How the number in column 2 is arrived at, and the extent of the course.	Total annual cost per capita.	Estimated gross annual expenditure.	Estimated income from sources other than public funds.	Estimated net expenditure to be met from public funds.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			Rs. (in lakhs)	Rs. (in lakhs)	Rs. (in lakhs)	Rs. (in lakhs)
1. Pre-Basic or Pre-Primary Education (Nursery Schools and classes) ..	10,00,000	One in twenty-one of children of age-group 3 to 6.	31·8	320	..	320
2. Jr. Basic (Primary) Education.. .. .	3,59,00,000	Children of age-group 6-11 (5 years' course).	31·8	11,400	..	11,400
3. Sr. Basic (Middle) Education	1,56,00,000	Children of age-group 11-14 (not attending high school); (3 years' course).	55·3	8,600	..	8,600
						20,000

5. University Education ..	2,40,000	One in fifteen from those who leave the High School ; (3 years' <i>normal</i> course).	400	960	290	670
6. Technical, Commercial and Art Education full-time (a)	75,000	Approximately 4 per cent of <i>boys</i> who leave High Schools ; (3 years' course).	500	375	975	800
" " " (b)	2,00,000	About 4 per cent of <i>boys</i> who leave Sr. Basic Schools ; (2 years' course).	150	300		
" " part-time (c)	..	..	..	300		
7. Adult Education	..	..	..	300	..	300
8. Training of Teachers ..	..	..	..	620	170	450
9. Recreative and Social Activities	..	..	..	100	..	100
10. Employment Bureaux ..	..	..	..	60	..	60
11. School Medical Service	These are included at the appropriate places.					
12. Education of the Handicapped						
13. Administration ..						
Total ..			..	31,260	3,560	27,700

For children up to the age of eleven or twelve, the most suitable activities are gardening, folk dancing, Swedish drill, acting, clubs, blue-birds, games (indoor and out-door), athletics, excursions and hobbies. In the case of children of 12 and above, the onset of adolescence is the time for organising recreative activities of a corporate type. Such activities are Debating Societies, organised games, inter-school competitions, etc. *Young Farmers' Clubs* may arouse enthusiasm in rural areas.

For the successful organisation and functioning of recreative activities it is imperative to have ample playing fields and play-grounds.

Apart from the needs of boys and girls in Schools and Colleges, special attention should be paid to those in the 14—20 age-group who are no longer attending school. To serve these, Youth Movements on an All-India basis should be set up. A Youth Movement should aim at co-ordinating and supplementing rather than superseding the work of organisations already dealing with aspects of this problem. The main need of a Youth Movement will be for leaders, both men and women, who will have to be specially trained. The possibility of finding suitable recruits among demobilised officers and N. C. O.s should be explored. The provision of social and recreative facilities for adults should form an important part of any Social Service Scheme.

(d) *Administration*.—The Province should remain the main unit for educational administration except in regard to the University and higher technical education, the activities of which should be co-ordinated on an All-India basis.

In the event of the Indian States taking part in educational development on an All-India scale, it may be necessary, in order to form economic educational units, to group the smaller ones or attach them to larger States or contiguous Provinces.

A National system of education will require closer co-operation, financial and otherwise, between the Central and Provincial Governments.

Provincial Governments should be left to make such changes in their administrative arrangements as the carrying out of the educational developments on the scale contemplated may require. *Experience, however, suggests that they would be well advised to resume all educational powers from local bodies except where they are functioning efficiently.*

In order to enlist local interest in education, School Managing Bodies, School Boards and District Education Committees may be constituted, if and when sufficient people of the right type are available to serve on them. An Education Advisory Board for the whole Province may be desirable.

Steps should be taken to check the present deterioration in the status and calibre of the educational administrative services and to enable it to secure the services of the type of officer who will be capable of carrying a scheme of the kind contemplated into successful operation.

(e) The Report proposes to provide educational buildings by raising loans.

(f) The Report also emphasizes the importance of providing ample facilities for research. "The need will be apparent," observes the Report, "for ensuring, particularly during a period of rapid expansion not only that teaching methods are kept up-to-date but also that their suitability to Indian requirements is continuously under review".¹

The statement on pp. 842 and 843 gives a summary of the financial implications of the scheme of National Education propounded

in the Report. In this connection, the following points should be noted :—

- (a) The estimates are based on pre-war standards both in regard to population and cost of living.
- (b) The cost has been worked out as if a start had to be made from the very beginning. The sum then spent on education in British India (Rs. 30 crores, out of which Rs. 17½ crores were from public funds) is to be taken as a reserve towards meeting the cost, in part at any rate of providing for the prospective increase in population during the period which must elapse before a national scheme is in full operation.
- (c) It is assumed throughout that capital expenditure on school sites and buildings will be met out of loans in future. Provision has been made for interest and sinking fund charges only.
- (d) It is contemplated that the first five years should be devoted to planning, propaganda, and training of teachers. Thereafter the actual carrying out of the Scheme should be divided into seven five-year programmes, *during each of which an area or areas, should be fully dealt with.*
- (e) It is necessary to share the proposed expenditure between the Provincial and Central Governments. At present the Government cost of education in a Province is met from the Provincial Revenue itself. This question must be settled before any start is made, "for once a beginning has been made there can be no stop until the end has been reached".¹

Criticism of the Sargent Report: Such is the plan for educational reconstruction in India that the Central Advisory Board of Education has proposed. It has been before the educational world for some time and has been discussed and criticised from every point of view.

To begin with, we may mention those features of the Report which are commendable and which have attracted considerable notice and appreciation. These can be best stated in the words of Shri K. G. Saiyidain :—

What is the wider significance of this scheme ? It is the first comprehensive scheme of national education ; it does not start with the assumption, implicit in all previous Government schemes, that India was destined to occupy a position of educational inferiority in the comity of nations ; it is based on the conviction that what other countries have achieved in the field of education is well within the competence of this country. The mere formulation of such a scheme ensures that no other scheme which proposes any half-hearted, piecemeal changes or merely tinkers with the idea of expansion can ever be seriously entertained.

Secondly, it is inspired by the desire to provide equality of opportunity at different stages of education. At the primary stage it envisages not merely the provision of free schooling but also of other facilities without which the poorer children cannot fully avail themselves of the educational opportunities—midday meal, books, scholarships, medical

nspection and treatment. At higher stages, free places and scholarships are proposed for all bright and deserving students. This is by no means that full measure of educational equality which an enlightened sense of social justice demands, but it is certainly a welcome step forward towards that goal and would be a great improvement on the existing situation.

Thirdly, it stresses in clear terms the importance of the teaching profession and makes proposals for increasing its miserable standard of salaries and poor conditions of service. It lays down a minimum national scale of salaries, and provides for its adjustment in accordance with the rise in the cost of living. This national scale has already been accepted and given effect to in many Provinces (with certain modifications, not always favourable to teachers), but it has not had as bracing and stimulating an effect on the profession as was expected—because the rise in prices has been quicker and steeper than the rise in salaries.¹

This is all that can be said in favour of the Report. On the other hand, its shortcomings are so many and so important that it has failed to satisfy many Indian educationists. To begin with, it has placed a very tame ideal before the country. As the Report itself admits, India will reach the educational standard of the England of 1939 in a period of not less than 40 years! In other words, even assuming that the plan has been fully implemented, the India of 1984 will still be nearly 50 years behind England! This ideal is not likely to satisfy any ardent educationist. An acceptable plan of educational development in India must be spread over a much shorter range of time, not exceeding 15 years.

The main reason for which the Report fixes the period for implementing the plan at forty years is the impossibility of obtaining the necessary number of qualified and trained teachers in a shorter time. The assumption of the Report seems to be that no one shall be appointed as a teacher under the scheme until he has received the prescribed minimum of general and professional education. This is a revolutionary concept which has hardly any justification in the past experiences of this or any other country in the world, not excluding England herself. The minimum qualifications mentioned in the Report may be accepted as ideal, but they should, under no circumstances, be allowed to prevent or postpone the expansion of education. It ought to be possible for India to commence a programme of educational development, just as other countries in the world did theirs, with such men as are immediately available and simultaneously to work out a programme of improving and training the personnel of the teaching profession. Apart from this, some of those who have failed at the Matriculation and some selected persons from

among those who have passed the Senior Basic course, may be quite suitable for the teaching work in Pre-Primary or Junior Basic Schools and the scheme may well begin with the appointment of such persons also as teachers. If an arrangement is made for refresher courses and intensive training during the period of service, such men ought to be able to fulfil the responsibilities of teachers for certain standards of Junior Basic schools. If the requisite number of persons is not forthcoming on a voluntary basis, we should not hesitate to conscript educated men and women for the purpose. It is already an accepted principle that men can be conscripted for war. There is no reason why they should not be conscripted in a war against ignorance and illiteracy.

The financial implications of the Report have also come in for a good deal of comment. The cost of working out the scheme would come to about Rs. 313 crores, on the basis of the population of India as it was in 1940. If allowance is made for the growth of population during the time that will be required to implement this scheme, and for the rise in the standard of life and cost of living that has already taken place, it will not be far from truth to say that the total cost of the scheme would reach the figure of about Rs. 900 crores per annum ! A poor country like India is not likely to be able to afford all this expenditure on education. Even assuming that large-scale developments in industry and agriculture are introduced and that the standard of income of the people is raised, it is doubtful if India can afford this huge expenditure. It is, therefore, opined that, on financial grounds, the scheme is too Utopian to be practicable.

It is pointed out that the scheme merely describes the ideal to be reached and does not give a detailed *programme* of development. A mere statement of the ideal to be reached is a comparatively simple matter in educational planning. It would be equally easy for any one to set up a still higher ideal than the one which the scheme has adopted for itself, to work out its financial implications and to place it before the country as a plan for educational reconstruction. Such an attempt is not going to help the nation. What is needed is a *programme* which describes, in detail, the various stages through which the country will have to march before it reaches the goal. This aspect of the problem has been entirely ignored in the Report. The only suggestion

that it makes is that, if all the funds required are not available, the scheme may be introduced in one area after another. Needless to say, such a programme is not likely to be accepted by any intelligent section of the people.

It has been pointed out that the only ideal held up by the Report is that of the educational system of England, while, as a matter of fact, England is the one country which cannot serve as a model to India, because the social, political and economic conditions in the two countries are so vastly different. If India must have a model, she should look for it elsewhere in eastern countries like China or Egypt or Turkey or in western agricultural countries like Denmark or Soviet Russia, all of which had problems similar to those of India, and which have been able to achieve splendid results in a very short time.

To quote but one example, let us see how Russia solved her educational problems. In 1914 the Russian Empire had a population of about 140 million and the school-going population was only 1 million. There were large tracts of the Empire, particularly towards the east, in which there was hardly any provision for education, and literacy was even less than one per cent. There were as many as 200 minority nations speaking over 150 different languages, some of which had hardly any literature and a number were mere dialects without even a script. In spite of these tremendous handicaps the Government of Soviet Russia was able to achieve surprising results. In a period of about 15 years, it could raise the literacy of the people to more than 90 per cent in some parts and to more than 70 per cent in every other part of its vast territories. It had to substitute the Latin script for the original scripts in several languages and to devise new alphabets in the Latin script for more than 40 dialects. It has introduced a compulsory course of primary education of 7 years in every part of its territories. These achievements have transformed the position of the Russian people from one of semi-barbarism to one of the most powerful civilised nations in the world.

Compared with the conditions in Russia in 1914, the conditions in India to-day are very much better, and what Soviet Russia could achieve for her people in a period of about 15 years ought to be possible to be achieved in India in the same, if not, in an even shorter period. The estimate of the Sargent Report.

therefore, that a period of not less than 40 years would be required for working out the plan is not likely to be accepted as a practical proposition by the builders of a free India.

21. Five-Year Plan of the Central Government. The Sargent Report is a long-range plan which tries to visualise a stage which Indian education should reach at the end of about 40 years. It is, therefore, more like a target to be reached than a practicable administrative programme for immediate action. The Central and Provincial Governments, therefore, hardly did anything beyond approving it in *principle*. On the other hand, they evolved less ambitious five-year plans for administrative action and began to execute them with effect from 1st April 1947. Some idea regarding the nature of these plans can be had from the brief notes given in this and the next section. The Government of India has prepared a plan which does not cover any of the items covered in the Provincial Plans; but it proposes to supplement the latter, especially in the field of higher technical education, training of teachers, and national cultural activities. A complete list of the schemes included in the Central Plan is given on pp. 851 and 852.

22. Provincial and State Five-Year Plans. Of the *Provincial* plans, it is not necessary to notice every plan because they are all similar. Moreover, the plans of the Provinces of Bengal and Punjab were completely upset by the partition of India. We shall, therefore, give below a summary of five Provincial plans only, *viz.*, those for Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, and Assam.

MADRAS

(a) It is proposed to make Basic Education compulsory for the age-group of 6-14 in a period of 20 years. In the first 5 years, compulsion will be applied up to Std. V and 1.33 million children (out of a total of 4 millions not-attending) will be brought into schools.

(b) It is proposed to start 6 Polytechnics, 2 Engineering Colleges, 1 Research Institution and 15 Junior Technical Schools.

(c) Rs. 60 lakhs are provided for the training of teachers.

(d) Other schemes include the provision of physical education, medical inspection, mid-day meals (on a very limited scale), and revision of the scales of pay of teachers.

BOMBAY

(a) It is proposed to introduce compulsory education in all villages with a population of 1,000 and more in five years. Compulsion in smaller villages

Education has been accepted in principle and it is proposed to convert existing primary schools into Basic Schools by stages. Other schemes include provision of schools in school-less villages, construction of buildings for primary schools, etc.

(b) In secondary education, it is proposed to open more vocational High schools (4 Agriculture and 10 Commercial and Technical) and to give larger grants to private schools primarily for improvement of teachers' salaries.

(c) Regional universities for Maharashtra, Gujerath, and Karnatak to be established.

(d) It is proposed to expand 2 senior Technical Institutions, reorganise one industrial school and start 4 new ones and expand the Apprentice Scheme.

(e) It is proposed to spend about Rs. 12 lakhs a year on adult education. There is to be a compact area in each *taluka* and about 1,000 adults are to be made literate in each compact area every year.

(f) It is proposed to open 36 Lokasalas and 13 new Training Colleges for teachers.

(g) Other schemes include the organisation of a school medical service, strengthening of inspecting staff, etc.

UNITED PROVINCES

(a) Compulsory Basic Education (junior stage only) is proposed to be introduced in 12 districts. It is also proposed to open 200 junior Basic Schools in school-less villages which supplied recruits during the War and to convert 8,589 primary schools into Basic Schools entirely at the cost of Government.

(b) It is proposed to open 70 High schools for girls, to introduce the study of vocational subjects in selected High schools, to give larger grants to private High schools and Intermediate colleges in order to enable them to raise their standards, to construct buildings for new girls' High schools and to establish 5 new Technical High Schools.

(c) It is proposed to give additional grants to enable degree colleges to improve standards and to undertake research work.

(d) It is proposed to spend Rs. 140 lakhs on adult education and to instruct 55 lakhs of adults in 7 districts out of the 12 selected for compulsory education.

(e) Rs. 52 lakhs are provided for the training of teachers. Principal schemes are the extension of the primary teachers' training course to 2 years and opening of new training institutions.

(f) Other schemes include expansion of Departmental staff, provision of compulsory physical education, grant of scholarships for studies abroad, and some improvements in middle school education.

BIHAR

(a) The scheme of Basic Education is accepted in principle. Expenditure proposed is Rs. 641 lakhs and the pace such that not less than 60 years will be required to introduce universal education in the age-group of 6-14.

(b) It is proposed to open 15 Government High schools and 40 Government Middle-English schools for girls, to improve existing High and Middle schools for girls and to give larger grants to private secondary schools for improvement of teachers' salaries and buildings and for opening science classes.

(c) It is proposed to open one college for women (Arts and Science) and to improve and expand existing colleges. Expenditure proposed is Rs. 60 lakhs non-recurring and Rs. 17 lakhs recurring.

CENTRAL DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES FOR THE
FIRST QUINQUENNium (1947-52).

Serial No.	Description.	Financial implications.	
		Capital Expenditure.	Annual Recurr- ing expenditure when in full operation.
1	2	3	4
		Rs.	Rs.
	I. HIGHER TECHNICAL EDUCATION		
1.	(a) Development of Delhi Polytechnic, and (b) Training College for Technical Teachers	91,20,000 for (a) and (b)	9,60,000 for (a) and (b)
2.	(a) Development of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore	40,00,000	3,59,000
	(b) Establishment of High Voltage Engineering Laboratory at the Institute	23,13,000	45,000
	(c) Establishment of Power Engineer- ing Department at the Institute.	40,00,000	3,90,000
3.	Establishment of All-India Boards of Studies and four Regional Committees under All-India Council for Technical Education	..	2,54,000
4.	Central Government Overseas Scholarships Scheme	..	60,00,000
5.	Establishment of (a) Eastern and ..	3,04,95,000	32,00,000
	(b) Western Higher Technical Institutions	3,10,70,000	22,00,000
6.	Improvement and Expansion of Exist- ing Technological Institutions ..	2,25,00,000	42,21,000
7.	Procurement and Distribution of Surplus Stores to Educational Institutions	1,00,00,000	..
8.	Central School of Indian Architec- ture and Regional Planning ..	1,00,000	99,000
	Administrative Staff College	Details not	worked out.

Serial No.	Description.	Financial implications.	
		Capital Expenditure.	Annual Recurring expenditure when in full operation.
1	2	3	4
		Rs.	Rs.
	II. TRAINING OF TEACHERS		
1.	Teachers' Training Scheme at Visva-Bharti, Santiniketan (Arts, Crafts and Music)	4,95,300	75,000
2.	Teachers' Training Scheme at Jamia Millia, Islamia, Delhi (Basic) ..	2,50,000	32,000
3.	Central Institute of Education, Delhi	20,45,000	2,00,000
4.	Training College for Domestic Science, Delhi	12,00,000	98,000
5.	Training Teachers in Hindustani Music at the Marris College for Music, Lucknow	5,00,000	40,000
6.	Central College of Karnatak Music ..	Not worked out yet.	
7.	Training College for Physical Education, Delhi	7,72,000	75,000
	III. OTHER SCHEMES		
1.	Development of Central Universities :-		
	(a) Delhi	60,00,003	13,85,000
	(b) Banaras	38,81,000	8,55,000
	(c) Aligarh	39,75,000	8,53,000
2.	Establishment of Anthropological Survey of India	1,86,000	4,48,000
3.	Central Library of Educational and Cultural Films in the Central Bureau of Education	4,12,000	15,000
4.	Development of National Archives of India	36,60,000	2,03,000
5.	Establishment of a Central Institute of Psychology	2,80,260	4,40,000
6.	Establishment of an All-India Institute of Social Service	15,00,000	1,50,000
7.	Establishment of a Central Braille Press	2,50,000	1,00,000
8.	Establishment of a Central Reference Library with Copyright Section ..	50,00,000	10,00,000
9.	Establishment of a Central Museum of Art, Archæology	1,00,00,000 (Capital Expenditure in first 5 years will not exceed Rs. 5,00,000.)	8,48,000
10.	Central Institute of Modern Studies ..	5,00,000	1,50,000

(d) It is proposed to open a college of Technology, 2 Junior Technical Institutions, 15 part-time Vocational Institutions, and a Commercial Institute.

(e) It is proposed to spend Rs. 3 lakhs a year on Adult education.

(f) For the training of teachers, the plan provides for the

(i) Expansion of existing elementary training schools for men teachers and opening of 15 new elementary training schools for them ;

(ii) Opening of 4 new elementary training schools for women teachers and improvement of the existing training institutions ;

(iii) Opening of a large secondary training school for men and women, and improvement of the C.T. classes attached to the Training College ; and

(iv) Opening of two training colleges.

(g) Other schemes include provision for physical education at all levels, some provision for medical inspection and mid-day meals to a few poor children, and the opening of an Institute for the dumb, deaf and blind.

ASSAM

(a) It is proposed to open 6 pre-primary classes every year.

(b) Basic Education is accepted in principle. Expenditure proposed is Rs. 57 lakhs and the pace is such as will need 35 years to introduce universal compulsion in the age-group of 6-14.

(c) The plan provides for the opening of 3 High schools and 25 Middle schools, the introduction of vocational subjects in selected High schools and larger grants to private secondary schools to improve buildings and equipment.

(d) It is proposed to open 100 centres of adult education a year. Expenditure proposed is Rs. 3.39 lakhs and the pace such as will take 30-40 years to make all adults literate.

(e) It is proposed to open 2 Junior Technical schools and Technical and Commercial classes in 4 High schools. Some scholarships for study in art and technical subjects not provided for in Assam are also proposed to be instituted.

(f) The inspecting staff is proposed to be strengthened and two training institutions for Teachers—one for men and the other for women—are proposed to be started in each valley.

(g) The other schemes include the organisation of a school medical service, the starting of one school for the education of the handicapped, increased grants for European schools, and improvement of cultural education.

Of the several plans prepared by *Indian States*, we give below a summary of the *Mysore Plan* only as a sample :—

(a) In primary education, it is proposed to extend the duration of primary education from 4 to 5 years ; to increase the enrolment from 430,000 to 782,000 ; to establish 100 new Middle schools every year—75 in rural areas and 25 in urban areas ; to improve existing arrangements for training primary teachers ; to open 9 new training institutions ; and to introduce Basic Education.

(b) In secondary education, it is proposed to train 3,000 Middle school and 500 High school teachers ; to introduce vocational and practical courses ; and to secure expansion.

(c) In Adult Education, it is proposed to make 4 lakhs of adult literate at

(d) Other schemes in the Education Department include the provision of physical education, organisation of a Medical Inspection Unit, provision of midday meals to a limited number of children, strengthening of inspecting staff, establishment of schools for defectives, and deputation of Departmental Officers abroad for higher training, and the establishment of 150 pre-primary schools on a grant-in-aid basis.

(e) In Mysore University, it is proposed to organise a first-grade women's college; to raise the Intermediate College in Mysore to the degree standard; to start two intermediate colleges at Kolar and Davangere; to establish a Teachers' College, an Agricultural College, and a College of Commerce, and to start some new courses in the Engineering College.

It will be seen from the above analysis that the Provincial and State plans generally follow the Sargent Report, though the emphasis on individual schemes and the time-factor varies from Province to Province in the light of local conditions and the financial resources available.

23. The End of the British Rule (15th August 1947). The foregoing review of the educational developments between 1937 and 1947 will show that its most outstanding feature was the preparation of plans for a comprehensive educational reconstruction in India. Hitherto, educational policies had been a matter of drift, more or less dependent on the chance interest which the heads of administration had shown in it. A Viceroy like Ripon or Curzon would create interest in education throughout India and generate a wave of reform; an enthusiastic D.P.I. like H. S. Reid, Arnold, or Sir Alexander Grant would vitalize the whole educational system of the Province under his charge. But such men of vision and capacity were only few and far between and, on the whole, the educational policies in India between 1813 and 1937 were characteristic of the British genius for "muddling through to success". The idea of a plan, of a *prescribed goal* to be reached within a *specified time* by the adoption of *well-co-ordinated programmes* was new to the educational system of India and when it was officially accepted during this period, the innovation was welcomed in all quarters. But the preparation of an agreed plan was not an easy matter and it kept Government busy almost till the end of the period under review; and hardly had the first steps been taken for the implementation of the first Five-Year-Plans by the Central and Provincial Governments, when the British Power was withdrawn from India on 15th August 1947 and the British Period in the history of Indian education came to an end.

On this great occasion, one cannot but recall the words of Lord Curzon who was undoubtedly the most typical of the bureaucrats that ruled over India during the last hundred and fifty years. On 20th September 1905, he was addressing a conference of the Directors of Public Instruction at Simla and after reviewing his work for educational reform in India at some length, he concluded his speech with the following magnificent peroration :—

Upon these and many other subjects I might discourse to you at length. But you are better acquainted with them than I am, and I have addressed myself to-day not so much to details as to the principles that have underlain the great movement of educational activity upon which we have together been engaged. To you and to your successors I must now commit the task. It is a work which may well engage your best faculties, and be the proud ambition of a lifetime. On the stage where you are employed there is infinite scope for administrative energy, and, what is better, for personal influence ; while in the background of all your labours stands the eternal mystery of the East, with its calm and immutable traditions, but its eager and passionate eyes. What the future of Indian Education may be neither you nor I can tell. It is the future of the Indian race, in itself the most hazardous though absorbing of speculations. As I dream of what Education in India is to be or become, I recall the poet's lines :—

Where lies the land to which the ship would go ?
Far far ahead is all her seamen know.
And where the land she travels from ? Away
Far far behind is all that they can say.

In the little space of navigable water for which we are responsible between the mysterious past and the still more mysterious future, our duty has been to revise a chart that was obsolete and dangerous, to lay a new course for the vessel, and to set her helm upon the right tack.¹

One may not agree with Curzon's use of the phrase " the right tack " and would prefer to substitute the words " the right " by the phrase " a new and more fruitful ". With this change, however, which in no way diminishes the value of British contribution but merely places it in a proper perspective, what Curzon said of his own work might well be applied to all that the British Rule did for the education of the Indian people.

EDUCATION IN INDIA DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD

A RETROSPECT

We have now reached the end of a long journey. Taking our stand on 15th August 1947, therefore, we can afford to pause and cast our glance backwards in *retrospect* over the achievements and failures of the last two hundred years. Such a retrospect of the history can now be carried out more *critically* and *dispassionately* than in the past. So long as the British held the political power in India, almost all educational controversies had a political bias. The Englishmen over-rated certain aspects of their contribution to justify the British Rule in India and attributed the shortcomings of their achievements to causes beyond their control. Their usual reply to hostile criticism was that it emphasized "what was omitted and what is still to do" and ignored "what has been accomplished, what has been well done, with what means, in face of what difficulties, with what purpose, and with what measure, what promise, of success".¹ On the other hand, Indians pointed out the failures of British educational policy in India, compared the pace of educational advance in India with that in England herself, or in independent Eastern countries (like Japan or Turkey), or even with that in the dependencies of other nations (like the Philippines) and argued that modern education in India had failed to solve national problems and that its few blessings, such as they were, could hardly be held to compensate for the evils of political slavery or economic exploitation.

The two sides of the controversy are best summed up in the following passage from the pen of M. R. Paranjpe :

Indian Educational Policy of today was planned and organised by a foreign agency and has been submitted to the severest criticism. It is described as a foreign plant, not suited to the Indian soil and therefore showing an unseemly growth. It is described as an attempt to make India lose her national characteristics and make the people, Indian by birth but English in taste, manners and outlook. It is believed to have been an attempt to make India a Christian nation. The commonest indictment has been that the chief objective of the Indian Educational Policy, as conceived in 1835, pursued in 1854, and emphasized in 1882, has been to obtain English-knowing recruits for the subordinate services of British India. By enforcing a foreign medium of instruction, it is

believed to have arrested the development of Indian languages and Indian intellect. Not unoften, again, the Indian education of the last hundred years is charged with making India less religious and therefore less moral; or again, less willing to accept the dictums of elders and therefore less disciplined, and less loyal to authorities.

It is again a universal complaint, somewhat conflicting with the above indictment, that the growth of Indian education has not been as rapid and as varied as it should have been to make India efficiently shoulder the responsibilities of a self-governing nation. The literacy percentage is still disgracefully small, and even in this small percentage of literates there appears an alarming disparity between literate men and literate women; adult education is totally neglected, and the ideals of education are more suited to the upper strata of the society, cultural rather than utilitarian, literary rather than scientific, creating more lawyers than industrialists, and service-seekers rather than skilled artisans. There has been a woeful neglect of physical education and consequent disappearance of love for adventure and daring, virtues essential for the defence of one's land.

As against this charge sheet are presented the many benefits brought to India by the new education of the last century. The acquaintance with English has made possible inter-provincial and inter-national exchanges of views, opened out a treasure of knowledge concealed from Indians in the past, and revolutionised their social and political outlooks. India, it is claimed, has, in the last hundred years, ceased to be a field of exploitation for foreign adventurers, and has been steadily, if slowly, marching to a place among the leading nations of the world, which she once was politically, economically and educationally. For the first time in the last two thousand years is successfully challenged the caste-system of India and the consequent parochial outlook inherent in the people. Learning is no longer a privilege of the few and the Brahman and the Chandal forget the distinction in their status at birth and work as colleagues for common ends. Once again her poets, her scientists, her artists, her social and political workers have ceased to be local luminaries and have acquired international fame. Her rise from the status of a conquered country to that of a self-governing nation is ascribed, in a great measure, to the influence of the new educational policy adopted by Lord William Bentinck in 1835 and perseveringly enforced by later Governor-Generals.¹

The *political bias* in these claims and counter-claims is self-evident and now that the prime cause of this bias has ceased to exist, the possibility of an impartial and more critical evaluation of educational history becomes obvious. Today, the Englishman is as ready to admit his mistakes as the Indian is to admit the valuable contributions of England to Indian life and thought; and with this change in the roles, we are brought nearer the truth than at any time in the past.

2. Failure to Evolve a National System of Education.
The principal charge against British educational administration in India is that it failed to create a national system of education

for the country. This is hardly disputed. British responsibility for Indian education largely ceased with its transfer to Indian control in 1921 ; and at that time, the official system had not even recognised the concept of national education. But even assuming, for the sake of argument, that the Britishers always continued to be indirectly responsible for the education of the people, the utmost that they could be credited with having done was to *visualise* a national system of education for the country and present it to the people in the form of the Post-war Plan of Educational Development (1944). This Plan, however, is far from satisfactory ; and even if it were not so, the charge still remains that hardly any action was taken on it till 15th August 1947.

In the years between 1904 when Curzon created the first great storm over educational issues and 1937 when Indians obtained almost complete control of education, it was the *fact* of this failure that formed a subject of controversy. Official historians went to one extreme and put forward tall claims in support of British educational policy. Nationalists went to the other extreme and declared that British Rule had ruined India culturally and spiritually. But these extremes are now things of the past ; the *fact* of the failure is now readily admitted ; and consequently, the attention of educationists is directed to ascertaining the *reasons* for this failure so that the mistakes of the past may be avoided in the future.

Our survey of educational history during the last century and a half reveals that the British failure to create a national system of education in India was mainly due to the following reasons :—

(a) *Failure to Realise the Place of India in the Comity of Nations* : A national system of education is a means to an end and can only be organised as a corollary to the role which one desires the nation itself to play. The imperialistic nature of the British power prevented it from visualising a self-respecting and independent India. The missionaries looked upon her as a recruiting ground for Christianity ; the Company generally regarded her as a field for commerce and profits ; the Despatch of 1854 referred to her as the producer of raw materials or the buyer of the finished products of British industries ; Curzon considered her as an eternal field for the civilizing influence

of the British administrator ; and until the end of the second World War, all declarations of official policy were characterised by the same blind refusal to visualise India as a sovereign, independent nation with her own unique and valuable contribution to make to universal culture. There is obviously no room for a national system of education within the four corners of such an imperialist political philosophy.

(b) *Failure to Evolve a Synthesis of East and West* : Another reason for the failure of British educational administration was its inability to bring about a proper synthesis between the East and the West. The missionaries could not do so because of their emphasis on proselytisation, their tendency to regard Christianity and Western culture as inseparable allies, and their inability to look reverently on ancient Indian traditions and culture. The British officials could have done this ; but very few of them saw the desirability of the step and fewer still could feel their way to achieve it. Some were great admirers of Eastern culture, no doubt ; but more often than not, they lost their sense of proportion and glorified the past in the same way as Indian chauvinists did. However, it was not these Orientalists who set the tune. Educational policies were mostly framed by that large majority of British officials who believed, with Kipling, that " East is East and West is West ; and never the twain shall meet ". Victorian smugness with its patronizing attitude was particularly bad in this respect. It regarded Indians as " lesser breeds without the law ", sneered at " Babu English," tried to classify educated persons as " loyal " and " disloyal," put a ban on the admission of Indians to European clubs and generally created such an atmosphere of reserve and aloofness that a synthesis of cultures became difficult, if not impossible. Racial hostilities that arose out of these attitudes became worse in an atmosphere of political conflict, with the result that most nationalist Indians evolved a defiant and challenging, instead of a receptive, attitude to Western culture. On the whole, therefore, it may be said that no planned and large-scale official attempt to bring about a synthesis of the East and the West was made during the period under review. A few individuals showed a fine blending of the two cultures in their lives and radiated a peculiar sweetness and light around them. A few institutions tried to work it out

which were always non-official—helped to keep the concept alive. But they could not be regarded as a compensation for the non-recognition of the ideal by the official system of education.

(c) *Inadequate Aims*: The third reason for the failure of British educational administration is the inadequacy of aims formulated for it from time to time. Warren Hastings and Duncan mostly desired the political conciliation of those classes of society whom the British conquest had deprived of political power and influence; the Charter Act of 1813 talked of the revival and improvement of Oriental literatures and the encouragement of “learned natives”; the Despatch of 1854 spoke of the “diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe”; the Commission of 1882 did not discuss the issue at all; Curzon talked of remedying “the inherent defects of the Indian intellect”; and the Resolution of 1913 declared the “formation of character” to be the main objective of educational policy. From the earliest days, the utilitarian objective of training Indians for employment in Government departments was always in the picture, though the emphasis placed upon it varied from time to time. The altruistic note of training Indians for self-government was also chanted now and then. Macaulay and Metcalfe were amongst the earliest of those who spoke of it with pride and conviction; Grant was not sure of it though he would not have regretted it; but the average official was afraid of the probable demand for *swaraj* that India might put forward and tried to postpone the evil day as far as he could by all means in his power. Consequently, training for self-Government was more a by-product than a deliberate objective of British educational policy. It is of course evident that each one of these objectives has a legitimate place of its own. But neither singly, nor taken together, do they give a coherent and comprehensive definition of the aims worthy of a national system of education for India. It is now universally admitted that unless an educational system is based upon a clear realisation of the “abundant life” that it should seek to provide, all discussion of legislation, codes, memoranda, curricula and examinations merely leads one into wilderness. But the discussion of aims in the context of life as a whole is the one thing that modern education in India has always lacked although innumerable

many other problems at tiresome length. The first attempt in this direction is the excellent Chapter on the "Aims of University Education" which occurs in the Report of the Indian Universities Commission (1949). But that was a creation of "free" India and came *after* the end of the British Rule.

(d) *Adoption of Wrong Methods*: If the non-formulation of adequate aims was one weakness of British educational administration, its harmful effect was further enhanced by the adoption of certain wrong methods. Foremost of these was the neglect of the indigenous system of education which resulted in its almost complete extinction by about 1900. Extreme dependence on English models, and the attempt to impose upon India a cheap imitation of all types of schemes and ideas that were evolved in England was another wrong step. England is urban, industrialised and rich; India is rural, agricultural, and poor. This contrast in the socio-economic background makes England a poor model for India. But the British administrators took it for granted that the English model, after a good deal of dilution, was all that India need ever have. This assumption made them neglect the indigenous traditions as well as the patterns of those progressive countries of the world which are closer to India in their socio-economic structure. In fact, one cannot help feeling that Indian education has all along been like a Cinderella tied to the apron-strings of the Educational System of England—and that precisely, has been the tragedy of our educational system. The adoption of the Downward Filtration Theory was also a wrong method because it gave a temporary setback in so far as mass education is concerned. The universal use of English as a medium of instruction, the emphasis on its teaching at the secondary and collegiate stage, the belief that English would become, and continue to be, the national language for the country as a whole, and the consequent neglect of modern Indian languages were another group of decisions that history has shown to be unwise. Instances of this type could be easily multiplied. They all show a failure correctly to visualise the situation and to look at things from the Indian point of view. Rawlinson is quite right when he concludes that the failure of the British Rule in India, in so far as it was a failure, was due to a sheer want of imagination.¹

¹ H. G. Rawlinson: *The British Achievement in India*, p. 241.

(e) *Failure to Develop India Socially, Economically and Politically*: Education cannot be planned in a vacuum and educational progress is always broadly proportional to the social, political and economic advancement of a nation. Certain aspects of British Rule were inimical to such advancement. For instance, the doctrine of religious neutrality was interpreted to mean non-interference in all matters of social reforms as well. Consequently, evils like untouchability, or child-marriages could not be fought with the help of State-aid and penal legislation. In these matters, therefore, some of the Indian States showed better progress than British India itself. It would, however, be difficult to blame the British official for his neutral attitude. He could probably have done nothing better, especially as it was politically expedient for him not to raise a hornet's nest. But it must also be admitted that a doctrine of non-interference in social matters is not really a colourless decision. It strengthens materially the forces of orthodoxy and to that extent, hinders the progress of true education. Similarly, the political dependence of India created difficulties in educational progress. In order to create a strong feeling of national solidarity, the first objective of national education in India ought to have been to bring all the different religions, communities and castes in a common democratic system of public schools. But politically, the growth of such a solidarity was not desirable. Hence no planned and vigorous attempts were made to create communal and religious harmony; nay, sometimes, the game of "divide and rule" was played in too obvious a manner; and the education of the two great communities—Hindus and Muslims—was allowed to grow (or was even planned) in isolation from each other. Thirdly, the economic aspects of British Rule were far from happy and it is now generally admitted that the poverty of the people increased very greatly in the last 150 years. Against such a worsening economic background no educational progress is ever possible. In other words, the British Rule could not, did not, or would not develop the social, political and economic side of Indian life. As national education is at once the cause and the effect of the regeneration of the social, political and economic life of a people, the British administration could not evolve a truly national system of education for India.

(f) *Failure to Secure the Necessary Personnel*: One of the most potent causes of the failure of British educational administration was its inability to mobilize the necessary personnel to plan and organise a national system of education in India. Admittedly the task was stupendous and difficult and even a partial accomplishment of the task would have required the life-long services of a large number of good educationists from England. But the first-rate educationists that England sent to India were too few. The missionaries, it is true, sent out some great men like Duff or Wilson. But their contribution was limited by the fact that missionary enterprise itself could play only a useful but subsidiary role in Indian education. The official fields were not all barren. Arnold from the Punjab or Sir Alexander Grant from Bombay and a few others hold a very honoured place in the official ranks. Amongst those who were not connected with the Education Department but who did good service to Indian education, the greatest name is that of Sir Michael Sadler. But such great men are a microscopic minority as compared with the endless stream of European officers of Education Departments that came to India between 1854 and 1924. Sir Alexander Grant was fundamentally right when he said that the conditions of service in the Education Department were not such as to attract good officers. Even the creation of the I. E. S. in 1896 did not improve matters. When one considers the great military talent that England sent out to India, the galaxy of great names that illumines the history of the I.C.S. or the Judiciary, even the great engineers, doctors and surveyors that worked in and for India, one is struck by the small stature of the average European official of the Indian Education Departments. After all, no system of administration can be greater in stature than the personnel which composes it; and looking to the average English official of the Education Department that came to India, one is not surprised at Gokhale's remark that the Indian Education Departments typified the "narrow, bigoted and inexpansive rule of experts."

One thing has to be said in favour of the officials of the Education Departments. Did they receive a fair deal from their comrades in other Departments? The answer is an emphatic No. Education was never in the forefront of British Indian Administration and was never accorded top-priority,

except probably when it led to politically inconvenient results. Even as late as 1921, Mayhew complained that the "experienced Secretary, after spending his morning energy on financial and judicial files" generally drafted his educational resolution "with the sinking sun" and reminded educationists that their task was "the formation of character and the training of good and productive citizens and that their methods must be good and effective within the limits prescribed by economy and public opinion."¹ These sarcastic remarks show how the Departmental officers had to struggle against the indifference of Government and the stony hearts of the finance departments. This is the burden of the song all through history. The drive for educational reconstruction required the support of the whole might of Government and of the officials of all departments. Even when *all* officials were Europeans, this support did not come forth, except on those rare occasions when a Viceroy like Ripon or Curzon took the wheel; and when education was transferred to Indian control, the co-operation from other important departments like Revenue (which continued to be reserved) became still less. Even such educational officers as India did possess would certainly have achieved better results, if only they had received greater attention from Government or more zealous co-operation from the Revenue and Finance Departments. But that was not to be.

(g) *Absence of a Plan*: Lastly, the failure of the British educational system must be ascribed to the absence of a plan or a consistent drive to reach a predetermined goal. The idea of a plan or a programme for administration is an essentially twentieth-century concept and one need not be surprised if the Indian educationists of the nineteenth century did not have one. But even till 1944, our educators did not evolve a plan because of the characteristic British attitude to life of "muddling through." When Curzon spoke of serving Indian education "in that strip of navigable water which lies between the mysterious past and still more mysterious future," he was speaking far more truly than he imagined. Most British officials lived and worked for the immediate present. They came to India for a short stay; and hence their whole object was to do something there and then—something which would yield quick results which *they*

themselves could see. This objective made them unmindful of the past and the future alike and innumerable instances can be quoted where each successive official rode his own hobby horse as hard as he could, and cared neither to develop the sound policies of his predecessor nor to plan something for his successor to continue. In developing national education one should have a long range plan. In India, the average life of an educational policy was 5 to 10 years—Policies came and went with successive Governors-General, Governors, or Directors of Public Instruction. This kaleidoscopic background made long range planning impossible and had disastrous consequences on the progress of Indian education.

3. Contributions of British Educational Administration :

The statement that the British educational administration failed to create a national system of education in India should not, however, be interpreted to mean that it achieved nothing worth while. In fact, it did several good things which India will always acknowledge. Some of these positive achievements of the British administration are the following :—

(a) The most important achievement of the British educational administration was to introduce India to English language and literature and through them, to all the thought, the scientific and industrial development, and the social and political philosophy of the West. This contact came at a very opportune time—when Indian culture and social organisation were at their lowest ebb. But it had a tremendous vivifying effect. It freed the Indian mind from the “ thralldom of old-world ideas ” and laid the foundation of a Renaissance in modern Indian life. This contact, its early excesses apart, has greatly enriched the mosaic of the Indian cultural pattern and has been a boon to India and the West alike.

(b) India owes the scientific and critical study of her ancient culture to European scholars whom British contact brought on the scene. There is a world of difference between the study of Sanskrit literature as it used to be carried on in an indigenous Pathshala and as it is conducted today in a university department of classical studies. The old method was of uncritical preservation ; the new method is one of scientific and critical analysis, selection, simplification, balancing and enrichment.

Oriental languages. They might have frequently blundered ; but to them we must acknowledge our gratitude for the first discovery of a tool which we have since made our own and improved.

(c) While it is true to say that the British failed to develop the modern Indian languages by their insistence on the use of English as a medium of instruction, it is also paradoxically true that it was they who gave the first great impetus to their development in modern India. The officials and the missionaries studied the modern Indian languages, wrote their grammars, compiled dictionaries, and in many cases published the first books and papers in them. The languages of the aboriginals also were first studied by European workers and no words can convey adequately our debt of gratitude to Sir George Grierson for his *Linguistic Survey of India*. It is true that we soon took up the cue and had later on to fight with the British officials themselves who said " Thus far ; and no further ". But the fact remains that the first incentives to the study of modern Indian languages came from European scholars, whom the British contact introduced into India.

(d) The same may be said about Indian Art. In the rediscovery of Indian painting, architecture or sculpture, the pioneer work was almost always done by European scholars who found our ancient treasures, not only for themselves, but for us as well ; and we can never thank Curzon enough for the pioneer move to preserve our ancient monuments.

(e) Contact with the West is also responsible for the awakening of several humanistic trends in modern Indian life. The sympathy for the underdog, the crusade against untouchability, the emancipation of the modern Indian woman (in so far as it has been accomplished), the spirit of social service that is now manifesting itself in almost every walk of life and most conspicuously in education—all these movements owe a deep debt of gratitude to Western influences that came in the wake of the British administration. The claim of British historians that these humanistic trends arose *exclusively* from Western contacts is too tall to be admitted, because they were considerably strengthened by the revived study of ancient culture and the rising tide of patriotism. But their debt to Western contacts was certainly large and will be readily admitted.

(f) Finally, we owe to the British our acquaintance with (i) the modern democratic institutions of Europe, (ii) the Western systems of law and medicine which have rightly come to stay, and with (iii) the auxiliary tools of popular education such as the press, the cinema, the radio, the library, and the museum.

There is hardly any need to try to list every achievement of British Rule which had an educational significance. What has been said above is enough to indicate the rich and varied nature of its contribution to Indian educational life. Speaking of the British Rule in India at the Mansion House in 1904, Lord Curzon is reported to have said "To me the message is carved in granite, it is hewn out of the rock of doom—that our work is righteous and that it shall endure." In the larger context in which Curzon made the statement, the claim is highly exaggerated. A good deal of what the British Rule did will have to be undone and is better forgotten on both sides. But in the restricted sense of the solid contributions such as those stated above, Curzon's remark is fully justified. These cultural contributions of the British people will remain with us for all time and will be ultimately absorbed in the dynamic and complex pattern that Indian culture has always been.

APPENDIX

EDUCATION IN INDIAN STATES

V

During the British Period, there were about 700 States in India. Most of these, however, were so small that a detailed history of their educational developments is neither possible nor necessary. We, therefore, propose to notice here the educational history of the following 8 States only, which had a population of 20 lakhs or more (1941 census) :—¹

Serial No.	State.	Population.	Area in sq. miles.
1	Hyderabad	1,63,38,534	82,313
2	Mysore	73,29,140	29,458
3	Travancore	60,70,018	7,662
4	Kashmir	40,21,616	82,258
5	Gwalior	40,06,159	26,367
6	Jaipur	30,40,876	15,610
7	Baroda	28,55,010	8,176
8	Jodhpur	25,55,904	36,120

A few brief notes on the history of education in these States are given in the paragraphs that follow.

2. EDUCATION IN HYDERABAD. Although it is the biggest Indian State in population and revenue, Hyderabad has remained one of the most educationally backward States in India. Its only distinctive contribution is the establishment of the Osmania University which was the first University to adopt a modern Indian language (Urdu) as a medium of instruction.

(a) *Education in Hyderabad prior to 1883*: The beginnings of modern education in Hyderabad State go back to the year 1853-54 when Sir Salar Jung founded the *Darul Uloom* or Oriental College in Hyderabad City. It was designed to be "the centre of Oriental Learning in the Deccan and the means of diffusing a taste for culture through our own

¹ Out of the 562 States that acceded to the Indian Union, 213 States with a population of 171 lakhs have been merged with the Provinces, 24 States with a population of 23 lakhs are taken over as centrally administered areas, 304 States with a population of 376 lakhs have been integrated into six Unions. The only States that continue to exist as in the past are Hyderabad, Mysore and Kashmir. The eight States studied here have a population of more than 462 lakhs out of a total population of 462 lakhs.

classics".¹ The subjects taught were Arabic, Persian, Marathi, Telugu and English. No fees were charged and several scholarships and prizes were instituted to attract students.

Between 1853-54 and 1871-72, education made very slow progress. Five branch schools under *Darul Uloom* were organised; two schools—one Persian and the other in the regional language—were started in each Taluka (1869-70); and the first Government English High School was founded in Hyderabad City in 1870-71. In 1871-72, the total number of schools was 139 with 5,065 pupils and the total expenditure on education was only Rs. 1,43,000.

Until 1868-69, education was controlled by the Revenue Board. In that year, a Secretary for Education was appointed. In 1869-70, the post of the Director of Public Instruction was first created and Mr. W. H. Wilkinson was appointed to it. But the organisation of the Department may be said to have started only in 1871-72 when Moulvi Inayat-Ur-Rahman Khan was appointed D.P.I.

Between 1871-72 and 1881-82, several reforms were carried out. Curricula and Education Codes were drawn up and written examinations were introduced (1873-74); a Normal school for teachers was started; two Anglo-Vernacular Middle Schools were organised in the Districts; Deputy Inspectors of Schools were appointed; the *Madrassah-e-Aliya* or a public school for the sons of Muslim and Hindu gentlemen was started in 1878; four non-Government High schools were recognised and aided; and a beginning was made in the education of women—the girls' schools of the Wesleyan Mission being the earliest. In 1882-83, there were in all 186 schools with 11,599 scholars (of which 11 were girls' schools with an enrolment of 519) and the total expenditure on education was Rs. 1,53,000.

(b) *Education in Hyderabad (1884-1911)*: In 1884, the late His Highness Nawab Mir Mahboob Ali Khan Bahadur was invested with full administrative powers. His rule, which lasted till 1911, is the next period in educational history. Its chief events were the following :—

(i) A Local Fund Cess was levied in the State on the lines of British India.

(ii) The Nizam College was established in 1887-88.

(iii) The *Darul Uloom* was affiliated to the Punjab University in 1892-93; but was again disaffiliated and the State started its own examinations in 1906-07.

(iv) In 1890-91, the Asafia State Library was established with the principal object of obtaining and preserving manuscripts of rare Arabic and Persian works of literary or scientific value. In 1892-93, the *Dairatul Moarif* was established and a grant-in-aid was sanctioned to it for printing old and rare manuscripts of historical or religious value.

(v) A system of State scholarships called General, Special, English and Nizamia was introduced.

The *General and Special scholarships* were given to students studying for a higher standard in general education and for special and technical instruction in the Dominions, including training in the Normal School. *English scholarships*, as the term implies, were those that were given to students sent to England for higher studies. The *Nizamia scholarships*, which were instituted in 1298 F. (1888-89), were awarded to Muslim students reading for the Degree examination outside the State. In 1303 F. (1895-96) the total amount spent on scholarships was Rs. 95,041, out of which Rs. 28,687 was expended on General and Special scholarships and Rs. 67,354 on English scholarships. The amount spent on English scholarships rose to Rs. 1,00,600 in 1308 F. (1898-99), but after that there was a gradual decline until in 1315 F. (1905-06) it came down to Rs. 19,189. The total amount spent on scholarships in that year was a little over Rs. 50,000.¹

(vi) Education of Girls was encouraged. The Mahboobia Girls' school was founded in 1907-08 and the Nampalli Zenana High School in 1908-09 (It had begun as a school in 1887-88).

(vii) The Government Normal School at Hyderabad was established in 1891-92.

(viii) Some expansion in primary education was effected and steps were taken to provide buildings and equipment.

(ix) In 1909-10, Mr. A. Mayhew was appointed as Educational Adviser for 2 years. He submitted his report in 1911-12.

He (Mr. Mayhew) made an exhaustive survey of the state of education in all its aspects and suggested numerous reforms. Amongst these, the most important were the rapid extension of Primary education, the exclusive use of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in the Primary stage, the opening of special schools for the Depressed Classes, the appointment of an Inspector of Schools for each district and of an Inspectress of Girls' Schools with two Assistants, the reorganisation of *Darul Uloom* and other Oriental institutions, the strengthening of the teaching staffs of the English High Schools, the appointment of men of European qualifications as heads of important High Schools, the remodelling of the Normal School at Headquarters and the opening of training institutions in the districts, revision of the curriculum for the Middle and Primary Schools and of the courses of the Industrial Schools, preparation of an Education Code and revision of the Grant-in-aid Code and of the rules regarding the Text-book Committee. It is interesting to observe that Mr. Mayhew indicated the possibility of the establishment of a separate university for Hyderabad.²

But little effective action was taken on his suggestions.

In 1900-11, the total number of educational institutions rose only to 1,036 with an enrolment of 66,484 pupils. The total expenditure on education was only about Rs. 14 lakhs.

(c) *Education in Hyderabad (1911-1947)*: The present Nizam ascended the *Masnad* in 1911. The principal events of his rule were the following :—

(i) Until 1917, higher education in Hyderabad was controlled by the Madras University. In that year, Sir Akbar Hydari, who was then the Education Secretary,

¹ *Education under Asaf Jah VII*, pp. 14-15.

submitted a memorandum to His Exalted Highness in which after ably pointing out the inherent defects of a system of education through the medium of a foreign language, such as 'the undue and unwarranted strain on the students' memory the time wasted in mastering the intricacies of a foreign language at the sacrifice of the subject-matter taught, the stifling of originality and the inability of the graduates to impart knowledge to their fellow countrymen in their mother-tongue and the unbridgeable gulf thus created between the educated classes and the mass of the general public,' he recommended the establishment of a university to be known as the Osmania University with Urdu, the official and the most widely understood language in the State, as the medium of instruction.¹

This proposal was sanctioned and in 1918, the Nizam issued a *Firman* establishing the Osmania University.

The first step towards bringing the new university into existence was taken when a Bureau of Translations was created for translating or compiling the necessary books in Urdu. Until now, the Bureau has prepared about 500 books required by the students in Intermediate, B.A. and LL.B. classes.

The first Matriculation Examination of the University was held in 1917-18 and the Osmania University College was opened in 1919. New buildings were carefully planned and constructed on an extensive site and these facilities are such as are not easily found elsewhere.² A Medical College was started in 1927 and an Engineering college as also a Teachers' Training College were opened in 1929.

The constitution of the University is different from that of the other Universities because it has a Council (which is the highest University authority) in addition to the usual university bodies—Senate, Syndicate, and Faculties. Moreover, the State used to administer the University more as a Government Department than as a statutory and autonomous body and the "administrative officers of the university have been chosen and transferred according to the exigencies of the State administration as a whole".³

(ii) Between 1911 and 1935, the total expenditure on education increased from about Rs. 14 lakhs to over a crore. The expansion in schools and scholars can be seen from the following table :—

Types of Institutions.	1910-11.		1934-35.	
	No. of Institutions.	No. of Pupils.	No. of Institutions.	No. of Pupils.
Colleges	2	126	10	1,600
Secondary Schools ..	88	16,326	184	69,843
Primary Schools ..	921	48,113	4,368	2,73,097
Special Schools ..	25	1,919	184	8,962
	1,036	66,484	4,746	3,53,582

¹ *Education under Asaf Jah*, vii, p. 37.

² Nizam's College, the Women's College and the Medical College remain on their own grounds outside.

(iii) Between 1935 and 1947, things improved slightly owing to the wave for post-war reconstruction plans that swept all over India. But even at the end of the period, Hyderabad was still very backward in education. The statistics for 1946-47 (excluding those for the Osmania University which have already been given on p. 757) are given below :—

	Institutions.	Pupils.
1. Secondary Schools	300	1,20,747
2. Primary Schools	6,314	3,99,899
3. Special Schools	412	17,515
Total ..	7,026	5,38,161

3. EDUCATION IN MYSORE. Unlike Hyderabad, Mysore shows very good progress in education and has several features which even British India could have copied with advantage.

(a) *Education in Mysore prior to 1882*: Modern administration may be said to have begun in Mysore in 1831 when the British Government assumed direct responsibility for the administration of the State; but until 1856, hardly anything was done to organise a state system of public education. Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodeyar III established an English School at Mysore at his own expense; the missionaries started a few pioneer schools here as elsewhere; but nothing else was done and the only means of popular education were the indigenous schools which, as in other parts of India, existed here in large numbers. The Despatch of 1854, however, had its echo even in Mysore and the Hon. Mr. Devereux, the then Judicial Commissioner at Mysore, prepared a fairly elaborate scheme of educational expansion in the State (1856).

He provided for an establishment of officers by which the scheme was to be worked: there were to be a Director of Public Instruction, two Inspectors, four Deputy Inspectors and twenty Sub-Deputy Inspectors, a Sub-Deputy Inspector having on an average four talukas and the higher officers in proportion. As to the schools to be established, he proposed that there should be, when the plan was completely worked, a Central College, four Anglo-Vernacular schools of a superior class, one for each division costing on an average about Rs. 250 a month, 80 taluk Vernacular schools, one for each taluk, to cost about Rs. 4,000, and two Normal Schools, each costing about Rs. 250, one for the *maidan* part of the State, and another, considering the difficulty of getting people of *maidan* to go as teachers to the *malnad*, for the *malnad* part. All this would cost about a lakh and thirteen thousand rupees, including a sum of about six thousand rupees set apart for grants-in-aid.¹

The principal defect in the scheme was that it was expected to take a number of years for completion. Progress was, therefore, slow and halting. Even in 1864-65, the State had only one High School at Bangalore, 4 A.V. Schools in the Districts, one training school, one Engineering class, and 48 Kannada Schools.

In 1868, a new lead was given by Mr. B. L. Rice, the then Director of Public Instruction, who later on became well-known as the Secretary of the Indian Education Commission. The levy of the Local Fund Cess at this time on the model of British India increased the funds available for expansion and made the task of educational reform much easier. The scheme proposed by Mr. Rice

suggested the opening of *hobli* schools to bring education within reach of the mass of the people.¹ Under the provisions of that scheme a school was to be sanctioned to every hobli where the people desired to have a school, and in earnest of their desire agreed to provide a school-house. The masters were to be the men who had been in charge of the indigenous schools, but to be employed after they had received training in the Normal School. They were to receive under training Rs. 5 a month and afterwards an appointment of Rs. 7 a month. The cost was to be met from a cess levied on the Land Revenue and education in the schools was to be free. Committees were formed from among the local people to supervise the schools.²

Normal schools were to be started at the headquarters of every District to train the teachers for the Hobli schools. A fair progress was made during the next decade and in 1881, the educational statistics for the State were as follows :—

	Government.	Unaided.	Aided.	Total.
1. Number of Schools ..	899	1,000	188	2,087
2. Number of Scholars ..	33,287	15,000	9,370	57,657

	Schools .	Scholars.
1. <i>Public Institutions</i>		
College level	4	132
Secondary level	166	3,084
Primary level	907	38,296
Special	10	1,145

2. <i>Expenditure on Education</i>		
from Government Funds	Rs.	1,58,423
from other sources	„	2,32,605
Total ..	Rs.	3,91,028

¹ *Hobli* is a group of villages. The idea of these schools is apparently inspired by the *Halkabandi* Schools of Thomason.

(b) *Education in Mysore (1882-1902)*: In 1881, the administration of the State was transferred to the Ruling Family—an event which stirred popular enthusiasm and gave a great fillip to education. Just a little later, the Report of the Indian Education Commission was published and it exercised a great influence over educational policies in Mysore as in the rest of India. There was, therefore, considerable progress in education on the general lines recommended by the Commission which were, however, modified by the State authorities in certain respects. Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer, the then Dewan, stated the educational policy of the State in the following words (1886) :—

The subject is one which the Government regard as of the foremost importance. Their policy may be briefly summed up as aiming at the following ends: To maintain unimpaired and in thorough efficiency all the means of elementary and secondary education, and to bring them within the reach of all classes, both by direct agency and by assisting private effort. To promote a scholarly study of the local vernacular and of our ancient classical languages, to elevate and extend female education, and to conduct it on a system strictly national so as to enlist popular sympathy in its progress, to encourage higher education and to train young men for the professions of medicine, engineering, etc.¹

The principal events of the twenty years between 1882 and 1902 were the following :—

- (i) Appointment of School Committees for Village schools as a step towards the transfer of authority to local bodies ;
- (ii) Special encouragement to Kannada and Sanskrit studies and the establishment of a Kannada College ; Establishment of the *Oriental Library* at Mysore ;
- (iii) Award of scholarships to students going abroad for technical studies ;
- (iv) Establishment of Maharani's Girls' School at Mysore² ; and general encouragement to the education of women ;
- (v) Establishment of Normal and Industrial schools ;
- (vi) Establishment of special schools for Harijans, and institution of scholarships for the encouragement of education in their midst ; and
- (vii) Encouragement to Muslim education by appointing special Muslim Inspectors and placing them in charge of urban schools.

(c) *Education in Mysore (1902-21)* : As in British India, a new era of educational reform started in Mysore in 1902 and continued to be in full swing up to 1921. The principal events of this period were :—

(i) Sir P. N. Krishnamurthi, the Dewan, emphasized technical education in 1902. An Engineering School and a number of industrial schools were accordingly established. In 1912, the Technical Education

¹ *Souvenir—All-India Educational Conference, Mysore, p. 4.*

Committee presided over by Shri (now Sir) M. Visvesvarayya submitted its report which was accepted by Government and a further impetus was given to technical education.

(ii) In 1913, the Elementary Education Regulation was passed in the State with the object of introducing compulsory education. It was based, more or less, on Gokhale's bill and some inspiration also came from Baroda. By 1921, it was in operation in 240 centres with an enrolment of 44,009 children of compulsory age.

(iii) Aided primary schools were encouraged to secure expansion at a small cost.

The scheme of aided elementary schools put forward by M. Shama Rao, M.A., the then Inspector-General of Education in his letter dated the 5th February 1914, appeared to be well suited to evoke and organize local effort in the rural areas of the State. Government was, therefore, pleased to accord sanction to the proposal making the village responsible for maintaining the aided school and for payment of a suitable salary to the teacher, the grant paid by the Government being supplemented by the villager's contribution. Monthly grants of Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 were given towards the salary of the teacher. As the villagers were given the option of paying their quota either in kind or coin and as this system did not involve any heavy outlay on the part of the village, the system succeeded eminently for some time. The enthusiasm of the people was so great that the schools began to multiply in leaps and bounds and 'in the year 1918-19, the expansion reached its peak, 9,596 schools being instituted and 243,172 pupils being enrolled in the registers'.¹

(iv) In 1913, the S.S.L.C. scheme was introduced at the secondary stage. Although this reform was recommended by the Indian Education Commission as early as in 1883, Mysore adopted it 30 years later!

The purpose of the scheme was to reduce the dominating influence of the Matriculation Examination on the High School course and to provide more practical courses for those not going to Colleges. A record was to be kept of a pupil's work throughout the school course and it was to be supplemented by an estimate of his performance at a Public Examination conducted by bodies other than Universities as recommended by the Universities Commission of 1902. An S.S.L.C. Board was constituted by Government for this purpose.²

(v) In 1916, the University of Mysore was established. Its special features were the introduction of a three years' degree course (preceded by a year's study at a specially selected high school); provision for university lectures in English and Indian languages; compulsory study of the mother-tongue throughout the university course; and the introduction of the tutorial system.

(d) *Education in Mysore (1921-30)*: The decade between 1921 and 1930 witnessed a number of drastic changes and reforms—among which the following may be mentioned:—

(i) An educational survey of the State was carried out in 1922. It revealed that

¹ B. N. Ramasesha Rao: *Pre-University Education in Mysore*, p. 24.

Of the 16,485 villages in the State, 12,026 did not have any schools at all. There were 1,678 villages with Government Primary Schools and 2,781 villages with aided Primary Schools. There were in all 5,276 Primary Schools, that is, one school for every five or six square miles and every 1,094 of the population. There were 953 villages with a population of over 500 which had no schools, Government or aided. About 2,700 schools did not have suitable buildings.¹

(ii) Ever since 1919, the problem of the expansion of Primary Education was engaging the attention of Government. Shri C. R. Reddi, the then Inspector-General of Education, made certain proposals on the subject which were embodied in a Memorandum published in 1919 and orders thereon were passed in 1921. These contemplated

1. the provision of 10,000 primary schools ;
2. the conversion of aided schools, at the rate of 250, each year for 5 years into Government Schools ;
3. the elimination of single-teacher schools ;
4. the establishment of common primary schools for boys and girls except where there was a general desire for separate schools ;
5. the remodelling of all primary schools so as to make a uniform primary course of 4 years teaching no English ;
6. the reorganization of Anglo-Vernacular Schools as Middle Schools of 4 years' length, teaching English as a compulsory language, but having the vernacular as the medium of instruction ;
7. the provision of Sanskrit and Hindustani Munshis, Drawing Masters and Physical Instructors for all Middle Schools ;
8. the establishment of Taluk Industrial Schools and District Industrial Schools ;
9. the transfer of Industrial Education to the control of the Department of Industries and Commerce ;
10. an increase in the number of Normal Schools from 10 to 20 ;
11. the appointment of a Director of Physical Education for the State ;
12. the introduction of a scheme of Medical Inspection ;
13. the introduction of commercial, technical and other vocational courses in the High Schools ; and
14. the improvement in the pay and prospects as well as in the qualifications of all ranks in the educational service.²

In addition to these proposals, the Memorandum also suggested the reorganisation of the curricula of Primary and Middle Schools, and made important recommendations regarding the equipment of Primary Schools, Adult Education and the Boy Scout Movement.

It was estimated that these proposals would demand a recurring expenditure of Rs. 21.50 lakhs in addition to the then existing expenditure of Rs. 37 lakhs. The resources at the disposal of the Government being limited, it was accordingly laid down that an education cess of one anna in the rupee in all Town Municipalities and District Boards and a cess of two annas in the rupee in all City

¹ *Souvenir—All-India Educational Conference, Mysore, p. 9.*

Municipalities be levied on all items of revenue which may be subject to the imposition of this cess. It was also laid down that the control of Primary Education should be transferred to such Municipalities as undertake to meet one-third of the cost of Primary Education in their respective areas.¹

(iii) There was considerable expansion of State primary schools as the following statistics will show :—

	1921-22	1931-32
Government and Municipal schools	2,442	4,900
Aided and unaided	4,340	1,299
Total ..	6,782	6,199

(iv) The Middle Schools were reorganised with a four-year course in 1923-1924. In all of them, English was taught as a compulsory language, but the vernacular was the medium of instruction. Industrial education was transferred to the control of the Department of Industries and Commerce in 1922.

(v) Industrial Schools at some District Headquarters Stations were established.

(vi) A Superintendent to supervise the practical instruction in Middle Schools, and an Agricultural Inspector to perform a similar duty for agricultural instruction and two Inspectors of Physical Education were appointed in 1926-27.

(vii) A scheme of Medical Inspection was introduced in certain areas.

(viii) The designation of Inspector-General of Education was changed to the Director of Public Instruction in 1927-28 and the higher inspectorate was completely reorganised on a territorial instead of a functional basis.

(ix) A Committee to report on the S.S.L.C. Examination was appointed in 1922. It made several recommendations of which the following were important :—

It was recommended that " there be no specialization in the High School course and that during the three years of the High School course, all pupils should uniformly study the same general subject of the standard to be prescribed in each by the syllabuses ". It was also suggested " that the study of a technical or industrial subject be also made obligatory on all the candidates in the High School course, but that this subject be not required to be brought up for the Public Examination, although attendance in respect of it should be compulsory and should count for term, similar to attendance in respect of the other subjects, and that a list of industrial and technical subjects be drawn up for boys and girls separately and pupils permitted to take up any one of them, according to their choice."

Another important recommendation of the Committee was " that under the present circumstances, English do continue to be the medium of instruction in the High School classes." This proposal was approved by the Government subject to the modification made by the Senate, that as far as possible the

¹ *Souvenir—All-India Educational Conference, Mysore*, pp. 8-9.

student's vernacular should be used in general throughout the High School course as supplementary medium of oral instruction, except for the teaching of English and Mathematics. The Government, however, did not agree with the further proposal of the Senate that at the S.S.L.C. examination, candidates should be permitted to answer either in Kannada or in English, at their option, except in the subjects of English and Mathematics for which English should be compulsory.¹

(x) The Mysore University was reorganised in the light of the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission. Intermediate classes as suggested by the Commission were established; and a degree course of three years for *Honours* and two years for *Pass* was introduced.

(e) *Education in Mysore (1930-47)*: Between 1930 and 1947, several important changes were made among which the following may be mentioned.

(1) In 1930, the Elementary Education Regulation was passed and it came into force in July 1931.

In accordance with this Regulation, the administration of all Government Primary Schools, Village Aided Schools, Adult Night Schools, etc., numbering in all about 6,000 was transferred to twelve Local Education Authorities, one for each of the eight districts and one for each of the four large municipalities in the State. Each Local Education Authority exercised control over Primary Education through a School Board. Though a separate inspectorate was contemplated, owing to financial stringency it was not instituted. For the administration and inspection of elementary education, the District Educational Officers and Assistant Inspectors were appointed Ex-officio School Board Officers and School Board Assistants, respectively, in addition to their usual duties.²

But as the experiment did not succeed, Government resumed direct control over primary education in 1941. It will be seen that both these developments are in line with the contemporary educational thought in British India.

(2) The Mysore State Adult Education Council was established in 1941-2. It conducted, in 1947-8, more than 5,000 literacy classes and maintained more than 1,800 rural libraries.

(3) A Scheme of *Partial Compulsion* was introduced in 1944, and is now in operation in 3 talukas of each District. Under it, it is obligatory on parents who send their children to school to keep them there either until the completion of the course or the attainment of the age of 12.

(4) In 1946, the Education Department was reorganised. Previously, the Assistant Inspectors of Education, the District Educational Officers, and the Deputy Directors of Public Instruction were in direct charge of Primary, Middle and High Schools respectively. In May 1946, the administrative system was reorganised so as to bring in unity of educational control in the districts. The District Educational Officers were placed in administrative charge of all kinds of schools in the districts including the inspection of High Schools. The Assistant Inspectors of Education were re-named Inspectors of Schools and they continue to be in charge of Primary Schools. Three Deputy Directors were attached

to the Office of the Director of Public Instruction and they are in charge of High School, Middle School and Elementary Education respectively.¹

(5) In 1947, full compulsion was introduced in one *hobli* in each district. The scheme, however, contemplated rapid extension of compulsion to all the areas of the State.

The following table shows the number and strength of the different kinds of educational institutions as it stood on 1st March 1947 :—

Institutions.	Number.	Strength.
1. Lower Primary Schools for Boys	8,105	386,648
2. Lower Primary Schools for Girls	453	42,540
3. New Type Middle Schools for Boys including Upper Primary Schools for Boys	366	45,797
4. New Type Middle Schools for Girls including Upper Primary Schools for Girls	60	7,517
5. Middle Schools for Boys	478	75,201
6. Middle Schools for Girls	92	14,553
7. High Schools for Boys	92	24,564
8. High Schools for Girls	20	3,001
9. Sanskrit Schools	87	2,431
10. Oriental Colleges	5	556
11. Commercial Schools	27	1,745
12. Industrial Schools	15	408
13. Agricultural Schools	4	97
14. Training Institutions	8	688
15. Special Schools for the handicapped	2	125
Total	9,814	605,871

It will be seen from the foregoing account that the history of education in Mysore was greatly influenced by contemporary educational thought in British India. The great progress of the State is due mainly to its enlightened rulers and to a succession of able Dewans among whom may be mentioned Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer, Sir M. Visvesvarayya, and Sir Mirza Ismail.

4. EDUCATION IN TRAVANCORE. Travancore occupies a unique place in the history of education in India because its educational progress is far in advance, not only of the other States, but of the Provinces of British India as well. This is primarily due to social and political causes. As Shri A. Sankara Pillai writes :—

Continuity of Indian Rule : The social and political conditions that are peculiar to the State have left their mark on education also. The most distinctive feature about Travancore is that at no time from the beginning of recorded history was she under alien rule. Even the British have no rights of conquest over Travancore and she is one of the few Indian States whose relationship with the paramount power began on terms of strict equality. As a result, there was not any violent break in the continuity of her history . . .¹

The Status of Women : A further distinctive feature about Travancore is the high status enjoyed by women in society. Women are not under any special disabilities owing to their sex and they enjoy perfect equality with men in all matters. Therefore women's education in Travancore is far in advance of what it is elsewhere in India and we find girls competing with boys on equal terms in Schools and Colleges. Co-education is very popular. Not only do boys and girls attend the same classes but they are taught by men and women teachers. This is so not only in Primary and Middle Schools but also in High Schools and Colleges. There are lady professors in the University College and women teachers in Boys' High Schools. In all departments including the judiciary and the magistracy, there are ladies occupying responsible positions.²

Interest Shown by the Rulers : The rapid advancement of Travancore during the last 150 years is mainly due to the enlightened policy followed by a long line of strong and able rulers. This is especially so in the field of education. If Travancore is educationally the most advanced State in India today, it is due to the foresight and self-sacrifice of her rulers. As early as 1817, Her Highness Rani Gauri Parvathi Bayi enunciated the fundamental principle of the educational policy of the State when she declared that the education of the people is the primary concern of the State and its cost should be borne by the State exchequer. (This policy was consistently followed by succeeding rulers as well.) . . . It is true that private agencies have made valuable contribution in the cause of education in the State ; but they have always received munificent gifts of land and money from the Government. Government grant forms the lion's share in the income of Private Schools and half the teacher's salary is contributed by Government. In the Budget for the year 1946-47 Rs. 97.65 lakhs is earmarked for education and this constitutes 11.9 per cent of the State Revenue.³

Another reason for the educational advance of Travancore is the large percentage of Indian Christians in the total population of the State. The Census of 1941 showed that out of a total population of 60.70 lakhs, 35.4 lakhs were Hindus, 4.33 lakhs were Muslims and 19.6 lakhs (*i.e.* over 32 per cent) were Christians. Historically, the origin of this large Christian population is to be traced to three factors. The first is the existence of large numbers of Syrian Christians in the State (as in other parts of Malabar) from very early times. After the visit of Vasco de Gama and the establishment of the Portuguese power on the Western coast of India,

¹ *The Trivandrum Training College, Journal of Education* June, 1947, p. 31

² *Ibid.*, p. 33.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

the Roman Catholic Missions began to work in Travancore and converted a number of persons—Syrian Christians as well as non-Christian Indians—to the Roman Catholic faith. The Protestant Missions were the last to come in the field. The London Missionary Society began to work in the southern part of the State since 1806 and excellent pioneer work was done by its enthusiastic missionary, Rev. W. T. Ringeltaube. Similarly, at the suggestion of Colonel Munro, the then Resident at Travancore, Bailey, Baker, and Fenn—the three capable workers of the Church Missionary Society—began their endeavours in the northern parts of the State in 1816. In no part of India was mission work so successful as in Travancore and as early as 1875, when the first census was held, Christians numbered 466,874 in a total population of 2,311,379 or about 20 per cent. Of these 295,770 were Syrians, 109,820 were Roman Catholics, and the rest, Protestants. The work of proselytisation that had thus received a good start continued to expand and, as stated already, the Indian Christians form about 32 per cent of the population at present and enjoy the position of the second largest community in the State. The Indian Christians, it is to be noted, are an educationally advanced community and as they are mostly converted from the lowest strata of the Hindu Society, a large Christian population is a double asset, partly because it reduces the magnitude of the problem of educating the backward classes and partly because its higher attainments help in raising the educational standard of the society as a whole.

(a) *Early History of Education in Travancore (1817-1902)* : In 1811, Gauri Laxmi Bayi ascended the Gadi and with her accession, the modern period in the history of Travancore may be said to have begun. A year earlier, Colonel J. Munro had been appointed as the Resident in Travancore and it was mainly due to his exertions and interest that the administration of the State was modernised and the necessary background for educational progress was created.

Reference has already been made to the Declaration on education made by Rani Gauri Parvati Bayi in 1817. But this had an effect on the indigenous schools only, which now began to receive the support of the Government ; and no attempt was made, prior to 1834, to provide English Schools under the direct control of the State. In that year, an English school was opened at Trivandrum and, a little later, a few District Schools were also started as feeders to it. This was the beginning of the State system of English education in Travancore. It must be noted, however, that the missionaries had started English schools in the State even earlier and that the State had given them very liberal assistance right from the beginning.

The next important event in the history of education in the State was the creation of the *Vernacular Education Department* in the State in 1866. Sir T. Madhav Rao, one of the ablest of Indian administrators of the nineteenth century, was the Dewan of the State from 1858 to 1872 and his tenure of office witnessed several reforms, particularly in education.

The cause of Education was dear to Sir Madhava Row, and it made rapid strides during his administration. A fully equipped Arts College at Trivandrum

scores of English and Vernacular schools all over the country, Girls' schools, and a Book-Committee for the preparation of the necessary text-books, are so many beacon-lights that mark his career in Travancore. The organisation of a special Department of Vernacular Education claims our special notice. The necessity for establishing proper Vernacular schools conducted on a sound basis forced itself on the consideration of Government for some time and about the close of 1041 M.E. (1865 A.D.), the Maharajah sanctioned an annual expenditure of Rs. 20,000 in this direction. The scheme comprised the establishment of a Central Vernacular School at the capital, a school in each Taluq of the State, a Normal School for the training of teachers and the formation of a Book-Committee composed of a President and three members who should translate or compile such works as were in common use in English schools, the whole to be supervised by a Director of Vernacular Education with the assistance of two Inspectors whose duty it was to periodically inspect the schools and report upon them.¹

The policy of the Vernacular Education Department was very favourable to expansion. While taking all possible steps to improve the qualifications of teachers, the Department did not object to aiding schools in charge of untrained or even unqualified teachers so long as they were serving a useful purpose in the locality. Secondly, it recognised, right up to 1895, a two-class primary school as a self-contained unit. Later on, a demand was made to the effect that the third or fourth year classes should be developed wherever possible, but the two-class school was not definitely prohibited. Thirdly, the Department laid great stress on aiding private schools rather than on establishing new schools under its direct control—a policy with which all the three important communities in the State co-operated. The Hindus had their age-old indigenous schools which were now encouraged and financially assisted; the Missions started a very large number of schools, primarily for their own flocks, which also obtained liberal grants-in-aid; and the Muslims, although a small minority, also organised their own schools wherever possible. Owing to this far-sighted policy, education in general, and primary education in particular, made great progress—and the census of 1901 gave a literacy percentage of 12.4 (21.5 for males and 3.1 for females) which is a little higher than that of India as a whole even in 1941.

The educational position in Travancore at the opening of the twentieth century is thus described by the *Imperial Gazetteer* :—

In 1890-1 there were 2,418 institutions of all classes and grades, with 104,616 pupils. By the end of the next decade, the numbers had increased by more than one-half. Of the total of 3,727 institutions returned in 1903-4, 439 were State schools, 1,040 private aided, and 2,248 private unaided. The pupils under instruction in these three classes of institutions numbered respectively 51,169 (26 per cent of the total), 59,430 (30 per cent), and 86,786 (44 per cent). Of the total number of institutions, 3,525 were primary, 169 secondary, and 28 training or special schools, besides 6 colleges. Classified by sex, the pupils numbered 151,053 boys (77 per cent of the total) and 46,332 girls (23 per cent); grouped by religion, 63 per cent were Hindus, 32 per cent Christians, and 5 per cent Muhammadans. The most noticeable feature in the educational statistics of recent years is the great advance made in female education. With the spread

of institutions for their instruction, the number of girl pupils more than trebled during the decade ending 1890, and more than doubled during the next decade. In 1903-4 female education was provided for in 2 Arts colleges, 3 English high schools, 1 vernacular high school, 7 English middle schools, 33 vernacular middle schools, and 138 vernacular primary schools. Education is free in all these institutions. Another feature in the educational history of the State is the effort made to bring the backward classes and the hill tribes under instruction, by the opening of special schools and the sanction of increased grants, etc. In 1903-4 about 44,000 of these people were under instruction in 480 public schools. Five institutions situated on the hills are mainly intended for the hill tribes. The part played by the missionary bodies in the diffusion of education among all classes, and among the depressed in particular, is very considerable.

The total expenditure on education amounted in 1903-4 to 6.6 lakhs, of which about 1.3 lakhs was derived from fees, etc. Of this total 27.4 per cent was devoted to primary schools.¹

(b) *History of Education in Travancore (1902-30)*: The lead in education which Travancore thus secured by her liberal educational policy was kept up during the next three decades. In 1930-1 (1106 M.E.) the statistics of pupils under instruction were as follows :—

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
1. Colleges	2,472	230	2,702
2. English schools	40,341	12,809	53,150
3. Primary schools	308,885	206,882	515,767

The census of 1931 showed that Travancore still led the whole of India in educational progress and had a literacy percentage of 23.9.

(c) *Report of the Statham Committee*: Good as this progress was, the people in Travancore were not satisfied with the existing state of affairs in education and were demanding reforms of various kinds to make their educational system still better. The progress of literacy was not proportional to the expansion of education, due mainly to certain weak points in the organisation of the educational system. The Government of the State also was not very happy about the situation. It was already spending 20.6 per cent of its revenues on education and, being unable to grant additional funds, was rather anxious to find out if things could be improved without straining the resources of the State still further. The occasion for a comprehensive enquiry was also felt to be opportune because the present Maharaja ascended the throne in 1931. An Educational Reorganisation Committee was, therefore, appointed and it submitted its report in 1933. As Shri Jivanayagam wrote :—

Creditable as this state of affairs is, there is a dark side to the picture. The educational advance has been bought at the cost of crushing educational expenditure, which goes on increasing year by year and threatens to strain the financial

¹ pp. 22-3.

resources of the State. Neither the quality of the education imparted nor its product has been of a nature to reassure the public mind. The purely literary type of education given has led to the over-crowding of the liberal profession and of the State services and has created acute educated unemployment. The schools and colleges have turned out boys and girls ill-equipped for the struggle for existence. There came a time when the public demanded educational reforms and a committee was appointed which has just published the report of its inquiries and made recommendations for reorganizing the educational system.

It was fortunate that the committee had as its chairman Mr. R. M. Statham, M.A., I.E.S., C.I.E., who after holding many appointments, both teaching and administrative, in the educational department of the Government of Madras was secretary to the Auxiliary Committee on Education of the Simon Commission, presided over by Sir Philip Hartog and shared in the inquiries which resulted in the Hartog Report. His proposals for educational reform in Travancore may, therefore, be said to have emanated out of the background of his all-India experiences.¹

The recommendations of the Statham Committee were generally on the lines of the recommendations made in the Hartog Report. Some of the more important of them are given below :—

Primary Education

(i) No attempt should be made to introduce immediate compulsion ; but efforts should be concentrated on improvement and elimination of wastage.

(ii) An ordinary primary school should have *five* classes ; all incomplete schools, except those that are run as feeders, should be abolished.

(iii) Children below 5 should not be admitted to primary schools.

(iv) All overlapping of school provision should be carefully scrutinised and done away with.

(v) Primary schools should be co-educational.

(vi) There should be common schools for all communities ; all competition between communal schools should be stopped ; and wherever necessary, provision of religious instruction should be made in common schools.

(vii) Harijans should be encouraged to attend common schools and given mid-day meals, books and clothes.

(viii) Attempts should be made to reduce wastage and stagnation.

(ix) Training of teachers should be expanded.

(x) The primary school should become a community centre ; adult education and rural reconstruction work should be undertaken by primary teachers ; and the curriculum should be revised.

Secondary and University Education

(xi) There should be a departmental examination at the end of the fourth form ; only the brighter pupils should be allowed to proceed to the pre-university classes, and others should be diverted to practical and pre-vocational courses.

(xii) Degree courses should be concentrated in the science colleges ; residence in hostels should be compulsory for degree students (with interdining, if possible) ; and more attention should be given to social and athletic activities.

(xiii) A college of technology should be established.

¹ I. D. Jivanayagam : *Reorganizing Education in Travancore* (Teaching, Vol. VI), p. 6

(xiv) A separate University for Travancore should also be established as soon as connection with Madras university becomes no longer necessary.

(d) *Progress of Education in Travancore between 1931 and 1947*: Education made very great progress in Travancore between 1931 and 1947. The census of 1941 showed that Travancore still maintained its lead over the rest of India and had a literacy percentage of 47.7. In 1943, the Government of Travancore appointed a Committee to make recommendations regarding the reconstruction of education in the State. The Report of this Committee, popularly known as the *Papworth Committee* or the *Education Reorganisation Committee*, is a very important document and educational reconstruction in the State is now being attempted broadly on the lines recommended by this Committee. It would, therefore, be convenient to review the principal events of the period 1931 to 1947 in the light of the recommendations made by the Statham and Papworth Committees.

(i) *Incomplete Schools*: In 1930, out of a total of 3,072 primary schools, 268 had only one class; 696 had only two classes; and 710 had three classes only. The Statham Committee had emphasized the five-class primary school. The recommendation was accepted by Government and so well carried out in practice, that, in 1946-47, only 35 schools had one class, 166 had two classes and 177, three classes. As against these small numbers, 647 schools had four classes and as many as 2,121 had five classes.

(ii) *Training of Teachers*: In 1931, sixty per cent of the teachers in primary schools were untrained. In 1946-47, the number of trained primary teachers rose to 13,659 as against 3,431 only who were untrained.

(iii) *Overlapping of Schools*: (In 1931).

Missions of different denominations each had their own schools; communal organizations had schools of their own; and private individuals ran venture schools. There was a great deal of overlapping among these schools: some were started in places where they were not needed; and places which needed schools went without one. Hence, the distribution of schools left a great deal to be desired. . . . (The Statham Committee had recommended the abolition of overlapping schools. This recommendation was accepted and vigorously acted upon). . . . Many of the schools which were abolished were overlapping schools. Where the overlapping was between a departmental and a private school other things being equal, the departmental school was withdrawn. As between private school and private school, many considerations were weighed before one of them was told to withdraw; and even then, some managements got another school somewhere else. In this manner, this unpopular work was accomplished without giving rise to much offence.¹

(iv) *Co-education in Primary Schools*: In 1930, the number of girls reading in co-educational primary schools was only 138,350 while the total number of girls attending primary schools was 206,882. On the recommendation of the Statham Committee, co-education was adopted, in 1934, as the declared official policy of the State.

¹ M. D. Jivanayakom: *Primary Education in Travancore* (Teaching, Vol. XIV), pp. 123-5.

Though a Chief Inspectress of Girls' Schools has been retained and a few Assistant Inspectresses of schools for inspecting Girls' Middle and High Schools (English and Malayalam and Tamil), primary schools are now inspected by women or men Assistant Inspecting Officers whether they are boys' primary schools or girls' primary schools. Even in 1930 more girls studied in boys' schools than in girls' schools, but in 1930 the number of girls in co-educational schools was 138,350 out of a total 206,882 ; in 1939 it was 261,377 out of a total of 294,404. The staff has also become mixed. Therefore, there are now only primary schools and not boys' primary schools and girls' primary schools. This is very economic, as will be apparent in a place which has enough boys and girls to fill one school completely, but not enough boys for one school and enough girls for another. Under the old order where two schools with two sets of staff and equipment were necessary, now one school suffices.¹

(v) *Education of Harijans* : Even prior to 1930

most of the schools had been open to the depressed classes, but in recent years inducements have been offered to children of the backward and depressed classes to study in ordinary schools. Special grants were given to teachers in schools where there was a large number of depressed-class pupils in classes IV and V ; Readers were distributed free ; a per capita grant of 8 annas was given to depressed-class children in classes III and IV. A number of Harijan schools have now been started, and in the matter of recognition and aid the stricter conditions of the Code have been relaxed.²

(vi) *Curriculum* : In 1930,

The curriculum followed in the schools was as old as 1910. A revision was ordered in 1919 and the curriculum of girls' schools was revised in 1922, but nothing had been done in regard to boys' schools, though the revision had been under consideration for 12 years. The new methods which were agitating the minds of educationists elsewhere, had not effected entry into Travancore schools, (The position was considerably improved as a result of the Statham Report.) In recent years, the curriculum has been greatly enriched. Hygiene and civics have found a place, and music and sewing have become popular arts. Music teachers and dancing masters are being trained against the day when these activities will become universal in the schools. Soul-killing drill is being liberalized by the introduction of joyful games. Extra-curricular activities are becoming more and more common. Scouting and guiding are being Indianized. The Junior Red Cross and the Highway Code are making their appearance. School gardens are subjects of rivalry between schools.³

The Papworth Committee suggests further curricular reform although it does not accept the Basic Education syllabus as *the* syllabus. It says :—

With regard to the curriculum in primary schools, the Committee agrees with the general view that in the primary stage the curriculum must be thought of " less in terms of knowledge to be taught and more in terms of activities to be fostered and interests to be broadened " and it must consist of a series of " purposeful, spontaneous activities centring round the characteristic interests of the child at this period of its life and arising naturally out of its environment." In this connexion, the Committee had the advantage of examining the model syllabus for primary schools prepared by one of its members. This syllabus,

¹ M. D. Jivanayakom : *Primary Education in Travancore* (Teaching, Vol. XIV)), p. 125.

² *Ibid.* pp. 125-6.

though not inserted in this report as we desire as far as possible to concentrate on educational principles rather than details, will be available to those charged with the duty of reorganizing primary education. We trust and expect that the deepest consideration will be bestowed on this problem by experts, and that teachers will be trained in the most up-to-date methods to relate primary school teaching to the children's lives and experiences, and also to use, especially in the lower classes, playway methods and reduce formal teaching to a minimum. These recommendations imply that rigidity and uniformity will cease to be features of primary school curricula and methods of teaching. Variety and experimentation should be welcomed and encouraged. To help in achieving this, the Committee recommends that 'Special Schools' which provide alternative methods of primary education, such as Montessori, Project, Kindergarten, etc., should be permitted and granted recognition.¹

(vii) *Compulsory education* : The Statham Committee, as stated already, was against compulsion. But the Papworth Committee recommended that universal, compulsory and free primary education should be introduced in the State, area by area. This recommendation was accepted by Government and a Primary Education Act was passed in 1946. Under its provisions, compulsion was introduced in two talukas in 1946-47 and it is proposed to extend the Act to the whole of the State in a period of 10 years. As A. Sankara Pillai writes :—

The question has been asked whether the State will be able to shoulder the responsibility of having to finance education if they make it compulsory and assume direct management of all primary schools. The answer to the question is the shift system which has been adopted in the Primary Schools. The School works in two shifts, the lower classes attend school in the afternoon while the upper classes do so in the forenoon. Thus one batch of teachers can handle two batches of pupils and there is no appreciable rise in the number of teachers needed. Meanwhile school hours have been extended from 9 in the morning to 5 in the evening and Saturday has been made a working day. But the timetable is so drawn up that each teacher has work only for five hours every day. Thus Travancore has given an answer to the two knotty problems raised by the Sargent Report—the question of cost and the question of time. Instead of the forty-year plan proposed by Central Advisory Board, Travancore has a ten-year plan and the problem of cost has been solved by introducing the shift system.²

(viii) *Middle Schools* : The Papworth Committee made far-reaching recommendations regarding middle-school education which have been accepted by Government. Their effect has thus been described by A. Sankara Pillai :—

Secondary School Education follows a double track at present. From the Primary School, the pupil proceeds either to the Malayalam or Tamil Middle School, or to the English Middle School. The fee is much higher in the English School and great prominence is given to the study of English there, ten out of thirty-five periods being devoted to it. As it leads to the English High School directly and thence to the University, the richer and the more ambitious pupils seek entrance to it. The Malayalam Middle School is intended to be the finishing stage of Primary School Education and so has an ambitious curriculum and due prominence is given to the study of the regional language and its literature,

¹ Report, pp. 16-7.

² *The Travancore Training College Journal of Education*, June 1947, pp. 47-8.

English is also one of the subjects taught. Nevertheless it has an inferiority complex about it and the well-to-do pupils shun it as a rule. The English Middle School course is of 4 years duration and the Malayalam one of three. At the end there is a Public examination and successful candidates are admitted to the High School. There are two types of High Schools, the Malayalam or Tamil High School which is of two years' duration, and the English High School which is of three years. At the end of the English High School is the English School Leaving Examination which is both a school leaving and a matriculation Examination. Pupils who pass it are eligible for admission to a College affiliated to the University of Travancore. Similarly at the end of the Malayalam High School is the Malayalam High School Examination. There is provision for transfer from the Malayalam Middle and High Schools to the English Middle and High Schools. But owing to the higher standard of English expected in English Schools, the successful M. M. School pupil is admitted only to the second form and the successful Malayalam High School pupil only to the fourth form. The English School Leaving Certificate is the minimum qualification prescribed for entrance into the ministerial services in the Travancore Government and Malayalam Middle School Leaving Certificate holders and Malayalam High School Certificate holders are mostly recruited as teachers in the primary schools after undergoing training in a Training School.

The defects of the existing organisation have been fully realised by the government and the public. The segregation of the elite of the state in English Schools from the tender age of 9 is not conducive to national solidarity, but tends to widen the gulf between the lower and the upper classes. Besides it has a bad psychological effect on the pupils themselves giving an inferiority feeling to the Malayalam school pupils and a snobbish outlook to the English School pupils. Educationally also the present organisation is unsound. The four-year primary course is too short even to secure permanent literacy among the pupils who leave it. . . . The remedy for all these lies in making primary education compulsory and extending it to another year. This is the recommendation of the Education Reorganisation Committee and the proposal has been accepted by Government. The fifth class has been opened in Primary Schools and the five-year primary school has begun to function from this year in the compulsory areas. Similarly it is proposed to reform middle school education. Though the Malayalam Middle School is intended to be the finishing stage of the basic education imparted in the primary school, the courses of study there have been unduly influenced by the English School curriculum and therefore do not serve the purpose for which they were designed. Besides, a double track during the middle school stage is not sound and so a common middle school is to be organised from the beginning of the next school year. A single track system to the end of the Middle School followed by bifurcated courses into Academic and Technical High schools in the next stage is another important recommendation of The Education Reorganisation Committee. Thus the educational ladder is to be changed from the four-year primary, three-year Middle School, and two-year High School Course for the Malayalam School pupils, and four-year primary, four-year Middle School, and three-year High School for English School pupils into a common five-year primary, and three-year Middle School course for all pupils followed by a three-year Academic or Technical High School Course.¹

(ix) *University Education* : Reference has already been made to the establishment of the Travancore University. Attempts are now being made to reorganise the educational system of this university.

It is realised that the Indian undergraduate is too young to shoulder the responsibilities of college life compared to the undergraduates in other countries. Besides much of the work that is attempted in the Intermediate Classes is really High School work. So it is proposed to split up the four-year College into a one-year pre-university Course leading to an examination more or less equivalent to the present Intermediate and a three year degree course. The Pre-university School is to be under the administrative Control of the Education Department while the College course is to be completely under the University. Thus a thorough reorganisation of the Educational system from the top to the bottom is being attempted and the reorganised system is designed to give efficient educational service to the people of the State.¹

(x) *Educational Statistics (1946-47)* : The statistics given on page 891 for 1122 M.E. (1946-47) will show the great educational advance achieved by the State since 1931. On these statistics, the Report of the Education Department for the year 1122 M.E. observes :—

Of the total number of 1,091,766 pupils under instruction during 1122, 623,399 were boys and 468,367 were girls. The percentage of the total number under instruction during the year to the total population (6,070,018) according to the census of 1941 was 17.98. The percentage of the male pupils to the male population (3,045,102) was 20.5; and the percentage of female pupils to the female population (3,024,916) was 15.5. Of the total number under instruction, 49.2 per cent were in private institutions and 50.8 per cent in Departmental institutions. The total number of pupils between the ages of 5 and 10 attending schools was 637,018 of whom 342,940 were boys and 294,078 were girls. Taking the number of children of the school-going age *viz.*, those between the ages of 5 and 10 as 877,513 according to the Census of 1941, the percentage of pupils in Schools between the ages of 5 and 10 to the number of children of school-going age was 72.6.²

(e) *Nationalisation of Primary Education* : When Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer was the Dewan of the State, he evolved a scheme of nationalising primary education. The principal object of the scheme was to bring all primary education under the exclusive and direct control of the State. This was proposed to be accomplished by refusing aid to all private primary schools so that they might either be closed down or handed over to the State for management. In favour of the proposal, it was argued that (i) all overlapping and duplication that follows inevitably in the wake of private enterprise by denominational agencies would be avoided; (ii) that common schools for all children provided on a secular basis will increase the solidarity of the people; and (iii) that the introduction and enforcement of compulsory education would be facilitated. On the other hand, the scheme was very stoutly opposed by the Christian community, particularly by the Roman Catholics, who insisted on their right to conduct private Schools and receive State-aid. As Dr. E. A. Pires said :—

Progressive educational philosophy has now accepted certain principles as having universal validity, and one of these principles is the principle of democracy in education. This principle has several implications, but the implication with which we are here and now concerned is the right of different communities and

¹ *The Trivandrum Training College, Journal of Education*, June 1947, pp. 40-1.

Educational Statistics (1946-47)

	Departmental.		Aided.		Unaided.		Total.	
	No. of Institutions.	No. of Scholars.	No. of Institutions.	No. of Scholars.	No. of Institutions.	No. of Scholars.	No. of Institutions.	No. of Scholars.
1. Pre-University School ..	1	387	..	..	1	254	2	641
2. High Schools (Boys) ..	34	25,327	2	628	113	63,716	149	89,671
3. High Schools (Girls) ..	8	3,329	21	6,300	9	3,962	38	13,591
4. Middle Schools (Boys) ..	185	26,637	139	30,764	212	42,316	536	99,717
5. Middle Schools (Girls) ..	50	3,940	45	14,135	8	1,061	103	19,136
6. Primary Schools	1,428	494,575	1,681	361,694	37	3,749	3,146	860,018
7. Training Schools	12	450	5	157	20	613	37	1,220
8. Sanskrit Schools	1	144	36	5,585	3	298	40	6,027
9. Other Schools	4	217	19	1,305	2	223	25	1,745
Total ..	1,723	555,006	1,948	420,568	405	116,192	4,076	1,091,766

of different denominations to have their own schools, maintained, of course, at State expense, and to impart religious instruction in their schools to their own children in their own faith and practices. This principle has now been accepted in every democratic state; in fact, it would be a contradiction in terms to call a State democratic where the right of religious denominations to have their own schools is denied. The decision of the Travancore Government, therefore, "to assume the control and management of primary education," coupled with its decision to refuse any financial aid to private bodies desirous of conducting their own schools, entitles us who are so adversely affected by these decisions to brand that government as ill-advised and prejudiced, if not unjust and dictatorial. The State cannot monopolise education, even if it is primary education, because education is primarily the right and duty of the family. It is rather the business of the State to protect and foster the legitimate rights of the family in this matter, be the family Hindu, Christian, Muslim, Parsi or Jew.¹

The agitation was extremely intensive and prolonged with the result that the State was not able to implement the policy and ultimately, the idea was dropped. Aid was again offered to all the old private schools, although under certain rigid conditions. As the Report of the Education Department for 1946-7 observes :—

The policy of taking over such of the non-departmental Primary Schools in the area whose managements offered to surrender them (on lease basis) was continued and as many as 169 schools with 879 teachers were taken over to the Department. . . . During the year 1121 the Roman Catholic Primary Schools remained as unrecognised institutions. Finally however the Catholic Schools applied for recognition as denominational institutions and financial aid was granted to them at the same rate as before, provided the minimum strength is maintained and the schools observed the character of a Denominational Schools. New schools were however not given any financial aid.²

5. EDUCATION IN KASHMIR. The history of education in Kashmir has attracted considerable attention. Dr. G. N. Kaul has written a thesis on *Promotion of learning in Kashmir during the Hindu Period (273 B.C. to 1339 A.D.)* which has been accepted by the University of Bombay. Dr. G. M. D. Sufi, has written *Kashir*, a scholarly history of Kashmir³, which contains a detailed account of education in Kashmir under the Muslim Rule. Unfortunately, no history of education in Kashmir in the modern period is available. This is probably due to the fact that there is really so little to write about; and it can be said that, even in 1946-7, Kashmir was one of the most educationally backward States of India.

The modern period in Kashmir can be said to have begun in 1846 when it came under the Dogra Rule and, by the treaty of Amritsar, the British Government recognised *Maharaja Gulab Singh* as the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir. He ruled till 1857; but most of his time was taken up in consolidating his authority and in setting up a stable administration, so that he was not able to pay any attention to educational development. But here, as elsewhere in India, the pioneer work was done by the missionaries. As early as 1854, "Rev. R. Clark and Colonel Martin came

¹ E. A. Pires : *Pedagogic Musings*, p. 329.

to Kashmir to reconnoitre the field for Christian missionary activity. Gulab Singh was quite willing that they should preach in Kashmir, saying that the people were so bad already that padres could do them no harm, and he was curious to see if they could do them any good."¹

The next Maharaja was *Ranbir Singh* (1858-85) and modern education in Kashmir may be said to have begun under him. He was a great patron of Sanskrit learning and the measures adopted by him to encourage it are thus described by Dr. Sufi :—

A Pathshala or College and a library of Sanskrit works were the foremost objects of the Maharaja's care. In the Pathshala, he provided for the tuition and support of several hundreds of Brahman pupils, who were to be trained in the various branches of Sanskrit learning. For the library the collection of manuscripts was simultaneously begun. Translations into Hindi of standard works, selected from the whole range of the Darshanas, the Dharma and the other Shastras, were executed, and partly printed with the object of spreading a knowledge of classical Hindu learning among the Maharaja's Dogra subjects through the Dogri language. As a matter of fact, Dogri was greatly improved and encouraged. Diacritical marks which did not exist in the old Dogri were introduced on the model of Hindi. Pandit Govind Kaul was appointed to the charge of the Translation Department. Persian and Arabic works on historical, philosophical, and other subjects were translated into Sanskrit with the assistance of Maulavis. The Vidya Bilas Press was installed.²

The private charities of Maharaja Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh and other assignments and allocations of several lakhs were constituted by the *A'in-i-Dharmarth* (or regulations for the Dharmarth drafted in Persian) for the benefit of Hindu temples and Sanskrit learning. When Maharaja Gulab Singh "assumed the reins of Government he took pains in the progress of the holy religion of the Hindus as well as in the construction of the various temples, the result of which was that temples arose in the various towns of the State of Jammu." He ordained that a treasury called the Treasury of Shri Raghunathji be established wherein five lakhs of rupees be invested and the interest of money be appropriated for the permanent maintenance of *Sadavarts* (places of distribution of food, etc., to travellers). In conformity with Maharaja Gulab Singh's wishes, Ranbir-Singh. . . . placed the maintenance of *Sadavarts* on a permanent footing Six hundred *vidyarthi*s (scholars) were to be kept on under tuition on behalf of His Highness in schools in temples according to the *A'in-i-Dharmarth*.³

Maharaja Ranbir Singh also created an Education Department and gave a liberal donation to the University of the Punjab for which he was nominated as one of its first Fellows in 1882. It was during the rule of Ranbir Singh that the missionaries also started their educational and medical work in the State in right earnest. In 1864, the Kashmir Medical Mission of the Church Missionary Society was founded by Rev. Robert Clark and educational work was started by Rev. J. H. Knowles in 1880. But even the combined result of State and missionary effort in education was so small that the education of the masses remained in an extremely

¹ *Kashmir*, p. 782.

² *Ibid.*, p. 790.

³ p. 29.

low state. The statistics of 1885 are not available ; but even in 1891, the State conducted or aided only 45 institutions with 3,776 pupils.

Maharaja *Pratap Singh* succeeded Ranbir Singh in 1885 and ruled over the State till 1925. Unfortunately, he too did very little to spread education among the people. At the close of the nineteenth century, therefore, Kashmir was extremely backward in education. As the *Imperial Gazetteer* observed :—

The Census of 1901 showed how little attention was formerly paid to education. In that year only 2 per cent. of the population could read and write. Among males the proportion rises to 3·8 per cent., while among the total female population only 1,260 were literate. Hindus appear to be much better educated than Muhammadans. In 1900-1 the State maintained 87 schools, attended by 6,197 boys.¹

Things improved to some extent in the twentieth century although progress continued to be very slow.

The college, opened at Srinagar through the efforts of Mrs. Annie Besant early in 1905, was taken over by the State and named the Sri Pratap College. With 1,187 students on its rolls this college, in 1938, had the distinction of being the second largest college affiliated to the Punjab University. At Jammu was established, in 1907, the Prince of Wales College, which, at one time, was the only institution affiliated to the Punjab University in geology. Many high schools, and a large number of primary schools were established throughout the State.²

But even in 1925 when the long rule of this Maharaja came to an end, there were only 706 educational institutions in the State with an enrolment of 44,601 and the total educational budget was only Rs. 10.75 lakhs. The census of 1921 showed that only 2.6 per cent of the people were literate.

Literacy among the males is 2·9 per cent., while among the females it is 1·6 per thousand. In the villages, illiteracy of the Muslim masses is colossal. In hundreds of villages not a single Muslim male or female knows even how to write his or her name or count two dozen sheep.³

Maharaja Hari Singh came to the Gadi in 1925. Education received much greater attention at his hands than in the past and, with the sanctioning of more liberal grants, the number of schools and scholars began to increase. Hitherto, one of the principal complaints of the people had been that almost all the important posts were given to non-Kashmiris. This policy was now changed. A rule was made to the effect that all ordinary vacancies should, as far as possible be filled by State-subjects and an attempt was made to train them specially for it.

In 1930, a compulsory Education Act was passed and under it compulsion was introduced (age-group of 6-11 only) in the towns of Srinagar, Jammu, Sopra, Baramula, Mirpur and Udhampur in due course. But by far the most significant event of this period was the appointment, in 1938, of Shri. K. G. Saiyidain as the Director of Education. He held the post for about seven years and under his enthusiastic and inspiring guidance, the State made considerable progress in education.

In June 1938, immediately after the appointment of Shri. K. G. Saiyidain, Government appointed a committee, under his chairmanship, for reorganisation of education in the State. The main recommendations of the Committee were as follows :—

1. The gradual introduction of the scheme of Basic Education in all the Primary Schools of the State with such modifications as may be required in view of local conditions ;

2. The introduction of practical and realistic education in all the Basic as well as non-Basic schools and the consequent revision of the syllabus and allotment of its due place to craft-work ;

3. The improvement of the professional efficiency and status of teachers of all grades ;

4. The vigorous pursuit of a programme of Adult Education with the object, ultimately, of liquidating the overwhelming illiteracy in the State ;

5. The opening of a large number of new schools every year, so that, within a reasonably short time, no place with a population of 500 or more should be without a school ; and

6. The gradual abolition of the wasteful and ineffective, one-teacher schools by the appointment of additional teachers.

This programme suggested by the Committee received the general approval of Government and was vigorously implemented, both qualitatively and quantitatively, during the next six years. The following data regarding education in 1938 and 1944 given on the next page will give an idea of the progress achieved :—

(iv) *Training Institutions (Men)* :—In 1938, there was one small S. V. Training School at Udhampur for about 30 teachers. By 1944, there were (1) 2 Teachers' Training Schools at Srinagar and Jammu, training 200 teachers a year for B. E. C. Examination ; (2) Teachers' Training College for training 45 graduate teachers ; (3) 11 Refresher Courses conducted annually for about 400 primary school teachers ; (4) Annual Refresher Courses for graduates ; and (5) Refresher Courses for Headmasters of Middle Schools.

(v) *Training Institutions (Women)* :—In 1938, there were J. V. Classes attached to Government Girls' High Schools at Jammu and Srinagar for about 20 teachers. In 1944, there were (1) 2 Teachers' Training schools at Jammu and Srinagar for about 50 women teachers ; and (2) Refresher Courses for teachers.

(vi) *Inspecting Agency (Men)* :—In 1938, there were 3 Inspectors, 9 Assistant Inspectors, and 2 Assistant District Inspectors. In 1944, their number was greatly increased and there were 47 Inspectors (including the Inspector of Technical Schools), 9 Assistant Inspectors, 21 Assistant District Inspectors ; and 1 Adult Education Officer with 2 Assistants.

(vii) *Inspecting Agency (Women)* :—In 1938, there was one Chief Inspectress with 2 Inspectresses. In 1944, the staff consisted of one Deputy Directress and 4 Inspectresses, all properly qualified and trained.

(viii) *Craft work* :—In 1938, it was almost non-existent. In 1944, however, it had been introduced in all types of schools.

(ix) *Adult Education* :—It was not organised at all in 1938. Now a great movement had been organised for the spread of literacy and adult education classes were organised in all parts of the State.

Education in 1933 and 1944

	1938.	1944.
(i) <i>Literacy</i>	(1931)	(1941)
Men	5.92	11.1
Women	0.53	2.2
Total	3.39	6.9
(ii) <i>Educational Institutions</i>		
(Boys' Institutions)		
Arts Colleges	2	4 plus 2 (Private)
High Schools	22	40
(Govt. and Aided)		
Middle Schools	92	102
Primary Schools	910	1,144
Normal Schools for Teachers	1	2
Private and Indigenous Schools	3	Nil
Maktabas and Pathshalas	169	187
(Girls' Institutions)		
High Schools	2	8
Middle Schools	34	44
Primary Schools	155	239
Primary Institutions Unaided	5	Nil
Maktabas and Pathshalas	8	2
Training Schools for Teachers	Nil	2
(iii) <i>Education Budget</i>	Rs. 20,50,000	Rs. 34,02,000

(x) *Extra-curricular Activities in Schools* :—In 1938, Games and Physical Drill were the only extra-curricular activities. In 1944, they included (1) Social service, (2) Labour week, (3) Games and Physical training, (4) Self-expressional projects, and (5) Hobbies of the most varied kinds.

In 1944, the Maharaja appointed a Committee to prepare plans of post-war educational development in the State. It submitted its report in 1945 and made very far-reaching and comprehensive suggestions. But before any effective action could be taken thereon, the period under review came to a close.

6. EDUCATION IN GWALIOR. Gwalior also is an educationally backward State. The following extract from *Gwalior Today*, gives a bird's-eye view of the growth of education in the State during the last one hundred years :—

The first school organised on western lines was established in Lashkar in 1846, an institution which has since grown into the well-known College. This

was followed by 20 other schools with 2,400 pupils in all. Organised education made rapid progress and in 1857 a Government notification announced that all villages with over 2,000 inhabitants would have schools, the fees to depend on the boys' capacity to pay. Teachers were to be paid from four to five rupees a month.

In 1860 Maharaja Jayaji Rao was able to take a personal interest in the State's educational programme and he sanctioned a budget of Rs. 17,500 for schools. This was increased the following year to Rs. 20,900 and in 1863 a regular Education Department was set up with a budget of Rs. 26,000. Twenty-three years later, on Maharaja Jayaji Rao's death, there were 90 schools and 5,400 pupils. The year 1890 saw the production of the Gwalior Education Manual and the division of schools into four grades: lower primary, upper primary, anglo-vernacular and high schools.

The beginning of the 20th century saw rapid progress under the energetic guidance of Maharaja Madhav Rao. By 1911 there were: one college, four high schools, 29 middle schools, 321 primary schools, 10 girls' schools and seven special institutions, with 21,560 students in all. The education budget was Rs. 3,55,358. By 1925, the year of Maharaja Madhav Rao's death, the number of educational institutions in the State had risen to 1,056, with a budget of Rs. 9,92,368. Maharaja Madhav Rao took special care that his education plans should not outgrow the funds available in future years, by laying down an education fund which nowadays yields an important proportion of the money needed year by year. Education in Gwalior is thus to a certain extent independent of the changes which may occur in the taxation budget. At present the education fund yields more than Rs. 7 lakhs a year while in 1938 the total education expenditure was Rs. 13,76,638. Since then the State education budget has been increased to over Rs. 16 lakhs.

In 1938 there were 2,80,000 boys and 2,48,000 girls of school-going age in the State. The number of pupils in the schools represented 25.1 per cent of the boys and 4.854 per cent of the girls. The boys had two colleges, 78 secondary schools, 1,261 primary schools and 21 special schools; the girls one college, 15 secondary schools, 155 primary schools, and one special school. In 1938 there were 70,294 boys at school as against 69,520 in 1937 and 12,058 girls as against 12,340. There were also 158 self-supporting schools with 3,678 boys in them and seven with 284 girls in them.¹

7. EDUCATION IN JAIPUR. Jaipur is the biggest of the Rajputana States (in population) and educationally the most advanced among them.

Public education of the modern type began in the State in 1844 when Maharaja Sawai Ram Singhji II was a minor. In that year, a school was established at Jaipur to teach English, Persian, and Sanskrit. This subsequently developed into the Maharaja's College. A Nobles' School was established in 1862 and a Sanskrit College in 1865. When Maharaja Sawai Ram Singhji died in 1880, the total number of pupils under instruction had increased to 20,277 and an Arts School and a Public Library had been established.

Maharaja Sawai Madho Singhji II succeeded to the *Gadi* in 1880 and ruled till 1922. He was succeeded by Maharaja Sawai Man Singhji who was only 10 years of age at the time of his father's death. The State was, therefore, again under a minority rule from 1922 to 1931 when the Maharaja

was invested with administrative powers. In 1931-32, the total expenditure on education was Rs. 6.14 lakhs and the State maintained 1 English College, 2 Sanskrit Colleges, 30 secondary schools for boys, 1 secondary school for girls, 149 primary schools (of which 11 were for girls), 7 Adult schools, 1 technical school and 2 training schools. Besides, there were 524 private institutions (including 175 indigenous schools).

An interesting experiment in Jaipur is the educational centre at Pilani established by the Birlas. The institution started as a family school which was later on made a public one. It became a Middle School in 1916, a High School in 1925 and a College in 1928. Owing to the keen interest taken in it by Seth G. D. Birla, it has progressed very rapidly and is now one of the best equipped educational centres in India.

In 1947-48, the State had 4 colleges, *viz.*, the Maharaja's College, Law College, Sawai Man Singh Medical College, and Maharani's College for women (all of which were situated in Jaipur). Besides these, there were 7 private colleges—the S. S. G. Pareek Vidyalaya, Jaipur (which was an intermediate college); the Birla College (Arts, Science and Commerce) and the Birla Engineering College, Pilani; Seth G. B. Podar College, Nawalgarh; K. N. Rajput Intermediate College, Jobner; Seth G. P. Chamaria Intermediate College, Fatehpur; and Sri Kalyan Intermediate College, Sikar. It had 41 High schools (22 conducted by the State), 57 Anglo-Hindi Middle schools (22 conducted by the State), and 107 Hindi Middle Schools (77 conducted by the State). The total number of pupils in secondary schools was 44,650. Besides the State conducted 713 primary schools with 35,830 pupils and aided 285 with 7,125 pupils.

Among the other educational activities of the State, mention may be made of the maintenance of Sanskrit and Ayurvedic Colleges, a library department, and the conduct of 59 Adult classes with an enrolment of 767 men and 258 women.

The total expenditure on education was Rs. 28.63 lakhs in a total budget of Rs. 300 lakhs (1947-48).

8. EDUCATION IN BARODA. Baroda was a little late to come into the field of modern education. Even as late as in 1870, it did nothing for the education of the people and did not maintain even a single educational institution.

Two hundred or so private elementary schools, *pandiyajini nishalo*, taught reading, writing, and arithmetic in a vague manner to eight thousand students; while in some of the towns schools, which had copied those existing in neighbouring British territory, took their pupils a little, a very little, further up the steps of learning. In the Cantonment at Baroda the British authorities had established a small Anglo-vernacular school in a building which had been erected, half at the expense of the Government and a half at that of Sheth Jamsedji Jijibhai of Bombay; and at Navsari, since 1856, there had existed a school for Parsi children called, after its founder, the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Madressa.¹

¹ The Cantonment of the Baroda State, p. 222.

The first schools of the modern type were established in Baroda in 1871. In that year, one High School and four primary schools—2 Marathi and 2 Gujarati—were started in Baroda city. They had a staff of 17 persons and enrolled 822 children at a total cost of Rs. 1,800 a year. During the next decade, there was fairly good progress. In 1873, four *Vedshalas* were established. The year 1875 was even more important because a *Vernacular Education Department* was now formed under a special officer who was designated *Vidyadhikari*. Two girls' schools and an Urdu school were established in the same year. By 1881, the number of primary schools had increased to 180 with an enrolment of 7,465 pupils.

In 1881, Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwar began to rule his State. It was under this far-sighted and great ruler that Baroda showed a splendid progress in all branches of administration, and particularly in education. When he came to the Gadi in 1881, Baroda was an extremely backward State; but he ruled it so well that, at the time of his death in 1938, it was universally held to be one of the most progressive ones in India. The following statistics for 1937-38 will show the rapid progress of the State under Maharaja Sayajirao :—

Serial No.	Kinds of institutions.	1937-38.	
		Schools.	Pupils.
1	College	1	1,054
2	Secondary Teachers' Training College ..	1	88
3	Government high schools.. ..	16	6,989
4	A. V. Middle schools and classes ..	31	3,234
5	Aided institutions and classes	23	6,651
6	Unaided institutions and classes ..	56	4,724
7	Primary schools	2,030	2,46,322
8	Fund schools	3	337
9	Aided primary schools (including special schools)	78	5,037
10	Unaided primary schools	70	3,159
11	Technical schools	5	1,738
12	All other institutions	28	1,402
	Total ..	2,542	2,80,735

The system of good government, with its emphasis on educational progress, which was started by Maharaja Sayajirao was maintained even after him. Between 1937-38 and 1947-48, therefore, the State showed steady progress in education. In the latter year, the total number of educational institutions was 2,664 with an enrolment of 3,40,985 (2,15,888 boys and 1,25,097 girls) which works out at 14.6 and 9.0 per cent of the total male and female population respectively. These institutions included :—

(a) Six colleges with an enrolment of 2,630 boys and 265 girls (four of these were colleges of Arts and Science, one of Commerce and one of Teacher-Training) ;

(b) 235 institutions imparting secondary education with an enrolment of 41,199 boys and 4,562 girls ;

(c) 2,306 primary schools (including 30 Kindergarten with 2,337 pupils) with an enrolment of 1,68,468 boys and 1,18,513 girls ; and

(d) 45 special institutions including 6 institutions of special education with an enrolment of 811 and 39 other institutions with an enrolment of 1,949 (of whom 548 were girls).

The total expenditure on education was Rs. 69.35 lakhs as against Rs. 40.37 lakhs in 1937-38.

Baroda has two distinctive contributions to make : it was the first state in India to introduce compulsory primary education and it has evolved a system of public libraries which has no parallel in other parts of India. Both these contributions deserve a careful study.

COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION

(a) *Preparations for compulsion (1881-1893)* : Maharaja Sayajirao was a convinced believer in mass education and in compulsory education for all. As soon as he came to the *Gadi*, therefore, he took up this problem for special consideration. But, at that time, education was so backward in the State that the immediate introduction of compulsion was out of consideration. For the first 20 years, therefore, he concentrated on expansion of primary education on a voluntary basis, as a preliminary step towards the introduction of compulsion. In 1891, the number of primary schools in the State rose to 558 as against 180 in 1881. He also gave special encouragement to girls' education and to the education of Harijans, because these two were the principal handicaps in a programme of compulsory education. By the end of 1891, therefore, the Maharaja thought that a stage had been reached when compulsory education could be introduced with fair chances of success.

(b) *Compulsion as an experimental measure (1893-1906)* : The further history of this great experiment is thus told by the *Baroda Gazetteer* :—

Long before the rest of India had done more than think of the free and compulsory education of the people as something desirable but hardly attainable, His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda had introduced it into his dominions ; and he has since witnessed its successful developments in the face of extraordinary difficulties. His Highness, in a speech delivered said :

" I have no hesitation in saying that we cannot do better than educate all our subjects. This is absolutely necessary for the realisation of my ambitions and wishes for the future of my people ".

So, after long deliberation, in March 1892, it was ordered that compulsory education should be experimentally introduced in the town of Amreli, and in nine villages of the taluka. All boys between the ages of 7 and 12, and all girls of from 7 to 10, living within a mile of a school, were to be compelled to attend that school ; unless they were privately taught, or had already passed out of the standards declared to be compulsory, or for certain other reasons. The compulsory standards were then the first three. The order came into force in November, 1893. Gradually more schools were provided, until in 1904, 52 villages in the taluka had come under the operation of the new law. These places which then had schools had a population of 52,828 ; and the Education Department reported that ten per cent of these, actually 5,201, were attending the schools in the compulsory standards. Another 939 children were studying in higher standards so that there was a total of 6,140 children in the government schools, of whom 3,934 were boys. Fifteen years' experience in the Amreli taluka having proved that compulsory primary education was both desirable and possible, an Act making it compulsory throughout the State was introduced and passed in 1906. Under the Act the ages within which attendance at school was compulsory were, for boys from 7 to 12, for girls from 7 to 10. Children were exempted who were required to stay at home owing to the advanced age or infirmity of their parents ; who were themselves physically or mentally unable to take advantage of the schools ; who resided more than a mile from a school ; who were the only breadwinners in the family ; or who had either passed out of the compulsory standards, or had reached the maximum age under the Act. The machinery of compulsion was with the Revenue Department. Lists of children affected by the Act were drawn up in each village by the patel and the schoolmaster each year ; appeals against the inclusion of particular names went to the Vahivatdar of the taluka ; and penalties under the Act were inflicted by the latter officer.¹

(c) *Compulsion is Vigorously Pursued in all Parts of the State (1906-15) :* The next ten years saw a phenomenal progress in compulsory education as the following statistics will show :—

	1906-07.	1916-17.
No. of schools in the State (all stages) ..	1,241	3,199
No. of pupils in above	99,768	2,42,066

The introduction of compulsion, therefore, was fully justified.

Two events of this period also deserve some notice. The first of these refers to the transfer of control to local bodies and the second to some improvements in the machinery to enforce compulsion. The *Baroda Gazetteer* describes them in the following words :—

(i) *Transfer of Primary Education to Local Bodies :—*In 1905, with the extension of Local Self-Government in the State, control over the *gramyashalas* (i.e., rural

¹ pp. 310-2.

primary schools) was handed over to the Local Boards. The experiment proved to be a failure. The Boards knew nothing of education, and cared less; except, it must be confessed, in so far as the appointment and dismissal of school-staffs offered a profitable field for the exercise of nepotism or patronage. A later Education Commission, in 1910, found that the Boards were unfit, at that stage of their development, to exercise control over the village schools. It was withdrawn, and handed over to the education department; though it is still hoped that, in the near future, a rapid development of civic conscience within the Boards will permit Government safely to hand over control over primary education to local agencies. The Boards are quite willing to exercise control; they are entirely unwilling to contemplate any proposal which, by adding to local financial resources will enable them to do something to support the schools.¹

(ii) *Enforcement of Compulsion*:—In 1914, a change was made (in the procedure for the enforcement of compulsion). Exaction of penalties was withdrawn from the Vahivatdar and was entrusted to the Village Boards and to the Municipalities. The intention was to make the successful operation of the Act a matter for the local authorities, rather than for the Revenue Department, and the innovation has, on the whole, worked well. In order to induce the patels and talaties to take an active interest in the matter, five per centum of the fines recovered are payable to them as rewards for zeal in the discovery and punishment of offenders. This is perhaps the most questionable feature in the Act as it stands; and in practice, it has been found that the rewards offered do not, as a matter of fact, serve as an inducement to these revenue subordinates. The balance of the fines recovered are expended on the erection of school buildings, and on giving clothes and other assistance to particularly poor children. The State revenues do not benefit at all from fines under the Act. It may also be mentioned that absence from school is only punishable when it amounts to two-thirds of the total number of working days in a month, the fine papers being prepared every month. The original practice was to permit 15 days absence in each month, and to prepare the fine papers monthly. The change was introduced in favour of the agricultural population; for their children can now legally absent themselves from school during the seasons of greatest pressure in the fields provided that the total absence does not exceed 45 days in any one quarter. In 1913 the period during which attendance at school was compulsory was changed to include the fourteenth year for boys, and the twelfth for girls, and the compulsory standard was raised to the fifth for both; for it had been found that, under the old system, children did not learn sufficient during their stay at school to stand them in good stead in after life. In 1916 a further change was made. In that year a Committee investigated the working of the Compulsory Act. It found that the figures of school attendance had not presented a true picture of actual achievement; and that several children, returned as in attendance at school year after year, never went beyond the first standard and in a few cases not even beyond the "below" standard. The minimum age was raised to seven complete, and the "below" standard was abolished; at the same time an improved method of statistics was introduced, designed to prevent the inclusion as actual attenders at school of children who were either consistently absent, or who were so often absent as to make no progress at all. The result has been to make it appear that a smaller number of children are in actual attendance at schools but the actual fact is that the figures are now correct.²

¹ p. 810.

² pp. 812-3.

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(d) *A set-back to progress (1916-17 to 1937-38)* : Unfortunately, the progress of primary education in the State was slowed down after 1915-16 because a new policy was adopted regarding *single-teacher schools*. In the earlier period, the Maharaja was very anxious to provide a school to every village, however small, and attempted to do so by adopting, with modifications, the system of indigenous schools. As the *Baroda Gazetteer* observes :—

In 1891, ten years after His Highness Maharaja Sayajirao III had assumed his full powers, there were 558 primary schools in the State, the majority being situated in the towns and larger villages. The small villages were as yet unprovided with Government schools ; though they had, many of them, indigenous schools of doubtful capacity maintained by private individuals for their own small profit. At this time His Highness was busily engaged in giving fresh life to the village organisation and government which had in ancient days been so marked a feature of Indian life. The village panchayats were reorganised ; and, as a part of their duties, it was decided that they should make themselves responsible for the village schools. In ancient India the guru was one of the village servants, and responsible to the village authority for the quality of his services, so, in Baroda in 1891, it was ordered that the schoolmaster should become one of the village servants and that schools be provided in all villages which could produce sixteen children willing to attend. Accordingly 632 new village schools were established, about twenty in each taluka. The schoolmaster was paid from 3 to 5 rupees a month from the Revenue Department—as that department looked after the village services ; and he was permitted to receive fees, either in money or in kind, from the grateful parents of his pupils. Towards the cost of maintenance of this school a grant, varying in amount with the examination results, was made by the Department of Education. At this stage, His Highness ordered the appointment of an Education Commission to investigate, both the progress already made, and the nature of the problems awaiting solution. On its advice His Highness gave instructions that the indigenous private schools in the villages should be brought under the control of the Education Department ; a step which was facilitated by the enlistment of the private schoolmasters in the ranks of the servants of that department. At that time the village schoolmaster was paid six rupees a month by the State, and was permitted to get as much as he could from the villagers in addition ; a grant of twenty rupees in the maximum was also payable to each schoolmaster as a reward for efficiency. Most of these village schools, gramyashalas, were in charge of but one teacher ; but in 1892 it was ordered that an assistant should be given to all schools which had an attendance of fifty or more children.¹

This policy of free encouragement to single-teacher schools was changed in 1916-17. It was now laid down that, as a rule, the minimum number of teachers in a primary school should be two and that a State primary school would be established only in places where about 75 children were available for instruction. This drive against single-teacher schools was evidently inspired by the tirade against their inefficiency which was so commonly heard in the Education Departments of British India at this time. It had hardly any justification and did incalculable harm to the cause of mass education in Baroda. School after school was either closed or amalgamated with a neighbouring school and in 1936-37, twenty years

after adoption of this policy, the total number of schools in the State was only 2,552 as against 3,199 in 1916-17 and the total enrolment was just about the same as it was in 1915. Most of the small villages with a population of less than 500 were deprived of school facilities. As the *Report on Public Instruction in Baroda State, 1938-39*, pointed out:—

In judging the results of the compulsory education system it must not be overlooked that as many as 1,325 villages out of a total of 2,969 in the State accounting for nearly a fifth of the total population have no schools as their population is too small. The following figures will make this statement clear :—

	Number of villages	Population
Villages provided with schools	1,433	1,868,559
Villages within one mile of those having schools	211	72,553
Total	1,644	1,941,112
Villages without school facility	1,325	495,347 ¹

In a country like India where people live in small villages, single-teacher schools are inevitable, and an attempt to eliminate them is sure to do more harm than good. Mr. Littlehailes, the Retired Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, was invited to the State in 1933 to examine the working of the State Educational Policy and to suggest improvements. One would expect that, with his British Indian experience and training, Mr. Littlehailes would have supported the drive of the State against the single-teacher schools. But he did not ; on the other hand, he strongly advocated a change in the state policy and wrote :—

Single-teacher schools under trained teachers may be quite satisfactory ; they are not objectionable. I should go further and allow temporary single-teacher schools under untrained teachers, and knowing that a school once closed down is difficult to resuscitate, I would rather not close a school because its single teacher was untrained. Many schools which were formerly provided with only a single teacher have been closed and others have been provided with an additional teacher. This policy, I submit is not to the good of the country, especially in its present state of educational advancement. In places where the school has been closed, facilities for education no longer exist and children remain illiterate. In places where the additional teacher has been added, though the individual instruction given to pupils may have been slightly improved, the strength of the school is not appreciably increased ; it has certainly not doubled ; furthermore the cost of the school has increased twofold though the instruction given has not improved to anything like the same extent.

There will always be small villages, where the employment of a single teacher is all that can be economically justified and wastage in school effort will always be with us especially when illiteracy is large, so that single-teacher schools will have to remain in parts of Baroda just as they remain in small and out of way villages in other parts of the world. What is desirable is that where a single-teacher school exists, the teacher should be conscientious in character and trained. It has not been found impossible in other countries for a single teacher to conduct several small classes in a small village ; it should not be impossible in Baroda. I advise the opening of single-teacher schools in places where they have been closed and transfer to them of trained teachers.²

¹ pp. 60-1.

² J. P. Nalk : *Compulsory Primary Education in Baroda State* (The Progress of Education Feb. 1941, pp. 361-2).

These remarks produced no effect and the State drive against single-teacher schools continued to the end of the period under review. This wrong policy had several unhappy results. It slowed down the pace of compulsion ; it denied education to all small villages and to about 20 per cent of the total population of the State ; and worst of all, it affected adversely the education of backward communities like *Rani Paraj* who live in forest areas in small villages. They needed education most and it was they who were denied it under this policy. To those who still argue that single-teacher schools ought to be eliminated, this experiment in Baroda is a great lesson. As we look at the problem, single-teacher schools must be accepted in India as a necessary evil and attempts should be concentrated, not on their *elimination*, but on their *improvement*.

(BARODA LIBRARIES.

The second distinctive contribution of the Baroda State is the unique system of public libraries it has been able to evolve. The following extract from a publication issued by the State will give a clear idea of the system as it functions :—

(a) *History* : The development of free public libraries is by far not the least among the notable achievements of H. H. the late Maharaja Sayajirao's long and meritorious reign. As far back as 1910 he foresaw the important part which libraries would be called upon to play in any movement for the uplift of the masses. The scheme of village libraries then evolved under his personal supervision and fostering care has stood foursquare all these years and is now increasingly coming under the notice of people concerned with the increase of literacy and of enlightened citizenship. The object of the scheme has been to make the people aware of a higher standard of living, of a more abundant life and making them so aware, to inspire them to achieve it on the basis of self-help.

The original scheme was that there should be four types of mofussil libraries. The district town libraries should be situated at the chief town of each of the four districts of the State (receiving a maximum annual grant of Rs. 700) ; the town libraries should be situated at the taluka headquarters or in places having more than 4,000 population (receiving a maximum annual grant of Rs. 300) ; the village libraries should be situated in villages (receiving a maximum annual grant of Rs. 100) and fourthly, integrating and supplementing the services of these libraries should be the travelling libraries operated from Baroda. The grant from the department in each case was conditional upon the people raising an equal amount from amongst themselves. The department of libraries was authorized to promise on behalf of the district local boards an equal contribution. The scheme envisaged a hierarchy of institutions, the village libraries being supervised by town libraries which in their turn would be looked after by the district town libraries and these by the department of libraries.

(b) *Present organization* : Except that they do not stand in this pyramidal order the present development of village libraries is in conformity with the original scheme. There are at present four types of libraries : 4 district town libraries, 42 town libraries, 1,351 village libraries and 390 travelling library boxes. To them have been added three other types, the reading-rooms—71 in number, the children's room—13 in number and the ladies libraries—21 in number. These have come into existence by the exigencies of social and economic circumstances. In districts of not very well-to-do peasants it was found impossible to collect as many as Rs. 75 which is the minimum capital with which the

smallest library comes into being. On the other hand they found it convenient to begin with a reading-room costing no more than Rs. 25. The reading-room has only newspapers and magazines and no books. The reading-rooms have always proved in experience to develop into libraries. Year by year reading-rooms are being transformed into full-fledged libraries. The starting of children's rooms received a tremendous impetus when the library movement came to be regarded as an essential complement of compulsory primary education. To prevent relapse into illiteracy it was necessary to keep alive the reading habits of youths after the few years of compulsory schooling. And the free public libraries were eminently suitable for this purpose. They promoted free and read-what-you-like type of informal reading and thus provided a continuation of the school. In the library were kept lists of students who had recently left schools. They were studied by the librarians in silence to see that the listed boys and girls made use of library facilities. The method was persuasive and more effective. The ladies' libraries were found necessary in the first instance to overcome the Indian women's traditional shyness to make joint use with men of public institutions and later, with the increasing participation of women in all spheres, to give wider scope to their new enthusiasm for works of public service.

(c) *A village library*: A village library starts with a basic collection of hundred rupees' worth of books. People's share in this is just Rs. 25, the other Rs. 75 are given as a gift from Government. To start a library, however, villagers have to collect Rs. 75 out of which Rs. 25 are set apart for books and Rs. 50 for buying furniture and contingency.

All the libraries and reading-rooms are free and the only condition of admission as a registered reader is that the person must belong to the place. Subscriptions are nevertheless accepted and they entitle the subscribers to some privileges, such as getting more books at a time for home-reading or getting magazines and newspapers from the library at home.

(d) *Management*: The libraries are independent bodies managed by a local library committee consisting of from 6 to 12 members. The president of the committee is a leader of village society, the secretary—generally the senior teacher—is the moving spirit of the committee and not infrequently he works as an honorary librarian. When he does not so work, the post of the librarian is taken up by a junior teacher. The teacher's work is unpaid though notice is taken of his library work in judging his efficiency as a teacher. As secretary he collects the people's share of the annual budget, keeps accounts and with the approval of the president corresponds with the department of libraries or other institutions. The president and the library committee bank on his enthusiasm and the teacher on his part puts in his best endeavour. In progressive villages he earns not only the good-will of the people but small allowance for his library work from the committee of management.

The children's rooms are managed by the library committee of the adults' library. The ladies' libraries are managed by an auxiliary committee consisting of women who work in close co-operation with the main committee.

(e) *Travelling libraries*: The travelling libraries are boxes of books sent from Baroda to supplement and refresh the stock of books of the stationary libraries. They are also used to do the duty of libraries where none exist. There is a stock of books in Baroda separate from that of the Central Library which is drawn upon to fill the travelling libraries. This is done by the

(f) *Library buildings* :—The independence of the libraries is both an index of local pride and a source of inspiration to the villagers. They feel that the library is their institution and that it must well stand comparison with its neighbours'. This pride is, if anything, stimulated if the library is given a building of its own. Generally the libraries are housed in school buildings, rarely in private-owned houses. Since 1930 the library department has been setting apart about ten thousand rupees annually for helping mofussil libraries in having their own buildings. The smallest library building approved is worth Rs. 1,800 and some of the more ambitious buildings are worth, from twenty to thirty thousand rupees. The local people, the department and the district local board share the expenses of the building in more or less equal proportion. The local people besides finding one-third expenses are required to lay by one thousand rupees from the interest of which the building can be maintained in proper repair. In the year 1940-41 there were 184 libraries with their own buildings. It has been found that the people's share is generally a handsome donation of a single individual who regards the library building as a suitable memorial to perpetuate the memory of his dear relative. The library department permits the name of the donor to be associated with the library.

(g) *Library funds* :—To the library committee the question of raising funds is as important as that of management. Of their annual budget up to two-thirds is received as grant from the department of libraries and district local boards. But one-third has to be raised locally. This is done thus : on occasions of births and deaths, or marriages and similar joyous functions, families are persuaded by the library committees to make some donation to the library funds. The appeals are seldom turned down. The librarian or the secretary works upon the competitive spirit of local well-to-do men and wheedles them into making donations. The subscribers' fees form a good portion. And lastly comes the interest on the reserve fund.

The reserve fund is the financial fly-wheel of the libraries. It is a store-house of economic power. The Government grant cannot be supposed to be a permanent source of income. For one thing the number of libraries would increase from year to year without a corresponding increase in Government revenue. The library department, therefore, rightly envisaged a future when Government grants to libraries would cease or at any rate diminish into thin proportions. Since 1916 the libraries have therefore been made to contribute some portion of their annual budget to the reserve fund. These reserve funds have now amounted to four and five figure rupees and are providing a steady annual income. The funds are public property, the department only controlling their investment and disposition.

(h) *Routine of management* :—When the library committee have collected their share of the annual income, they frame a budget and send it to the department for approval. The town libraries send only their budget while the village libraries send the amount that they have collected. The town libraries are informed by the department, of the amounts which they are to receive as Government and local board contribution and they start to spend accordingly. The library year begins in August and the town libraries receive payment of the Government and local board contribution in two instalments, first in January, and the second in July. For receiving these payments the town library committees send to Baroda all the bills and the department verify that the expenses are incurred in accordance with the sanctioned budget.

To village libraries no money is sent. Their contribution is received by the department, the share of Government and local board contribution is determined

and generally three times the amount of village collection is sent to the Libraries' Co-operative Society to be spent by it as shown in the budget of each village library. The village librarian is relieved of the duty of book keeping and accountancy. The centralized purchase through the Libraries' Co-operative Society is both economic and efficient.

(i) *Libraries' Co-operative Society* :—In the year 1924, some of the library enthusiasts among the people started a Libraries' Co-operative Society. Its functions are multiform. Like the consumers' co-operative society, it supplies to its constituent library members, library materials like books, stereoscope, forms, furniture, etc., without the middleman's profits. It works also as a savings bank and accepts the reserve funds of the various libraries as deposits. It administers trusts made for the benefit of libraries. It publishes books on library science. It also publishes a Gujarathi monthly called "Pustakalaya". Besides various useful articles and news about library affairs of the State in particular it publishes the departmental circulars which are issued from time to time for the guidance of the village library authorities.

(j) *The State Library Association* :—The vitalizing influence which the "Pustakalaya" exercises on libraries is strengthened and made more vivid by the activities of the State Library Association. The holding of Library conferences and training classes for librarians are two of its important activities. It has only two paid servants, but the honorary work of the members is beyond praise. Personal visits of the members to villages have proved very effective in creating and fostering library consciousness among people.

A feature of the State Library Association is its pyramidal structure. The State Library Association stands at the apex. At the bottom are the village libraries and their friends, i.e., the people who take interest in their welfare. In between these two come the Juth mandals—group associations, the taluka and the district organizations. The independence of village libraries in the official scheme is thus tempered and almost transmuted by this unofficial organization into a kind of vital contact.

(k) *Central Library* :—In the City of Baroda itself there is the Central Library which is run by the State for free use by the citizens. It is a general library intended to provide healthy reading material. It is modelled on the urban municipal libraries of England and the U.S.A. At the same time it partakes of the nature of national libraries in regard to its Gujarati and Marathi collections which are presumably the largest in these languages.¹

In 1941, it was estimated that (a) 83.2 per cent of the population was served by Reading Rooms and Libraries, (b) the number of readers was 11 lakhs (in a total population of 28 lakhs), (c) the total stock of books was 19 lakhs, and (d) books in circulation were 10 lakhs. The following statistics of expenditure for 1907-08 and 1941-42 will also be found interesting :—

	1907-08	1941-42
	Rs.	Rs.
Government contribution to Central Library	..	42,868
Government grant to Village libraries ..	10,991	41,455
People's contributions	2,525	49,474
Grant from Local Boards	1,511	42,492
Total ..	15,027	1,76,289

9. EDUCATION IN JODHPUR: The history of modern education in Jodhpur State in the nineteenth century is thus told by the *Rajputana Gazetteer* :—

In former days, the Darbar took no interest in education, and the chiefs and nobles, as a rule, considered reading and writing as beneath their dignity and as arts which they paid their servants to perform for them; schools were, of course, to be found but were private institutions of the indigenous type, such as Hindu *posals* or *pathshalas* and Musalman *maktabs*, in which reading, writing and a little simple arithmetic were taught. The earliest public institutions were apparently a couple of vernacular schools (at Jasol and Barmer) in the Mallani district; it is not known when they were first opened, but they were attended by about one hundred boys in 1868 and were maintained from a special fund under the control of the Political Agent. In the following year, the Darbar established an anglo-vernacular school (which soon developed into a high school) and a Hindi pathshala—both at the capital—while in 1870 vernacular schools were opened at the headquarters of nine districts. An anglo-vernacular school was started at Pali in 1873; a branch of the high school at the capital in 1875—when also two schools for the sons of Thakurs (the first of their kind in Rajputana) came into existence—and Sanchor got a vernacular school in 1880. In this way, the State institutions (including two in Mallani) numbered eighteen in 1881-82, namely one high school, two anglo-vernacular (primary), thirteen vernacular, and two special schools, and the cost of maintenance was about Rs. 10,000.

So matters remained until 1886-87, when the important towns of Jalor, Merta, Nagaur, Phalodi and Sojat were provided with anglo-vernacular schools, and vernacular institutions were established at eight other places, including three in Mallani (namely at Chhotan, Gurha and Sindari). The same year witnessed the opening at the capital of a girls' school (called after Mr. Hewson, who was guardian to the Maharaja and had died in August 1886) and a Sanskrit school, as well as the amalgamation of the two special schools (above mentioned) into one institution styled the Powlett Nobles' school after the officer who was then Resident. The only other addition made during this decade was the starting in 1891 of a class at the high school for teaching the boys telegraphy and qualifying them for employment on the Jodhpur-Bikaner Railway. Thus the number of State institutions (including five in Mallani) had increased to thirty-two in 1891-92, namely one high school (with a special class for telegraphy), seven anglo-vernacular primary schools, twenty-one vernacular, one girls' school, and two special institutions (one for Sanskrit and the other the Nobles' school). Omitting the Mallani schools—for which figures are not available—the number of pupils on the rolls at the end of the above year was 1,665, and the daily average attendance was 1,057 including forty-four girls, while the expenditure amounted to about Rs. 21,000.

In 1893, a college, named after the late Maharaja "the Jaswant College," was established and, having been affiliated to the Allahabad University up to the Intermediate standard in the same year and up to the B.A. standard in 1898, it sent its first batch of candidates for the Intermediate examination in 1895 and for graduation in 1899. A surveying class, similar to the overseer class at the Roorkee College, was started in 1896 for the purpose of training youths for service in the Public Works Department, but it was never very popular and was abolished in 1904. The vernacular school at Sindari in Mallani was closed about this time as the jagirdars withdrew their subscriptions, but, on the other hand, an institution, founded in the interests of the poorer Rajputs and called after the Earl of Elgin, then Viceroy of India, was established at Mandor (near the capital) in 1896 and amalgamated with the Powlett Nobles' school three years

later. Lastly, anglo-vernacular schools were opened at Kharchi (Marwar junction) and Balotra in 1896 and 1898 respectively, and the teaching of English was started at the Nawa school in 1897. Consequently the State institutions (including four in Mallani) numbered thirty-four in 1901-02 namely the college (with a surveying class), the high school (with a class for instruction in telegraphy), ten anglo-vernacular primary and nineteen vernacular schools, one girls' school, and two special schools. Omitting, as before, the Mallani schools, from which no returns were received, the number of boys and girls on the rolls at the end of the above year was 1,718, and the daily average attendance was 1,321, of whom fifty were girls; the total expenditure was Rs. 37,000.¹

Even in the Twentieth Century progress continued to be slow. The latest report available is that for 1945-46 which shows that the total number of educational institutions in the State was 309 only (1 college; 15 high schools; 2 upper middle schools; 43 middle schools (Vernacular); 71 primary schools; 163 lower primary schools; 11 oriental schools; and 3 teacher-training institutions). The total number of pupils was 39,568 only (34,330 boys and 5,328 girls). The total expenditure on education was only Rs. 15.47 lakhs as against a total expenditure of Rs. 233 lakhs (5.3 per cent).

¹ pp. 166-7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The objects of this Note are three :—(a) to list a few of the important books on Indian education ; (b) to indicate some of the problems of historical research in Indian education that need further investigation ; and (c) to offer a few suggestions to the reader who is interested in some problem of Indian education and desires to know how to set about to study it.

2. THE BACKGROUND. The history of education can hardly be studied in an isolated manner. It is intimately connected with the social, political, and administrative history of India during the British Period and a student of the history of Indian education must obtain the proper background for his study by reading a few books on these subjects. A detailed bibliography of such books is obviously beyond our scope ; but we give below a list of topics whose study is indispensable for the proper understanding of the history of education in modern India :—

- (a) *British Conquest of India*, with special reference to the formation of Provinces and other administrative units ;
- (b) *Constitutional History of India*, with special reference to the evolution of Central, Provincial and Local Governments ; the legislative, financial, and administrative relations between them ; the slow democratisation of governmental machinery ; and the gradual transfer of power to the Indian people ;
- (c) *Social History of India*, with special reference to the renaissance that started in Indian life on its contact with the West ; the various movements for social or religious reform that came to be organised during the British Period ; the biographies of the personalities behind these movements ; the nature of the conservative opposition and the manner in which it was overcome ; etc. Special attention should be paid to the movements like Brahmo Samaj, Prarthna Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission and the Aligarh Movement ; attempts made to ameliorate the condition of Harijans and other backward classes, to abolish untouchability, or to improve the social status of women should also be carefully studied ; and
- (d) *National Awakening in India*, with special reference to the birth of a new national consciousness and patriotism under the British Rule ; the relationship between education and the spirit of nationalism ; the establishment and growth of the Indian National Congress ; the struggle for independence ; and the birth of national education as a part of the national political movement.

The following is the list of general books from which quotations have been given in this work :—

- *1. Aiyar, P. S. Sivaswami : *Indian Constitutional Problems*.
- *2. Andrews, C. F. : *The Renaissance in India* (Student Volunteer Mission Movement), 1912.
- *3. Balkrishna : *The Indian Constitution*, Kolhapur, 1932.
- *4. Dutt, R. C. : *England and India*.
- *5. Gandhi, Mahatma : *Young India* (1919-22).
- *6. Gokhale, G. K. : *Speeches* (Madras), 1920.
- *7. Ilbert, Sir C. : *Government of India*.
- *8. Latthe, A. B. : *Memoirs of His Highness Shahu Chatrapati Maharaja of Kolhapur*.
- *9. *Lord Curzon in India*, Vols. I & II.
A collection of Lord Curzon's speeches on Indian problems.
- *10. Mukherjee, P. : *Indian Constitution*.
- ✓*11. Naoroji, Dadabhai : *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*.
- ✓*12. O'Malley, L. S. S. : *Modern India and the West* (Oxford University Press), 1941.

A good study, although with a bias for the West, of the reactions of the West on India and of India on the West. A brief review of modern education by J. R. Cunningham, Retired Director of Public Instruction, Assam, appears as Chapter IV.

- *13. Pattabhi, Sitaramayya : *History of the Indian National Congress*, Vols. I & II.
- 14. *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, 1918.
- 15. *Report of the Functions Committee*, 1918.
- 16. *Despatch of the Government of India on the Report of the Functions Committee*, 1919.
- *17. Ronaldshay, Lord : *The Heart of Aryavarta*, 1924.

3. SCHEME OF CLASSIFICATION. We now come to books dealing solely with the history and problems of Indian education. For convenience of reference, these have been listed under the following sections :—

(1) *All-India—General* :

- (a) Official Publications ;
- (b) Non-Official Publications :
 - (i) Histories and Critiques of Education in India,
 - (ii) Biographies of Educationists,
 - (iii) Missionary Enterprise.

(2) *All-India—Special Problems* :

Books dealing with special problems of Indian education. (Both official and non-official.)

(3) *State or Provincial Histories and Problems* :

- (a) Bombay ;
- (b) Provinces and States other than Bombay.

ALL-INDIA—GENERAL AND OFFICIAL

4. OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS (ALL-INDIA). Official publications in India are the most complete and authoritative documents available on the subject of educational history. But owing to the peculiar situation in India, they have some shortcomings. For instance, they cannot be relied on to give adequate accounts of those aspects of education which were either neglected or opposed by officials, such as indigenous or national education; they inevitably tend to magnify the British contribution to Indian education and do not generally attempt to compare educational events in India with contemporary developments in other countries; and the *Indian* side of the story does not naturally find a place in them. In spite of these shortcomings, however, the official publications should form the foundation (and even the bulk) of one's reading on the subject; and their deficiencies should be made good by suitable additional reading.

The more important of the publications issued by the Government of India or by His Majesty's Government in the U.K. are listed below :—

(a) We shall begin with the period, 1781-1859, for which the following two publications are invaluable :—

1. H. Sharp : *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I (1781-1839), Calcutta, 1920.

2. J. A. Richey : *Selections from Educational Records*, Part II (1840-1859), Calcutta, 1922.

Both these books contain very useful extracts from original documents many of which are now inaccessible. They also contain valuable bibliographies. Part II gives (in Appendix C) short biographical notes on some persons who have played an important role in the history of education in modern India.

Other publications regarding this period are :—

3. East India Company. A. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company*, 16th August 1832. Printed by order of the Hon'ble Court of Directors. London, 1833.

4. East India Company. B. *Minutes of evidence taken before the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company*. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 16th August 1832, London, 1832.

5. East India Company. C. *Minutes of evidence taken before the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company and also an appendix and index*. Volume I, Public. Ordered to be printed, 20th August 1853, London, 1853.

(of these B and C are the same).

6. East India Company. *Second report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to enquire into the operation of the Acts 3 and 4. Will. 4, C. 85, for the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian territories. Together with the minutes of evidence, etc.*, Session 1852-53. Ordered by the House of Lords to be printed, 16th June 1853, London, 1853.

7. East India Company. *Sixth report from the Select Committee on Indian*

8. *Correspondence relating to the Education Despatch of 19th July 1854*, London, 1858.

9. *Return of all sums spent on Native Education in India since April 1834*, London, 1854.

10. Sykes, Colonel: *Statistics of the Educational Institutions of the East India Company in India*, Calcutta, 1844.

(b) The period from 1859 to 1882 has several publications, among which the following may be mentioned :—

1. Monteath, A. M. : *Education in India*, 1865-66.
2. Howell, A. P. : *Education in India*, 1867-68.
3. Howell, A. P. : *Education in British India, prior to 1854, and in 1870-71*.
4. *Report of the Indian Education Commission (1882-83)*.

As appendices to the Report of the Indian Education Commission, the following volumes must also be studied :—

5. *Report of the Bombay Provincial Committee*, Vols. I & II.
6. *Report of the Madras Provincial Committee*.
7. *Report of the Bengal Provincial Committee*.
8. *Report of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee*.
9. *Report of the Punjab Provincial Committee*.
10. *Report of the Central Provinces Provincial Committee*.
11. *Report on Education in the Hyderabad Assigned Districts (i.e. Berar) presented to the Education Commission*.
12. *Report on the Progress of Education in the Lower Provinces of Bengal to the close of the year 1881-82*.
13. *Report on Education in Coorg, 1834-82*.

The Report of the Indian Education Commission with its appendices is an extremely valuable document for the study of the history of education in modern India prior to 1882. For a discussion of its utility and importance, see pp. 225-7, *supra*.

The following publication is also helpful :—

14. *Selections from the Records of the Government of India*, Home Department, No. LXXVI, 1870.

A Collection of Despatches from the Home Government on the subject of Education in India, 1854-68.

(c) For the period after 1882, the best official documents are the *Quinquennial Reviews of the Progress of Education in India*. These began to be published in 1886 and until now, the following volumes have been issued :—

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. First Review : 1886 | 6. Sixth Review : 1907-12 |
| 2. Second Review : 1887-92 | 7. Seventh Review : 1912-17 |
| 3. Third Review : 1892-97 | 8. Eighth Review : 1917-22 |
| 4. Fourth Review : 1897-1902 | 9. Ninth Review : 1922-27 |
| 5. Fifth Review : 1902-07 | 10. Tenth Review : 1927-32 |
| 11. Eleventh Review : 1932-37. | |

The Twelfth Review will be a decennial one and will cover the period

12. Since 1913-14, the Government of India have also issued a few *Annual Reviews of Education in India*. Reviews for the following years have been published :—

Education in India, 1913-14 ; 1914-15 ; 1915-16 ; 1917-18 ; 1918-19 ; 1919-20 ; 1920-21 ; 1922-23 ; 1923-24 ; 1924-25 ; 1925-26 ; 1927-28 ; 1928-29 ; 1929-30 ; 1930-31 ; 1932-33 ; 1933-34 ; 1934-35 ; 1935-36 ; 1937-38 ; and 1938-39.

It will be noticed that no annual reviews are published in those years when the quinquennial reviews become due.

13. Since 1941-42, the Government of India have published, not annual reviews, but *Annual Statistical Tables*. These have appeared for years 1941-42, 1942-43, 1943-44, 1944-45 and 1945-46.

The Annual and Quinquennial Reviews are the best official documents for the study of the *history* of modern Indian education since 1882. But an insight into the educational *problems* of this period can be better had from the following official publications :—

(a) Since 1937, the Government of India have published a number of documents relating to the work of the *Central Advisory Board of Education*. Among them, the following may be mentioned :—

1. *Report of the Women's Education Committee on Primary Education of Girls in India*, 1936 1937
2. *Report of the Women's Education Committee of Central Advisory Board of Education to consider the Curriculum of Girls' Primary Schools in India* 1937
3. *Report of the Vernacular Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education appointed to consider certain questions connected with the Administration and Control of Primary Education* 1937
- ✓ 4. *Report of the First Committee of Central Advisory Board of Education appointed to consider the Wardha Education Scheme* 1938
- ✓ 5. *Report of the Second Wardha Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education* 1940
6. *Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education*, 1939 1940
7. *Report of the Social Service and Public Administration Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India*, 1940, together with the decisions of the Board thereon 1941
8. *Report of the Joint Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Health and Central Advisory Board of Education on the Medical Inspection of School Children* 1941
9. *Report of the Scientific Terminology Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India*, 1940, together with the decisions of the Board thereon 1941
10. *Proceedings of the sixth Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education held at Madras on 11th and 12th January 1941* 1941
11. *Proceedings of the seventh Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India held at Hyderabad, Deccan, on 14th and 15th January 1942* 1942
12. *Report of the School Building Committee* 1942

13. Report of the Uniform Braille Code Committee	1942
14. Report of the Examination Committee, 1942	1942
15. Report of the Expert Committee on a Uniform Braille Code for India with the Braille Charts printed in Indian Alphabets, 1942, as subsequently modified	1942
16. Proceedings of the Eighth Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education held at Lucknow	1943
17. Report of the Joint Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education and the Inter-University Board appointed to investigate the question of the relation of the School Leaving Certificate Examination to the Matriculation Examination, 1942	1943
18. Report of the Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education on the Training, Recruitment and Conditions of Service of Teachers	1943
19. Report of the Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education appointed to consider the question of the Recruitment of Education Officers, 1942, together with the decisions of the Board thereon	1943
20. Report of the Examination Committee	1943
21. Proceedings of the Ninth and Tenth Meetings of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India held in October 1943 and January 1944 respectively	1944
22. Report of the Technical Education Committee, 1943	1944
23. Report of the Text-Book Committee, 1943	1944
24. Report of the Examination Committee (Technique of Examinations), 1943	1944
25. Report of the Committee of Central Advisory Board of Education appointed to consider the question of Training, Recruitment and Condition of Service in Universities, etc., together with the decisions of the Board thereon	1945
26. Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education on Post-War Educational Development in India, 1944	1945
27. Volume containing Reports of the Committees of the Central Advisory Board of Education	1945
28. Report of the Administration Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education	1945
29. Proceedings of the Eleventh Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education	1945
30. Report of the Agricultural Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education, 1944	1945
31. Proceedings of the Twelfth Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education, 1944	1946
32. Report of the Religious Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education	1946
33. Report of the Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education on Selection of Pupils for Higher Education	1946
34. Report of the Committee of Central Advisory Board of Education on Conditions of Service of Teachers	1946
35. Reports of the Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board	

36. *Proceedings of Thirteenth Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education* 1947
37. *Report of Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education on the Secondary School Examination Council for India* 1947
38. *Report by the Central Advisory Board of Education on Basic English* 1947
39. *Report of the Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education on Air Training* 1947
40. *Report of the Expert Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education on uniform Indian Braille held on 1st and 2nd April, 1946 as adopted by the Board* 1947
41. *Report of the Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education on a National Cultural Trust for India* 1947

(b) The Bureau of Education of the Government of India has been publishing *Occasional Reports* and *Pamphlets* on various topics ever since its inception. In the old series, the following publications have been issued till 1930-31 :—

(i) OCCASIONAL REPORTS

1. *Rural Schools in the Central Provinces.* By H. Sharp (1904).
2. *Vernacular Reading Books in the Bombay Presidency.* By J. G. Covernton (1906).
3. *The Educational System of Japan.* By W. H. Sharp (1906).
4. *Furlough Studies.* By J. Nelson Fraser, H. Sharp and G. W. Kuchler (1906).
5. *Training of Secondary Teachers.* By H. R. James, H. Sharp and J. Nelson Fraser (1909).
6. *Educational Buildings in India* (1911).
7. *Methods of School Inspection in England.* By H. G. Wyatt (1917).
8. *The Training of Teachers.* By H. S. Duncan and A. H. Mackenzie (1919).
9. *The Planning and Fitting up of School Laboratories.* By W. C. S. A. Rao (1921).
10. *Adult Education in England and Wales.* By J. P. Bulkeley (1922).
11. *Rural School Teachers in the United States of America.* By H. G. Wyatt, I.E.S. (1923).
12. *Grant-in-aid to Schools in British India.* By J. A. Richey, C.I.E. (1923).
13. *Bilingualism (with special reference to Bengal).* By M. P. West, I.E.S. (1927).
14. *Some Experiments in Indian Education* (1927).
15. *Rural Education in England and the Punjab.* By R. Sanderson, M.A., I.E.S., and J. E. Parkinson, M.A., I.E.S. (1928).
- ✓ 16. *A Report on the use of the Mother-tongue as the Medium of Instruction and Examination in certain subjects for the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University.* By M. R. Paranjpe, M.A., B.Sc., Poona (1932).

(ii) PAMPHLETS

1. *Drawing and Manual Training in Punjab Schools.* By J. Y. Buchanan (1918).

2. *Education of Factory Children in India* (1918).

3. *Extracts from the Report of the Committee appointed by the Prime Minister to enquire into the position of Natural Science in the Educational System of Great Britain* (1918).

4. *Extracts from the Report of the Commissioner of Education, Washington, 1916, regarding Vocational Education* (1918). Reprint, 1927.

5. *Notes on Vernacular Education in Ceylon*. By H. Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E. (1919).

6. *Indian State Scholarships* (1919).

7. *Facilities for Indian Students in America and Japan*. By R. K. Sorabji, M.A., BAR-AT-LAW (1920).

8. *Libraries in Indian High Schools*. By L. T. Watkins, M.A., I.E.S. (1920).

9. *State Examinations in Scottish Schools*. By A. H. Mackenzie, M.A. (1921).

10. *Visual Instruction in Baroda*. By D. Swarkar, L.C.E. (1921).

11. *Education at Jamshedpur*. By G. E. Fawcus, M.A., and M. D. Madan, M.L.C. (1921).

12. *Science Teaching in England*. By H. Banister (1922).

13. *Provisional Series of Mental Intelligence Tests for Indian Scholars*. By J. A. Richey, C.I.E. (1924).

14. *Impressions of the Imperial Education Conference, 1923*. By F. R. Tomlinson, M.A., I.E.S. (1924).

15. *Conference of Indian Universities* (1924).

16. *Conference of Educational Administrators in India* (1927).

17. *Notes on Garden Work in a Village Primary School*. By A. C. Dobbs and Rai Sahib S. N. Sil (1927).

18. *Experiments in Primary Education in the Orissa Feudatory States*. By H. Dippie, M.A., D.S.O., I.E.S. (1928). Reprint, 1930.

19. *Note on Education at Jamshedpur in Bihar and Orissa*. By G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., G.B.E. (1930).

20. *Revised Series of Mental Intelligence Tests for Indian Scholars* (1930). As. 7.

(iii) MISCELLANEOUS REPORTS

1. *Report on the Conference on the Education of the Domiciled Community in India, July 1912* (1912).

2. *Report on the enquiry to bring Technical Institutions into closer touch and more practical relations with the employers of Labour in India*. By Lieutenant-Colonel E. H. deV. Atkinson, R.E., and T. S. Dawson (1912).

3. *Papers regarding the Educational Conference, Allahabad, February 1911* (1911).

4. *The Essentials of a University in a Great Centre of Population* (1917).

(c) After the revival of the Bureau in 1937, the publication of reports, pamphlets, and studies has been restarted. Some of its publications in the new series have already been listed above under the Central Advisory Board of Education and under the 'Annual and Quinquennial Reviews'. A few others are given below :—

2. *Development of Higher Technical Institutions in India* (Interim Report of the Sarkar Committee).

3. *Proceedings of the All-India Council of Technical Education*, First Meeting, Delhi, 1946.

4. *Proceedings of the All-India Council of Technical Education*, Second Meeting, Bangalore, 1947.

5. *Directory of Educational, Scientific, Literary and Cultural Organisations in India*.

6. *Diary of Educational Events in India*, 1946.

(d) *Occasional Publications issued by the Government of India* : Over and above the publications listed above, the Government of India have published from time to time, certain documents on different aspects of Indian education. Most of these will be listed in later sections under the particular subjects they deal with ; e.g., the reports regarding the universities will be listed under "University education". A few of the other publications which deal with matters of a general nature are listed below :—

1. *Papers relating to Discipline and Moral Training in Schools and Colleges in India*, 1890. ✓

2. *Papers relating to Maintenance of Schools of Art in India as State Institutions*, 1893-96.

3. *Papers relating to the Reorganisation of the Educational Service in India*, 1891-97. ✓

4. *Government Resolution on Educational Policy*, 1904. *

5. *Government Resolution on Educational Policy*, 1913.

6. *Report of the Conference of Directors of Public Instruction*, 1917. ✓

7. *Papers Relating to the Educational Conference, Allahabad*, 1911. ✓

8. *Report of the Committee on Indian Students* (Publication of H. M. G.), 1921-22. ✓

9. *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*—Review of Growth of Education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Commission (Hartog Committee), 1929. ✓

10. *Scientific Education and Research in relation to National Welfare*, 1944. *

11. *Report of the Selection Board, Overseas Scholarships*, 1946. *

(e) *Debates of the Central Legislature* : Education often enters in the proceedings of the Central Legislature. Questions are asked ; resolutions are moved ; Government policy is discussed and criticised at the time of discussing or voting on the budget-grants for education ; and controversies of varying intensity often arise over legislation on educational topics. A perusal of the relevant portions of the Proceedings of the Central Legislature (which are invariably provided with a good index) is, therefore, very helpful to understand some aspects of educational history.

ALL-INDIA—GENERAL AND NON-OFFICIAL

5. HISTORIES AND CRITIQUES OF EDUCATION IN INDIA. A number of books have been written on the history of Indian education. Most of these have now become out of date owing to sheer passage of time ; but, in spite of it, they have a place of their own because they describe

the educational conditions of earlier periods; and also because they throw a considerable light on the *controversies* and *attitudes* in Indian education that dominated the scene from time to time. Several of these books were written by British Officials and quite naturally, they show a bias in favour of the official system, and attempt to magnify the British contribution to Indian life and thought. A fairly large number of books have been written by missionaries and they show how the missionaries have, with their emphasis on proselytisation and religious education, viewed the growth of a secular system of education in India as a combined effort of the Government and private Indian enterprise. Books written from the Indian point of view were the last to come into the field and are still very few. There is, therefore, a great need today of reviewing the evolution of education in India in *every* field from the *Indian* viewpoint, so that the reconstruction of education under Swaraj may be facilitated.

The more important of the available books on the subject are listed below :—

- 1. Ahmad, M. M. Z. : *Present Day Problems of Indian Education*, Bombay, 1935. Deals specially with Muslim education.
2. Alston, Leonard : *Education and Citizenship in India* (Longmans), 1910.
3. Basu, A. N. : *Education and the Draft Constitution of India* (Indian Associated Publishing Co., Calcutta), 1948. *Education in Modern India* (Orient Book Co., Calcutta), 1947.
4. Basu, B. D. : *Education in India under the East India Company* (The Modern Review Office, Calcutta). Written from the ultra-nationalist viewpoint.
5. Besant, Annie : *Higher Education in India—Past and Present*, Madras, 1932.
- 6. Bontros, E. : *An enquiry into the System of Education most likely to be generally popular and beneficial in Bihar and Upper Provinces*, 1842.
7. Bryce, James : *Sketch of Native Education in India*, London, 1839.
8. Cameron, C. H. : *An Address to Parliament on the duties of Great Britain to India, in respect of Education of the Natives and their Official Employment*, 1853.
- ✓ 9. Chib, Som Nath : *Language, Universities and Nationalism in India*, (Oxford University Press), 1936.
- ✓ 10. Datta, T. K. : *Follow Russia in Education*, Lahore, 1947.
- ✓ 11. Datta, T. K. : *What English Education has made of us*, Lahore, 1942.
12. Dongerkerry, Kamala S. : *Juvenile Literature in India* (Thacker & Co., Bombay), 1946.
13. Duff, Dr. A : *Letter to Lord Auckland on the subject of Native Education in India*, Calcutta, 1841.—Contains a reprint of Auckland's Minute on education.
- ✓ 14. Gokhale, G. N. : *Practical Education*, Madras, 1936.
- *15. Hartog, Sir Philip : *Some Aspects of Indian Education—Past and Present*, (Oxford University Press), 1939.
- 16. *Indian Education* (The Hindustan Publishing House, Lucknow), 1939.

17. James, H. R. : *Education, and Statesmanship in India, 1797-1910* (Longmans), 1917.
18. James, H. R. : *Problems of Higher Education in India* (Longmans), 1916.
- *19. Law, N. N. : *Promotion of Learning in India by early European Settlers (up to about 1800 A.D.)*, London, 1915.—A very useful publication for the period covered.
- *20. Lethbridge Roper : *High Education in India* (Wm. H. Allen & Co., London), 1882.—A plea for the continuance of the State colleges when the question of their transfer to private management was being discussed by the Indian Education Commission.
21. Limaye, P. M. : *Education in India Today*, Poona, 1945. •
22. Manshardt, Clifford : *The Social Settlement as an Educational Factor in India* (Association Press, Calcutta), 1931.
23. Mayhew, Arthur : *The Education of India* (Faber and Gwyer), 1926.
24. Menon, T. K. N. (Editor) : *A symposium on Post-War Education in India*, 1945.
25. Meston, William : *Indian Educational Policy—its Principles and Problems* (The Christian Literature Society of India, Madras), 1936.—Contains a good bibliography.
26. Monk, F. F. : *Educational Policy in India—a neglected aspect* (Oxford University Press), 1934.—A plea for an education to create a 'directing class' in India.
27. Morris, H. : *Les Problèmes d' Education Dans l' Inde*, Paris, 1933. •
- ✓28. Mukerji, S. N. : *Education in India in the XX Century* (Padmaja Publications, Baroda), 1945. •
29. Murdoch, John : *Hints on Government Education in India*, Madras, 1873.
- *30. Murdoch, John : *Education in India—a letter to Lord Ripon*, Madras, 1881.
31. Naik, J. P. : *A Review of Modern Education in India (1813-1942)*, Poona, 1943.
- *32. Nichols, G. : *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshalla or Sanskrit College, forming the Sanskrit Department of the Benares College*, Allahabad, 1907.
33. Pannikar, K. M. : *Essays on Educational Reconstruction in India*, Madras, 1920.
- *34. Paranjpe, M. R. : *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education (1797-1902)*, Bombay, 1938.
35. Pearce, F. G. : *Plan for Education* (Oxford University Press), 1948.
- *36. Pires, E. A. : *Pedagogical Musings* (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras), 1948. •
37. Rajagopalachari, C. : *University Addresses* (Hind Kitabs, Bombay), 1949.
- ✓38. Sen, A. N. : *Educational Reorganisation in India*, Calcutta, 1944.
39. Shivadasani : *L'Education Civique Aux Indes*, Montpellier, 1926. •
40. Siqueira, T. N. : *The Education of India* (Oxford University Press), 1939.

* The authors are indebted to the authors and publishers of these books which have been referred to or quoted from in this work.

- ✓ 41. Shirmali, K. L. : *Adventures in Education* (Vidya Bhawan Society, Udaipur), 1946.
- *42. Syed Mahmood : *A History of English Education in India, 1781-1893*, Aligarh, 1895.—Very useful for the study of Muslim education which it emphasizes.
- 43. Swami Ramakrishnananda : *For Thinkers of Education* (Sri Ramakrishna Math, Madras), 1948.
- *44. Thomas, F. W. : *The History and Prospects of British Education in India*, 1891.
- ✓ 45. Trevelyan, C. E. : *On the Education of the People of India*, 1838.
- *46. Vakil, K. S. : *Education in India* (T. C. E. Journals & Publications, Lucknow), 1948.
- ✓ 47. Varma, V. P., et alii : *What is Wrong with our Education ?*—A symposium (The New India Publications), 1944.
- 48. Wanchoo, H. N. : *Studies in Indian Education* (Allahabad Law Journal Press), 1934.
- ✓ 49. *Whither Education ?*—A volume published in the memory of the South Indian Veteran educationist—Shri M. S. Sabhesan—(B. G. Paul & Co., Madras), 1948.
- *50. Wilson, H. H. : *Education of the Natives of India* (Asiatic Journal), January, 1836.
- 51. Zutshi, M. A. : *Education in British India*, Allahabad, 1910.

6. BIOGRAPHIES. An important aspect of the history of education is to study the biographies of persons who have played a significant part in its evolution and to evaluate their contribution to Indian life in general and to education in particular. The books written from this point of view can be divided into four groups :—(a) biographies of important officials, necessarily British ; (b) biographies of British non-officials (c) biographies of missionaries ; and (d) biographies of Indians.

(a) *Biographies of British Officials who played a significant role in Indian education* : This aspect of the problem has received very considerable attention and a good many books are available on the life and work of high officials who played an important part in Indian education. A few of the more important of these are listed below :—

1. *Rulers of India Series* : contains the following biographies of the Heads of Provincial or Indian Administrations :

- (i) *Warren Hastings* by L. J. Trotter.
- (ii) *Lord Moira* by Major Ross-of-Bladensburg.
- (iii) *Sir Thomas Munro* by J. Bradshaw. Also consult biographies by G. R. Gleig* (2 Vols.) and by A. J. Arbuthnot (2 Vols.).
- (iv) *Mountstuart Elphinstone* by J. S. Cotton. Also consult biography by T. E. Colebrooke (2 Vols.).
- (v) *William Bentinck* by D. C. Boulger.

* The authors are indebted to the authors and publishers of these books which have been referred

- (vi) *Auckland* by L. J. Trotter.
- (vii) *James Thomason** by Sir R. Temple.
- (viii) *Dalhousie* by W. W. Hunter.
- (ix) *Mayo* by W. W. Hunter.

2. Morris, Henry : *The Life of Charles Grant*, 1904.

3. Kaye, J. W : *The Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, Vols. I & II, London, 1854.

4. Countess of Minto : *Life and Letters of the First Earl of Minto (1751-1806) and Lord Minto in India (1807-14)*.

5. Trevelyan, G. O. : *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, Vols. I & II, London, 1876.

6. Wolf, Lucien : *Life of the First Marquess of Ripon*, Vols. I & II, London, 1921.

7. Ronaldshay, Lord : *The Life of Lord Curzon*, Vols. I, II & III, London, 1927.

Of the large number of British officials who worked at a lower level as Directors of Public Instruction, Principals of Colleges, Educational Inspectors, etc., not much is known. Some of these persons were men of great vision and sympathetic outlook and it would be a lasting service to the cause of educational history if the biographies of these officials, with special reference to their contribution to education, are written. At the present moment, however, our only sources of reference in this respect are the following :—

1. *The Dictionary of National Biography*.

2. *The Encyclopædia Britannica*.

3. Buckland, C. E. : *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, London, 1906.

4. Fraser, J. Nelson : *Deccan College*. Contains biographies of several Bombay Educational Officers.

5. Higginbotham : *Men whom India has known*, Madras, 1874.

(b) *Biographies of British Non-officials* : Of the several workers of this type, special mention must be made of David Hare and Miss Carpenter. Their standard biographies are the following :—

*Carpenter, J. E : *Life and Work of Mary Carpenter*.

*Mitra, P. C : *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare*, 1877.

(c) *Biographies of Eminent Missionaries* : These will be listed in para (c) of the next section.

(d) *Biographies of Indians* : A large number of eminent Indians have helped very materially to build up the system of modern education in India. But unfortunately, their educational contributions have not been studied as yet in as much detail as they ought to have been. Here is a very fruitful source for immediate research work in educational history.

* The authors are indebted to the authors and publishers of these books which have been referred to or quoted from in this work.

A very useful publication in the field of educational biography is Mr. H. V. Hampton's *Biographical Studies in Modern Indian Education** published by the Oxford University Press. It deals with the biographies and educational contributions of Charles Grant, Ram Mohan Roy, David Hare, Alexander Duff, Sir Thomas Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone, James Thomason and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. The attempt to tell the whole history of Indian education through the biographies of a few selected individuals has not succeeded, and need not be attempted. But there can be no doubt that educational history would be immensely enriched if studies on these lines can be brought out for all the great Indians who have laboured in the cause of education.

Among the persons whose work is to be thus studied, some like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya or Gokhale are men of all-India fame, and at least some data regarding their educational contribution can be found, although students of education have not yet produced their biographical studies from their own viewpoint. But several others, like Mahatma Phule, were mainly Provincial figures—and sometimes even local personalities—and a good deal of their educational writings are in modern Indian languages. Very little is known about them and their work outside their own small sphere. Even the educational ideas of so great a man like Lokamanya Tilak are but little known outside Maharashtra because they were written in Marathi. If, therefore, books are produced in English or Hindi giving the educational contribution of Provincial or local workers, the basic data for the compilation of a comprehensive dictionary of educational biography and for tracing the evolution of national education in modern India would be made available. This is a project in which the training colleges in different parts of India can very usefully collaborate.

7. MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE. The volume of literature available regarding missionary enterprise in India is very considerable. Unfortunately, Indian students have not studied it to the extent it deserves. A good history of missionary educational enterprise in India from the earliest days to the present time, written from the Indian point of view and with special reference to the place of the mission school under Swaraj, is very badly wanted.

Broadly speaking, the books regarding missionary enterprise can be divided into five groups :—

(a) General books dealing with the history of missionary activity as a whole ;

(b) Books specially dealing with the educational activities of missions as a whole, or a group of missions, or of an individual mission ;

(c) Biographies of eminent missionaries ;

(d) Books written by missionaries on the educational problems of India ; and

* The authors are indebted to the authors and publishers of this book which has been referred

(e) Books dealing with the ideological contribution of mission schools to Indian education.

Books of group (d) are scattered throughout this Note according to the subject they treat. A few typical books on the other groups are listed below.

(a) *General Books dealing with Missionary Activity as a whole in India :—*

1. Caldwell, Rev. R. : *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevely Mission*, Madras, 1881.
2. Chatterton, Eyre : *Mission Work in Chota Nagpur*, London, 1901.
3. Chatterton, Eyre : *A History of the Church of England in India since the early days of the East India Company*, London, 1924.
4. Gandhi, Mahatma : *Christian Missions—their place in India*, Ahmedabad, 1941.
5. Hazen, William : *A Century in India—A historical sketch of the American Marathi Mission, 1813-1913*, Bombay, 1913.
6. Hocking, William Ernest (Chairman) : *Re-thinking Missions (the Report of the Commission of Appraisal)—a layman's enquiry after one hundred years*, New York, 1932.
7. Hough, Rev. J. : *The History of Christianity in India*, Vols. I-IV, London, 1839-45.
8. Kaye, J. W. : *Christianity in India—a historical narrative*, London, 1859.
9. Manshardt, Clifford : *Christianity in a changing India*, Calcutta, 1933.
10. Mathews, Basil : *The Church Takes Root in India*, London, 1938.
11. Mayhew, A. : *Christianity and the Government of India*, 1928.
12. Payne, E. A. : *South-east from Serampore*, London, 1945.
13. Penny, F. : *The Church in Madras, 1904-1910*.
- *14. Richter, J. : *History of Missions in India*, 1908.
- *15. Sherring, M. A. : *The History of Protestant Missions in India*, London, 1884.
16. Stock, E. : *History of the Church Missionary Society*, 1899, 1916.
17. Upadhyaya, G. P. : *Christianity in India* (Arya Samaj Publication), Allahabad, 1941.

References to the educational work of the missionaries are found plentifully in these books, although they deal with the missionary activity as a whole.

(b) *Books specially dealing with the educational work of the missionaries :—*

1. Anderson and Whitehead : *Christian Education in India* (Macmillan), 1932.
2. Howells, G. and Underwood, A. C. : *The Story of Serampore and its College*, Serampore, 1918.
3. *Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India : an Inquiry into the place of the Christian College in Modern India*, 1931—This

* The authors are indebted to the authors and publishers of these books which have been referred to or quoted from in this work.

Commission, presided over by Dr. Lindsay was constituted by the International Missionary Council.

4. Van Doren, A. B. : *Christian High Schools in India*—the report of a survey conducted on behalf of the National Christian Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon.

*5. Wilder, R. G. : *Mission Schools in India*—A history of the education enterprise of the American Mission.

*6. Church Missionary Society : *The Indian Crisis*—A Memorial to the Queen, 1858.

*7. Church Missionary Society : *Christian Missions and Government Education in India*—This is a spirited reply to Lord Ellenborough's letter regarding aid to missions.

(c) Regarding the *biographies of great missionaries who worked in India*, a good deal of information is available in the books already given under (a) and (b) above. In addition, there are several collections of biographies as well as detailed lives of a number of great workers. The following is a list of a few of the more important books of this type :—

1. Holcomb, Helen H. : *Men of Might in India Missions*, London, 1901.
2. Marshman, J. C. : *Life and Times of Carey*, Marshman & Ward, 1859.
3. Ogilvie, G. : *The Apostles of India*, 1915.
4. Smith, G. : *The Life of Alexander Duff*, Vols. I & II, 1879.
5. Smith, G. : *The Life of John Wilson*, London, 1879.

(e) *Books dealing with the Ideological Contribution of Mission Schools to Indian Education* :—

1. Fleming, R. : *Schools with a Message in India* (Oxford University Press), 1921.
2. Lapp, A. J. : *The Christian Church and Rural India* (Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, Calcutta), 1938.
3. Van Doren, A. B. (Editor) : *Fourteen Experiments in Rural Education* (Student Christian Movement, London), 1929.
4. Van Doren, A. B. : *Christian Education in the Villages of India* (Association Press, Calcutta), 1931.
5. Van Doren, A. B. : *Projects in Indian Education* (Association Press, Calcutta).

ALL-INDIA—SPECIAL PROBLEMS

8. BOOKS DEALING WITH SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF INDIAN EDUCATION : The books listed so far, both official and non-official, do deal with the problems of Indian education, although in an incidental manner. But there are other publications which single out some problem of Indian education and examine it in detail. We propose to list such books, in the following sections, according to their topics. Both official and non-official publications have been included.

* The authors are indebted to the authors and publishers of these books which have been referred to or quoted from in this work.

For convenience of listing, the following divisions of the subject have been accepted :—

- (a) Indigenous Education
- (b) University Education
- (c) Secondary Education
- (d) Primary Education
- (e) Basic Education
- (f) Adult Education
- (g) Vocational Education
- (h) National Education
- (i) Education of Muslims
- (j) Education of Women
- (k) Education of Backward Communities
- (l) Medium of Instruction (inclusive of the problem of National Language)
- (m) Education of Anglo-Indians and Europeans
- (n) Miscellaneous Books.

(a) *Indigenous Education*: The following are the important references on this subject :—

1. *Basu, A. N.: *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal, 1835 and 1838, by William Adam* (University of Calcutta), 1941.
2. Leitner, G. W.: *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab since Annexation and in 1882*, Calcutta, 1882.
3. *Parulekar, R. V.: *A Source-Book of History of Education in Bombay Province, Part I, Survey of Indigenous Education, 1820-30* (The Bombay Book Depot, Bombay), 1945.
4. *Parulekar, R. V.: *Literacy of India in Pre-British Days* (Aryabhushan Press, Poona), 1940.
5. Reid, H. S.: *Reports on Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools in Agra, Aligarh, Bareilly, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Manipuri, Mathura, Shahajahanpur, 1850-51 to 1853-54*, Agra, 1852-54.
6. Thomason, James: *Despatches*, Vol. I (pp. 329-36 and 397-405: *Village Schools in the North-Western Provinces and the Scheme for Improving it*), Calcutta, 1856.
7. Thornton, R.: *A Memoir on the Statistics of Indigenous Education within the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency*, Calcutta, 1850.—Also consult Sir Philip Hartog: *Some Aspects of Indian Education*, Memoranda A, B & C, *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, Chapter III, and *Arbuthnot, A. J.: *Selections from the Records of the Government of Madras*, No. II.

(b) *University Education*: The following publications on the subject will be found useful :—

(a) *Issued by the Government of India*:

1. *Papers Relating to the Establishment of Universities in India*, 1856.

* The authors are indebted to the authors and publishers of these books which have been referred to or quoted from in this work.

2. *Report of the Indian Universities Commission*, 1902.
3. *Report of the Calcutta University Commission* (Sadler Commission), 1917-19.
4. *Report of the University Education Commission* (Radhakrishna Commission), 1949.

(b) *Issued by the Inter-universities Board :*

1. *Annual Handbooks of Indian Universities*—Contain very useful information regarding the universities, their courses of studies, activities conducted, inter-university matters, etc.
2. *Lists of Doctorate Theses approved by the Universities or in preparation* (published periodically).
3. Gordon, D. S. : *The Training of Teachers in Indian Universities*, 1932.
4. *Fourth Conference of Indian Universities*, Bombay, 1939.

(c) *Issued by Individual Universities :*

1. Every university issues its annual *Administration Reports* ; most of them conduct their *Journals* or *Bulletins* ; each one of them also issues *Calendars* from time to time. All these books are very useful for a study of the history of the university concerned.

Besides these publications, some universities have produced a few special books dealing with their history. Some of these are listed below :—

1. Sundaram, V. A. : *Benares Hindu University* (1905-35), 1936.
- 2. Sundaram, V. A. : *Benares Hindu University*—a Symposium, 1931.
- 3. Pulleyne, Mrs. E. D. : *Osmania University*, 1950.
- 4. S. N. D. T. *Indian Women's University* (Silver Jubilee Number), 1942.
5. *Report of the Government Grant Committee* (Calcutta), 1922.

(d) *Issued by Provincial Governments :*

In 1921, university education became a transferred subject and the Provincial Governments began, therefore, to issue some publications regarding the universities in their charge. The more important of these are listed below :—

1. *Report of the Committee on Bombay University Reform* (Setalvad Committee), 1924-25.
2. *Report of the Enquiry Committee on the University of the Punjab*, 1933.

(e) *General Books dealing with Indian Universities :*

1. Basu, A. N. : *University Education in India*—Past and Present. (The Book Emporium, Ltd.), Calcutta, 1944.
2. Dongerkerry, S. R. : *Universities and their Problems* (Hindkitabs, Ltd.), Bombay, 1948.
3. Dongerkerry, S. R. : *Bombay University and its Colleges.*!
4. Ghurye, G. S. : *Culture and Society* (Oxford University Press), Bombay, 1947.
5. Munshi, M. C. : *University Education and Business Management* (Hind-kitabs Ltd.), Bombay, 1948.
6. Pant, D. : *The Varsities* (Kitab Mahal, Allahabad).

(c) *Secondary Education* : Surprisingly enough, this important branch of education has received very little attention so far and there are hardly any books on the subject. Most of the useful material is scattered through Indian Educational Journals (in English) which were (and still are) chiefly conducted for secondary schools and secondary teachers.

(d) *Primary Education* : The following publications on the subject will be found useful :—

1. Basu, A. N. : *Primary Education in India*—its future (Indian Associated Publishing Co., Calcutta), 1946.
2. Brayne, F. L. & Ryburn, W. M. : *Socrates at School* (Oxford University Press), 1944.
3. Desai, Dinkar D. : *Primary Education in India* (Servants of India Society, Bombay), 1938—A good study which supports generally the view of Shri R. V. Parulekar.
4. Dippie, H. : *Suggestions for Primary School Teachers in India* (Oxford University Press), 1943.
5. Dippie, H. : *Instruction in Indian Primary Schools* (Oxford University Press), 1936.
6. Jacob, T. N. : *The Reconstruction of the Curriculum of the Elementary Schools of India* (Association Press, Calcutta), 1932.
7. Krishnayya, G. S. : *The Rural Community and the School* (Association Press), 1932.
8. Lal, Prem Chand : *Reconstruction and Education in Rural India* (George Allen & Unwin), 1932—An interesting book that describes in detail the work of education and rural reconstruction done at Sriniketan—the Institute of Rural Reconstruction founded by Rabindranath Tagore.
9. Moomaw, I. W. : *Education and Village Improvement* (Oxford University Press), 1947.
10. Naik, J. P. : *Studies in Primary Education* (The Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay), 1942.
11. Narawane, V. N. : *Primary Education in India, 1931-41* (Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay), 1948.
12. Olcott Mason : *Better Village Schools* (Y.M.C.A. Publishing House), 1943.
13. Parulekar, R. V. : *Mass Education in India* (The Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay), 1933.

A vigorous plea for the adoption of devices like the shift system to reduce the per pupil cost of primary education so that compulsory education may be introduced within the available resources.

14. Sen, J. M. : *History of Elementary Education in India*, 1944.

(e) *Basic Education* : A good many books on Basic Education have been published by the *Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Wardha*, which is the principle centre of all ideological work. It conducts a magazine called *Nai Talim* or *New Education*. Some of its publications are listed below :—

- *1. *Educational Reconstruction*—Contains Gandhiji's articles on Basic Education and the full text of the Report of the *Zahir Hussain Committee*.

* The authors are indebted to the authors and publishers of this book which has been referred to or quoted from in this work.

- ✓ *2. *One Step Forward*—Report of the *First* Conference of Basic National Education, Poona, 1939.
- ✓ *3. *Two Years of Work*—Report of the *Second* Basic Education Conference, Jamianagar, Delhi, 1941.
- ✓ *4. *Seven Years of Work*, 1946.
- ✓ 5. दस सालका काम, 1950.
- 6. *Revised curriculum of Basic Education*.

The Provincial Governments who have undertaken the experiment have recently issued small booklets giving the results of the experiment e.g., *Basic Education in Madras* (1938-48), *Basic Education in Bombay* (1938-49), *Basic Education in Bihar* (1938-48)¹ etc.

The most voluminous literature on Basic Education is in the form of articles in educational journals. They are not listed here; but some of the books on the subject are given below :—

- ✓ 1. Ahmad, M. M. Z. : *An Examination of the Wardha Scheme of Education and the suggestion of an alternative Scheme of Primary Education*, Junagadh, 1938.
- ✓ 2. Gupta, Babu Lal : *An Intelligent Man's Guide to Wardha Scheme of Education* (The National Literature Publishing Society, Aligarh), 1939.
- ✓ 3. Acharya J. B. Kripalani : *The Latest Fad* (Vora & Co., Bombay), 1946
- ✓ 4. Naik, Dr. (Miss) Chitra : *Health Education—the Basic Approach*, 1950.
- ✓ 5. Saiyidain, K. G. : *Introducing the Basic Curriculum*, 1949.
- ✓ 6. Shrimali, K. L. : *The Wardha Scheme* (The Vidya Bhawan Society, Udaipur), 1949.*
- ✓ 7. Varkey, C. J. : *The Wardha Scheme* (Oxford University Press), 1939.

(f) *Adult Education*: Here are a few of the Official and non-Official publications on the subject :—

- 1. *Annual Reports of the Bombay Social Education Committee*, 1939-40 to 1948-49.
- 2. *Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education*, 1939.
- 3. *Report of the Adult Education Committee*, Bombay, 1938.
- *4. *Indian Journal of Adult Education* (all issues)—A very useful publication.
- 5. *The All-India Libraries Conference—Souvenir of Baroda*, 1946.
- 6. Bulsara, J. F. : *Mass and Adult Education in India*, 1938.
- 7. Champness and Richardson : *Indian Adult Education Handbook*.
- 8. Chetsingh, R. M. : *Fundamental Education in India*.
- 9. Daudpota, U. M. : *A Survey of Mass Education in India* (Sharafuddin & Sons, Bombay), 1937.
- *10. Laubach, Dr. Frank C. : *India shall be Literate*, 1940.
- 11. Markham, S. F. & Hargreaves, H. : *The Museums of India*.

* The authors are indebted to the authors and publishers of these books which have been referred to or quoted from in this work.

¹ This is a publication in Hindi.

*12 Parulekar, R. V. : *Literacy on India* (Macmillan), 1939—A very useful book which courageously suggests certain unorthodox methods of liquidating the illiteracy of the masses *within the available resources*.

13. Ranga, N. G. : *Indian Adult Education Movement*.

14. Ranganathan, S. R. : *Education for Leisure*, Delhi, 1948.

15. „ „ : *Library—Development Plan*.

16. Siddhanta, Mukherjee & Jauhari : *Adult Education in India and Abroad*.

*17. Waknis, T. D. : *Baroda Libraries*.

(g) *Vocational Education* : The following are some of the books available on the subject :—

1. *Proceedings of the Indian Industrial Conferences*.

2. *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, 1916-18.

3. *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture*, 1924.

4. *Report on Vocational training in Primary and Secondary Schools and consequent reorganisation*, Bombay (Joshi Committee), 1938.

5. Chothia, F. S. : *Careers for Boys*, Bombay, 1946.

6. Kini, K. N. : *Vocational Education in Mysore*, Bangalore, 1933.

7. Rao, C. H. : *Courses and Careers for Mysore Students*, Bangalore, 1932.

8. Subba Rao, N. S. : *Vocational Education*, Bangalore, 1932.

(h) *National Education* : Books on national education are few and some of them are listed below :—

1. *The Besant Spirit*—Vol. II (The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar), 1939.

2. Ghose, Aurobindo : *A System of National Education* (Tagore & Co., Madras), 1921.

*3. Lajpat Rai, Lala : *The Problem of National Education in India*, 1920—A very useful and balanced publication ; gives an insight in the ideology of national education as understood at this time.

*4. National Planning Committee : *Education*.

5. Nivedita, Sister : *Hints on National Education in India*, Calcutta, 1923.

But the most voluminous and really valuable literature on national education is found in the writings and speeches of Indian leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lokamanya Tilak, and others. No attempt is made to list this literature here.

(i) *Education of Muslims* : The most helpful publications are the Proceedings of the *All-India Muslim Educational Conference* which was founded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in 1886 and has, since then, met annually at various places in India. The Report of the *Kamal Yar Jung Committee* is also very helpful. Some other books on the topic are listed below :—

1. *Correspondence relating to the Education of the Muhammadan Community* (Government of India Publication).

* The authors are indebted to the authors and publishers of these books which have been referred to or quoted from in this work.

2. F. K. Khan Durrani : *A Plan of Muslim Educational Reform* (Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, Lahore).

3. Sufi : *Alminhaj*.

(j) *Education of Women* : A few of the books available on the subject are listed below :—

1. *Altekar, A. S.* : The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation (The Culture Publication House, Benares).

2. *Annual Reports of the All-India Women's Conference* (1927-1949).

3. *Annual Reports of the S. N. D. T. Indian Women's University* (1928-29 to 1947-48).

4. *Balfour, M. I. and Young, Ruth* : The Work of Medical Women in India (Oxford University Press, Bombay).

5. *Butler, Margaret L.* : Women's Views on Women's Education (Bangalore Press).

6. *Chapman, Priscilla* : Hindoo Female Education (Seeley & Burnside, Fleet Street, London).

7. *Chattopadhyaya, Kamaladevi, et al* : The Awakening of Indian Women (Everymans Press, Madras).

8. *Chiplunkar, G. M.* : Scientific Basis of Woman's Education (S. B. Hudlikar, Poona).

9. *Christian Literature Society* : The Women of India and What can be done for them, 1895.

10. *Cousins, Margaret E.* : Indian Womanhood Today (Kitabistan, Allahabad).

11. *Cowan, Minna G.* : The Education of the Women of India (Aliphaut, Anderson and Ferrier, London).

12. *Dasgupta, Jyotiprova* : Girls' Education in India (University of Calcutta).

13. *Divatia, H. V. (Chairman)* : Report of the Committee regarding Statutory Recognition of the S.N.D.T. Indian Women's University (Government Press, Bombay).

*14. *Gandhi, M. K.* : To the Women (A.T. Hingorani, Karachi).—Women and Social Injustice (Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad).

15. *Karve, D. K.* : Looking Back (Hindu Widow's Home Association, Poona).

16. *Kaur, Rajkumari Amrit* : Challenge to Women (New Literature, Allahabad).

17. *Mehta, Hansa* : The Woman under the Hindu Law of Marriage and Succession (Pratibha Publications, Bombay).

18. *Nehru, Shyam Kumari* : Our Cause (Kitabistan, Allahabad).

19. *Paranjpe, Mrs. Malini (Editor)* : Report of the Conference on the Legal Status of Indian Women (The National Council of Women in India, Bombay).

20. *Rege, Y. M.* : Whither Woman ? (Popular Book Depot, Bombay).

21. *Reports of the All-India Women's Conference on Educational Reform* (1927 and 1928).

22. *Sengupta, Padmini* : Pioneer Women of India (Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay).

23. *Zaidi, Syed M. H.* : The Muslim Womanhood in Revolution (Published by the Author at Calcutta).

(k) *Education of the Backward Classes* : A good deal of literature is available on the subject. The most voluminous writer on the subject was Mahatma Gandhi who wrote innumerable articles and delivered hundreds of speeches on the subject of untouchability. No attempt is made here to list them. Similarly, several books, written from the sociological point of view, are available on the subject of the aboriginal tribes of India. Books on their languages also have been prepared. No attempt is made here to list this vast literature ; but a few handy books have been suggested for an introductory reading. This is a field to which Indians have been only recently attracted and a good deal of research regarding the education of this unhappy section of the society is badly needed.

✓ *1. Ambedkar, B. R. : *What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables*.

✓ *2. " : *Who are the Untouchables ?*

3. Ghurye, G. S. : *The Aborigines so-called and their Future*.

4. Hayward, J. C. : *The Problems of the Aborigines*.

5. Heinrich, J. G. : *The Psychology of a Suppressed People* (George, Allen & Unwin), 1937. Deals with the problem of the education of the Harijans from the Missionary point of view.

6. Hunt, W. S. : *India's Outcastes*, London, 1924.

✓ 7. Phillips, G. : *The Untouchables' Quest*.

✓ *8. Rajagopalachari, C. : *Ambedkar Refuted*.

✓ 9. Tagore, Rabindranath : *Mahatmaji and the Depressed Community*.

*10. Thakkar, A. V. : *The Problem of Aborigines in India*.

11. Verrier, Elwin : *The Aborigines* (Oxford Pamphlet).—The author has also written valuable books on several aboriginal tribes.

✓ (l) *Books on the Medium of Instruction and the Problem of the National Language* ; Here are a few books on the subject :—

1. Anand, Mulk Raj : *The King-Emperor's English* (Hind Kitabs, Bombay), 1948.

2. Audholia, B. S. : *Education through the Mother-tongue* (Published by the Author at Wardha), 1946.

3. Boman-Behram, B. K. : *Educational Controversies in India* (D. B. Tarporewalla Sons & Co., Bombay), 1943.—A useful guide to the study of Anglo-Orientalist and Anglo-Vernacularist controversies in the nineteenth century.

4. Gandhi, Mahatma : *Our Language Problem* (A. T. Hingorani, Karachi), 1942.

5. Hodgson, B. H. : *Pre-eminence of the Vernaculars*, Serampore, 1837.

6. Mehta, P. J. : *Vernaculars as Media of Instruction in Indian Schools and Colleges* (Published by the Author), Rangoon.

* The authors are indebted to the authors and publishers of these books which have been referred to or quoted from in this work.

7. Nag, D. S. (Editor) : *Medium of Instruction*—a Symposium (The National Information and Publication, Ltd., Bombay), 1948.

8. Woodrow, H. : *Macaulay's Minutes on Education in India written in the years 1835, 1836 and 1837*, Calcutta, 1862.

(m) *Educational Journals* : The educational journals published in India also form an important source for collecting the material required for educational history. Among the older journals, special mention must be made of the *Punjab Educational Journal*, *Bengal Educational Journal*, *Indian Education* (which was published from Bombay), and the *Bombay Educational Record* which did a valuable service to education in their own day, but which are not being published at present.

Among the existing journals on education, the following deserve mention :—

1. Adventure of Education, Bombay.
2. Christian Education, Jubbulpore.
3. Eastern Educationist, Bhagalpur.
4. Education, Lucknow.
5. Educational Indian, Masulipatam.
6. Educational Review, Madras.
7. The Educator, Nagpur.
- *8. Indian Journal of Adult Education, Delhi.
9. Indian Journal of Education, Howrah.
10. Journal of Education & Psychology, Baroda.
11. Moga Journal for Teachers, Moga.
12. New Education, Madras.
- *13. Progress of Education, Poona.
14. South Indian Teacher, Madras.
15. Shiksha, Allahabad.
16. Teachers' Journal, Calcutta.
- *17. Teaching, Bombay.
- *18. Indian Journal of Educational Research, Bombay.

An important practice started by the *Education Quarterly*¹ is to publish a complete index of all articles in the leading educational journals of India (arranged according to authors and subjects). This is a very valuable help for students of education.

(n) *Miscellaneous Books* : The following are some books which have not been classified before :—

1. *Proceedings of the All-India Educational Conference*.—The first Conference was held at Kanpur (1925). Since then, Conferences have been held at Patna (1926), Calcutta (1927 and 1937), Bombay (1928 and 1938), Madras (1929 and 1945), Benares (1930), Bangalore (1931), Lahore (1932), Karachi (1933), Delhi (1934), Nagpur (1935), Gwalior (1936), Lucknow (1939), Udaipur (1940), Srinagar (1941), Indore (1942), Jaipur (1943), Kanpur (1944), Trivandrum (1946), Rewa (1947) and Mysore (1948).

* The authors are indebted to the authors and publishers of articles in these journals which have been referred to or quoted from in this work.

¹ Published by the Ministry of Education, New Delhi.

✓ *2. *Year-Books of Education* (Evans Bros.), 1932 to 1949.—Articles on Indian subjects have occasionally appeared in these publications.

✓ 3. *Education Year-Books* (Education Year-Book Co., Bombay), 1945, 1946, 1947 & 1948-9.

4. Andrews, G. F. : *Physical Education for Boys in Indian Schools*, 1934.

5. Brown, F. H. : *Indian Students in Great Britain*, London, 1925.

6. Chatterjee, S. C. : *Medical Inspection of School Children in India*, 1933.

7. Har Dayal : *Our Educational Problem*, 1922.—A critique of the educational system from the ultra-nationalist viewpoint.

✓ 8. Macnee, E. A. : *Instruction in Indian Secondary Schools*, 1931.

9. Munshi, K. M. : *The Creative Art of Life—Studies in Education* (Padma Publications, Bombay), 1946.

10. Mukerji, D. N. : *Examinations in India* (Hind Kitabs, Bombay), 1944.

11. *Report of the Conference on the Education of the Domiciled Community in India*, 1912.

N. B.—No attempt is made here to list the books dealing with the histories of individual educational institutions such as the Jamia Millia, Gurukul University, Visvabharati and allied institutions, educational societies like the Deccan Education Society, Poona, or individual Colleges, High Schools, or other special schools which have played a significant role. Literature on this subject is legion and often contains useful historical material.

PROVINCIAL OR STATE HISTORIES AND PROBLEMS

The Provincial and State Governments in India have issued several publications regarding the progress of education in their areas. Complete bibliographies of such publications are not available at present ; but they are indispensable to historical research. We feel that one Training College in each Province or State should prepare a complete bibliography of such literature for its own Province or State ; should revise it continually and keep it up-to-date ; should collect a complete set of books given in the bibliography and make it available to all research students in any part of India on an inter-training-college-loan-basis. This is the only practicable way of securing all the necessary documents to research students.

9. HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN BOMBAY. We give below a fairly comprehensive bibliography on the subject of education in the State of Bombay.

(a) *Official Publications* :—Here are the more important official publications :

1. *Annual Reports of the Bombay Education Society* from 1815 to 1822-23.

2. *Annual Reports of the Bombay Native Education Society* from 1823-24 to 1839-40.

3. *Annual Reports of the Board of Education* from 1840-41 to 1854-55.

4. *Annual Reports of the Director of Public Instruction* from 1855-56 to 1946-47.

These are the usual periodical publications. Besides these, the Government of Bombay have published, from time to time, the reports

* The authors are indebted to the authors and publishers of this book which has been referred to or quoted from in this work.

of several committees appointed to investigate into specific problems. Among these the following may be mentioned :—

1. *Technical and Industrial Education in the Bombay Presidency*—Interim and Final Reports of the Committee appointed by Government (Visvesvarayya Committee).

2. *Report of the Committee appointed by Government to consider and report on the question of the introduction of Free and Compulsory Primary Education into the Province of Bombay* (Chandavarkar Committee), 1922.

3. *Report of the Bombay University Reform Committee* (Setalvad Committee), 1924-25.

4. *Report of the Physical Training Committee* (Munshi Committee), 1927-29.

5. *Report of the Primary and Secondary Education Committee* (Hesketh Committee), 1929.

6. *Report of the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes Committee* (Starte Committee), 1930.

7. *Report of the Physical Education Committee* (Kunalayanand Committee), 1937.

8. *Report of the Adult Education Committee* (Manshardt Committee), 1938.

9. *Report of the Committee on the Training of Primary Teachers* (More Committee), 1938.

10. *Report of the Committee appointed by Government to enquire into anomalies in the Pay and Allowances of Primary School Teachers* (Moos-Paranjpe Committee), 1940.

11. *Report of the Library Development Committee* (Fyjee Committee), 1940.

12. *Reports submitted by the Provincial Board of Primary Education on (a) Recommendations of the Joshi Committee, (b) Stagnation and Wastage in Primary Schools, and (c) Financial Relations between Government and Local Authorities*, 1941.

13. *Report of the Maharashtra University Committee* (Jayakar Committee), 1942-43.

14. *Report of the Physical Education Committee* (Kunalayanand (second) Committee), 1945-46.

Besides these reports of special committees, the following official publications are also helpful :—

1. *Annual Reports of the Backward Class Department* since 1931.

2. *Memorandum prepared by the Government of Bombay for submission to the Indian Statutory Commission*, 1928.

3. *Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency*, 1882.

4. *Census Reports*, 1872, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, and 1941.

5. *Annual Administration Reports of the Province*.

6. *The Bombay Primary Education Act*, 1923 and rules made thereunder.

7. *The Bombay Primary Education (Amendment) Act*, 1938 and rules made thereunder.

8. *The Bombay Primary Education Act*, 1947. (Rules were issued in 1949 only.)

9. *The Bombay Primary Education (District Municipalities) Act*, 1918.

10. *The City of Bombay Primary Education Act*, 1920.

11. *The Grant-in-aid Codes* published by the Government from time to time.

12. *The syllabuses of studies for all types of schools prescribed and published by Government* from time to time.

13. *The Legislative Assembly and Council Debates* (relevant portions).

14. *Five-Year Development Plan, 1947-52.*

15. Subsidiary publications such as *Education Manuals, Codes for Primary Training Colleges, School Board Account Codes, Codes of Orders regulating Expenditure on Primary Education*, etc.

16. *Bombay University Calendars and Annual Administration Reports.*

It would be a great service to the cause of educational research if complete bibliographies of official publications are prepared, on the above lines, for every federating unit of the Indian Union and published for general information.

(b) *Non-official Publications*: A good history of education in the Province of Bombay is yet to be written. The following is the almost complete list of books available on the subject.

1. D. M. Desai : *Compulsory Primary Education in the Province of Bombay, 1950.*

2. J. P. Naik : *History of the Local Fund Cess.*

3. Madhuri R. Shah : *Administration and Finance of Primary Education in the Province of Bombay (excluding the City of Bombay), 1950.*

4. B. N. Vaidya : *History of Primary Education in the Province of Bombay, (1815-1940).*

All these four books are published by the *Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay.*

5. M. R. Paranjpe : *Educational Administration in the Province of Bombay.*

10. HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN PROVINCES (OTHER THAN BOMBAY) AND IN INDIAN STATES. It is really necessary to publish standard and well-documented histories of education in every Province and in important Indian States. This is a neglected branch of historical research in education and deserves more attention than what had been bestowed upon it in the past.

We were unable, for lack of the necessary facilities, to prepare even tentative bibliographies on the histories of education for Provinces, other than Bombay, and for major Indian States. But we list below the few books on the subject we came across, in the hope that the labour might be of some use when the final bibliographies are being compiled. They include both official and non-official publications :—

(a) *Assam.*

The most helpful publications are the *Annual Reports of the Director of Public Instruction*, and the *Post-War Development Plan.*

(b) *Baroda.*

Besides the *Annual Reports of the State as a whole or of the Education Department*, the following publications will be found helpful :—

1. *Baroda Gazetteer, Vol. II, 1925.*

Contains a useful chapter on education and traces its history up to 1925.

2. *Report of the Education Commission, 1909.*

3. *Speeches of His Highness Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar of Baroda.*

4. Pandya, D. H. : *Education in Baroda, 1915.*

Contains a fairly good historical account up to 1910-11.

*5. Walker, T. D. : *Baroda Libraries*.

6. *Annual Reports of the Education Department*.

7. *Compulsory Education Studies*, I-XI.

8. Naik, J. P. : *Compulsory Primary Education in Baroda State*, 1942.

First published in *Progress of Education*, Poona, Vol. XVII, p. 372 et seq. A good critical study.

(c) Bengal.

The usual sources such as the *Annual Reports of the Director of Public Instruction* are not listed here. Reference is also not made to books like *Adam's Reports* or the *Report of the Calcutta University Commission* which refer mostly to Bengal. But besides these, there are several special publications on the subject of education in Bengal. Some of these are given below :—

1. *Calcutta Review* : Vol. XXV.—Pages 61-103 deal with the education of Indian girls.

2. *Bengal, Past and Present* : Vol. VIII.—Pages 83-112 and 225-250 deal with the history of the Calcutta Madrassah.

3. Kerr, J. : *A Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency from 1835 to 1851*, Vols. I & II, Calcutta, 1853.

4. *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government*, No. XIV, Calcutta, 1854.—Contain papers relating to the establishment of the Presidency College of Bengal.

5. *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government*, No. XXII.—Pages 1-82 deal with correspondence relating to vernacular education in the Lower Provinces of Bengal.

6. Stark, H. A. : *Vernacular Education in Bengal from 1813 to 1912*, Calcutta, 1916.

7. Sinha, P. C. : *The Problems of Education in Bengal* (Thacker, Spink & Co.), Calcutta, 1941.

8. West, Michael : *Education—Selective, Specific, Compensatory* (Longmans), London, 1917.—Part II discusses education in Bengal.

9. *Report of the Primary Education Committee*, Bengal, 1938.

10. *Report of the Adult Education Committee*, Bengal, 1938.

(d) Bihar.

The *Annual Reports of the Director of Public Instruction* refer to the combined Province of Bihar and Orissa until 1936-37 ; and thereafter to Bihar alone. Some other publications are :—

1. *Report of the Bihar Education Reorganisation Committee on University, etc., Education*, 1941.—A useful bibliography will be found at pp. 175-77.

2. *Report of the Bihar Education Reorganisation Committee on Secondary Education*, 1940.

3. *Report of the Bihar Education Reorganisation Committee on Primary Education*, 1940.

(e) Central Provinces and Berar.

Besides the *Annual Reports of the Director of Public Instruction*, the following publications may be consulted :—

1. *The Vidya-Mandir Scheme*, 1938.
2. *Report of the Physical Uplift Committee*, C. P. and Berar, 1938.

(f) Gwalior.

Besides the *Annual Administration Reports of the State*, the following publications may be consulted :—

1. *Gazetteer of Central India States*, Gwalior.
2. *Publications of the Statistical Department of the State*.
- *3. Brown, Michael H. : *Gwalior Today*, 1940.

(g) Hyderabad.

The *Annual Administration Reports of the State and of the Education Department* are available. Besides these, the following publication will be found useful :—

- 1.—*Education under Asaf Jah VII.*—Traces the history of education in the Hyderabad State till 1935.

Some of the dissertations submitted for the M.Ed. examination of the Osmania University would also be useful. *Vide* pp. 18-21 of the *Indian Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. I, No. 1.

(h) Jaipur and Jodhpur.

The principal sources are the *Annual Administration Reports of these States*. Also consult—

1. *The Rajputana States Gazetteer*.
2. *The Jaipur Album*, 1932.

(i) Kashmir.

Besides the *Annual Administration Reports of the State* the following books are available :—

1. Kaul, G. N. : *Education in Kashmir during the Hindu Period* (unpublished)—A valuable source for the period.
2. Sufi : *Kashmir* (2 Vols.), Lahore, 1949.—A valuable source for the Muslim period.
3. *Handbook of Jammu and Kashmir State*, 1944.
4. *Reports of the Educational Reorganisation Committee*, 1938.
5. *Report of the Post-War Educational Reconstruction Committee*, 1945.

(j) Madras.

Besides the *Annual Reports of the Director of Public Instruction* the following publications would be found useful :—

1. Arbuthnot, A. J. : *Selections from the Records of the Government of Madras*, No. II.—Contains all documents on educational history from 1822 to 1855 when the annual reports of the D.P.I. begin.

2. *Educational Papers*—A supplement to the South India Missionary Conference Report, 1880.—A criticism of education in Madras from the missionary standpoint.

* The authors are indebted to the authors and publishers of this book which has been referred

3. Norton, G.: *Native Education in India*—comprising a review of its State and Progress within the Madras Presidency, Madras, 1848.

4. *Reorganising of Education in Madras Presidency*—Report of the special Committee appointed by the Syndicate of the University of Madras to examine problems of Post-War Educational Reconstruction, 1945.

5. *Report of the Committee for the Revision of English, Telugu, and Tamil School Books in the Madras Presidency*, 1874.

6. Satthianadhan, S.: *History of Education in Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1894.

(k) *Mysore.*

Besides the *Annual Reports of the Director of Public Instruction* the following publications are available :—

1. *Report of C. R. Reddy on Education in Mysore State*, 1949.

2. *Post-War Development Plan—Education*.

3. Rao, B. N. R. : *Pre-university Education in Mysore*, 1948.

4. Kini : *An Educational Survey in Mysore*.

*5. *Souvenir—All-India Educational Conference—XXIV Session—Mysore*, 1948.

6. Siddalingaiya, M.: *Reconstructing Elementary Education in Mysore*, 1935.

(l) *Orissa.*

This is a young Province which began only in 1937. The most helpful publications are the *Annual Reports of the Director of Public Instruction* and the *Post-War Development Plan*.

(m) *Punjab.*

Besides the *Annual Reports of the Director of Public Instruction*, reference has already been made to the book by Dr. Leitner. Some other publications are listed below :—

1. Mehta, H. R. : *A History of the Growth and Development of Western Education in the Punjab (1846-84)*, 1929.

2. *Proceedings of the Conference of Inspecting Officers*, Lahore, 1922.

(n) *Travancore.*

Besides the *Annual Administration Reports of the State Education Departments*, the following publications will be found useful :—

*1. Aiya, V. N. : *Travancore State Manual*.

2. *Report of the Statham Committee*, 1933.

3. *Report of the Papworth Committee*, 1945.

*4. *Journal of Education*, Trivandrum Training College.

5. D. Jivanayakam : *Training of Teachers for English Schools in Travancore*, 1931.

(o) *United Provinces.*

Besides the *Annual Reports of the Director of Public Instruction*, the following publications are useful :—

1. Chaturvedi, S. N. : *An Educational Survey of a District*, Allahabad, 1935.

2. Chaturvedi, S. N. : *History of Rural Education in the United Provinces*.

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